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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

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Defects of the Byzantine hiſtory.

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tient reader find an adequate reward of inſtruction or amuſement. At every ſtep, as we ſink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eaſtern empire, the annals of each ſucceeding reign would impoſe a more ungrateful and melancholy taſk. Theſe annals muſt continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakneſs and miſery; the natural connection of cauſes and events would be broken by frequent and haſty tranſitions, and a minute accumulation of circumſtances muſt deſtroy the light and effect of thoſe general pictures which compoſe the uſe and ornament of a remote hiſtory. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Juſtinian and the arms of Beliſarius, recedes on all ſides from our view: the Roman name, the proper ſubject of our enquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely ſuburbs of Conſtantinople; and the fate of the Greek empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loſes itſelf in the ſands, before its waters can mingle with the ocean. The ſcale of dominion is diminiſhed to our view by the diſtance of time and place: nor is the loſs of external ſplendour compenſated by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius. In the laſt moments of her decay, Conſtantinople was doubtleſs more opulent and populous than Athens at her moſt flouriſhing æra, when a ſcanty ſum of ſix thouſand talents, or twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, was poſſeſſed by twenty-one thouſand male citizens of an adult age. But each of theſe citizens was a freeman, who dared to aſſert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whoſe perſon and property were guarded by equal law; and who exerciſed his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers ſeem to be multiplied by the ſtrong and various diſcriminations of character: under the ſhield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aſpired to the level of the national dignity: from this commanding eminence, ſome choſen ſpirits ſoared beyond the

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reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of ſuperior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would excuſe the computation of imaginary millions. The territories of Athens, Sparta, and their allies, do not exceed a moderate province of France or England: but after the trophies of Salamis and Platæa, they expand in our fancy to the gigantic ſize of Aſia, which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks. But the ſubjects of the Byzantine empire, who aſſume and diſhonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, preſent a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither ſoftened by the weakneſs of humanity, nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes. The freemen of antiquity might repeat with generous enthuſiaſm the ſentence of Homer, "that on the firſt day of his ſervitude, the captive is deprived of "one half of his manly virtue." But the poet had only ſeen the effects of civil or domeſtic ſlavery, nor could he foretell that the ſecond moiety of manhood muſt be annihilated by the ſpiritual deſpotiſm, which ſhackles, not only the actions, but even the thoughts of the proſtrate votary. By this double yoke, the Greeks were oppreſſed under the ſucceſſors of Heraclius; the tyrant, a law of eternal juſtice, was degraded by the vices of his ſubjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the ſchools, we ſearch, perhaps with fruitleſs diligence, the names and characters that may deſerve to be reſcued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the ſubject compenſated by the ſkill and variety of the painters. Of a ſpace of eight hundred years, the four firſt centuries are overſpread with a cloud interrupted by ſome faint and broken rays of hiſtoric light: in the lives of the emperors, from Maurice to Alexius, Baſil the Macedonian has alone been the theme of a ſeparate work; and the abſence, or loſs, or imperfection of contemporary evidence, muſt be poorly ſupplied by the doubtful authority of more recent compilers. The four laſt centuries are exempt from the reproach of penury: and with the Com-

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nenian family, the hiſtoric muſe of Conſtantinople again revives, but her apparel is gaudy, her motions are without elegance or grace. A ſucceſſion of prieſts, or courtiers, treads in each other's footſteps in the ſame path of ſervitude and ſuperſtition: their views are narrow, their judgment is feeble or corrupt; and we cloſe the volume of copious barrenneſs, ſtill ignorant of the cauſes of events, the characters of the actors, and the manners of the times, which they celebrate or deplore. The obſervation which has been applied to a man, may be extended to a whole people, that the energy of the ſword is communicated to the pen; and it will be found by experience, that the tone of hiſtory will riſe or fall with the ſpirit of the age.

Its connection with the revolutions of the world.

From theſe conſiderations, I ſhould have abandoned without regret the Greek ſlaves and their ſervile hiſtorians, had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *paſſively* connected with the moſt ſplendid and important revolutions which have changed the ſtate of the world. The ſpace of the loſt provinces was immediately repleniſhed with new colonies and riſing kingdoms: the active virtues of peace and war deſerted from the vanquiſhed to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conqueſts, in their religion and government, that we muſt explore the cauſes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eaſtern empire. Nor will this ſcope of narrative, the riches and variety of theſe materials, be incompatible with the unity of deſign and compoſition. As, in his daily prayers, the Muſulman of Fez or Delhi ſtill turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the hiſtorian's eye ſhall be always fixed on the city of Conſtantinople. The excurſive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreaſing limit of the Roman monarchy.

Plan of the fifth and ſixth volumes.

On this principle I ſhall now eſtabliſh the plan of the two laſt volumes of the preſent work. The firſt chapter will contain, in a regular ſeries, the emperors who reigned at Conſtantinople during a period

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period of ſix hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conqueſt: a rapid abſtract, which may be ſupported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original hiſtorians. In this introduction, I ſhall confine myſelf to the revolutions of the throne, the ſucceſſion of families, the perſonal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domeſtic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or ſuſpend the downfal of the Eaſtern empire. Such a chronological review will ſerve to illuſtrate the various argument of the ſubſequent chapters; and each circumſtance of the eventful ſtory of the Barbarians will adapt itſelf in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal ſtate of the empire, and the dangerous hereſy of the Paulicians, which ſhook the Eaſt and enlightened the Weſt, will be the ſubject of two ſeparate chapters; but theſe enquiries muſt be poſtponed till our farther progreſs ſhall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Chriſtian æra. After this foundation of Byzantine hiſtory, the following nations will paſs before our eyes, and each will occupy the ſpace to which it may be entitled by greatneſs or merit, or the degree of connection with the Roman world and the preſent age. I. The FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the ſword and ſceptre of Charlemagne. The perſecution of images and their votaries, ſeparated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the reſtoration of the Roman empire in the Weſt. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and intereſting object. In the firſt, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, I ſhall inveſtigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and ſucceſs of the prophet. In the ſecond I ſhall lead the Arabs to the conqueſt of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victo-

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rious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Perſia and Spain. In the third I ſhall enquire how Conſtantinople and Europe were ſaved by the luxury and arts, the diviſion and decay, of the empire of the caliphs. A ſingle chapter will include, III. The BULGARIANS, IV. HUNGARIANS, and, V. RUSSIANS, who aſſaulted by ſea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the laſt of theſe, ſo important in their preſent greatneſs, will excite ſome curioſity in their origin and infancy. VI. The NORMANS; or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, ſhook the throne of Conſtantinople, diſplayed the trophies of chivalry, and almoſt realized the wonders of romance. VII. The LATINS; the ſubjects of the pope, the nations of the Weſt, who enliſted under the banner of the croſs for the recovery or relief of the holy ſepulchre. The Greek emperors were terrified and preſerved by the myriads of pilgrims who marched to Jeruſalem with Godfrey of Bouillon and the peers of Chriſtendom. The ſecond and third cruſades trod in the footſteps of the firſt: Aſia and Europe were mingled in a ſacred war of two hundred years; and the Chriſtian powers were bravely reſiſted, and finally expelled, by Saladin and the Mamalukes of Egypt. In theſe memorable cruſades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Boſphorus: they aſſaulted the capital, they ſubverted the Greek monarchy: and a dynaſty of Latin princes was ſeated near threeſcore years on the throne of Conſtantine. VIII. The GREEKS themſelves, during this period of captivity and exile, muſt be conſidered as a foreign nation; the enemies, and again the ſovereigns, of Conſtantinople. Misfortune had rekindled a ſpark of national virtue; and the Imperial ſeries may be continued with ſome dignity from their reſtoration to the Turkiſh conqueſt. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his deſcendants, the globe was ſhaken from

from China to Poland and Greece: the ſultans were overthrown: the caliphs fell, and the Cæſars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour ſuſpended above fifty years the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the firſt appearance of the TURKS, and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, diſcriminate the two ſucceſſive dynaſties of the nation, which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderneſs. The former eſtabliſhed a potent and ſplendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the firſt cruſade was provoked by the violation of Jeruſalem and the danger of Conſtantinople. From an humble origin, the *Ottomans* aroſe, the ſcourge and terror of Chriſtendom. Conſtantinople was beſieged and taken by Mahomet II. and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the Eaſt. The ſchiſm of the Greeks will be connected with their laſt calamities, and the reſtoration of learning in the Weſtern world. I ſhall return from the captivity of the new, to the ruins of ancient ROME: and the venerable name, the intereſting theme, will ſhed a ray of glory on the concluſion of my labours.

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THE emperor Heraclius had puniſhed a tyrant and aſcended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the tranſient conqueſt, and irreparable loſs, of the Eaſtern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his firſt wife, he diſobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his ſecond marriage with his niece Martina; and the ſuperſtition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diſeaſes of the father and the deformity of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is ſufficient to diſtract the choice, and looſen the obedience, of the people: the ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a ſtepmother; and the aged huſband was too feeble to withſtand the arts

Second marriage and death of Heraclius.

of

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of conjugal allurements. Conſtantine, his eldeſt ſon, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Auguſtus; but the weakneſs of his conſtitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with ſecret reluctance to the partition of the empire. The ſenate was ſummoned to the palace to ratify or atteſt the aſſociation of Heracleonas, the ſon of Martina: the impoſition of the diadem was conſecrated by the prayer and bleſſing of the patriarch; the ſenators and patricians adored the majeſty of the great emperor and the partners of his reign; and as ſoon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice of the ſoldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies which formed the eſſence of the Byzantine ſtate were celebrated in the cathedral and the hippodrome: the concord of the royal brothers was affectedly diſplayed by the younger leaning on the arm of the elder; and the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant or venal acclamations of the people. Heraclius ſurvived this aſſociation about two years: his laſt teſtament declared his two ſons the equal heirs of the Eaſtern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their ſovereign.

A. D. 638, July 4.

A. D. 639, January.

A. D. 641, February 11.

Conſtantine III. A. D. 641, February.

When Martina firſt appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, ſhe was checked by a firm, though reſpectful, oppoſition; and the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the breath of ſuperſtitious prejudice. "We reverence," exclaimed the voice of a citizen, "we reverence the mother of our princes; but "to thoſe princes alone our obedience is due; and Conſtantine, the "elder emperor, is of an age to ſuſtain, in his own hands, the "weight of the ſceptre. Your ſex is excluded by nature from the "toils of government. How could you combat, how could you "anſwer, the Barbarians, who, with hoſtile or friendly intentions, "may approach the royal city? May heaven avert from the Ro-"man republic this national diſgrace, which would provoke the

"patience

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"patience of the ſlaves of Perſia." Martina deſcended from the throne with indignation, and ſought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Conſtantine the third laſted only one hundred and three days: he expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poiſon had been the means, and his cruel ſtepmother the author, of his untimely fate. Martina reaped indeed the harveſt of his death, and aſſumed the government in the name of the ſurviving emperor; but the inceſtuous widow of Heraclius was univerſally abhorred; the jealouſy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Conſtantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the ſon of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himſelf the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had preſented at the baptiſmal font: it was in vain that he ſwore on the wood of the true croſs, to defend them againſt all their enemies. On his deathbed, the late emperor had diſpatched a truſty ſervant to arm the troops and provinces of the Eaſt in the defence of his helpleſs children: the eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been ſucceſsful, and from his camp of Chalcedon, he boldly demanded the puniſhment of the aſſaſſins, and the reſtoration of the lawful heir. The licence of the ſoldiers who devoured the grapes and drank the wine of their Aſiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of Conſtantinople againſt the domeſtic authors of their calamities, and the dome of St. Sophia re-echoed, not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At their imperious command, Heracleonas appeared in the pulpit with the eldeſt of the royal orphans; Conſtans alone was ſaluted as emperor of the Romans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heraclius, was placed on his head, with the ſolemn benediction of the patriarch. But in the tumult of joy and indigna-

Heracleonas, A. D. 641, May 25.

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tion, the church was pillaged, the ſanctuary was polluted by a promiſcuous crowd of Jews and Barbarians; and the Monothelite Pyrrhus, a creature of the empreſs, after dropping a proteſtation on the altar, eſcaped by a prudent flight from the zeal of the Catholics. A more ſerious and bloody taſk was reſerved for the ſenate, who derived a temporary ſtrength from the conſent of the ſoldiers and people. The ſpirit of Roman freedom revived the ancient and awful examples of the judgment of tyrants, and the Imperial culprits were depoſed and condemned as the authors of the death of Conſtantine. But the ſeverity of the conſcript fathers was ſtained by the indiſcriminate puniſhment of the innocent and the guilty: Martina and Heracleonas were ſentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his noſe; and after this cruel execution, they conſumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The Greeks who were capable of reflection might find ſome conſolation for their ſervitude, by obſerving the abuſe of power when it was lodged for a moment in the hands of an ariſtocracy.

Puniſhment of Martina and Heracleonas, A. D. 641, September.

Conſtans II. A. D. 641, September.

We ſhall imagine ourſelves tranſported five hundred years backwards to the age of the Antonines, if we liſten to the oration which Conſtans II. pronounced in the twelfth year of his age before the Byzantine ſenate. After returning his thanks for the juſt puniſhment of the aſſaſſins who had intercepted the faireſt hopes of his father's reign, "By the divine providence," ſaid the young emperor, "and by your righteous decree, Martina and her inceſtuous "progeny have been caſt headlong from the throne. Your majeſty "and wiſdom have prevented the Roman ſtate from degenerating "into lawleſs tyranny. I therefore exhort and beſeech you to ſtand "forth as the counſellors and judges of the common ſafety." The ſenators were gratified by the reſpectful addreſs and liberal donative of their ſovereign; but theſe ſervile Greeks were unworthy and regardleſs of freedom; and in his mind, the leſſon of an hour was quickly

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quickly erazed by the prejudices of the age and the habits of deſpotiſm. He retained only a jealous fear leſt the ſenate or people ſhould one day invade the right of primogeniture, and ſeat his brother Theodoſius on an equal throne. By the impoſition of holy orders, the grandſon of Heraclius was diſqualified for the purple; but this ceremony, which ſeemed to profane the ſacraments of the church, was inſufficient to appeaſe the ſuſpicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodoſius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the aſſaſſin, in the fulneſs of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. Conſtans embarked for Greece; and, as if he meant to retort the abhorrence which he deſerved, he is ſaid, from the Imperial galley, to have ſpit againſt the walls of his native city. After paſſing the winter at Athens, he ſailed to Tarentum in Italy, viſited Rome, and concluded a long pilgrimage of diſgrace and ſacrilegious rapine, by fixing his reſidence at Syracuſe. But if Conſtans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himſelf. The remorſe of his conſcience created a phantom who purſued him by land and ſea, by day and by night; and the viſionary Theodoſius, preſenting to his lips a cup of blood, ſaid, or ſeemed to ſay, "Drink, brother, drink;" a ſure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, ſince he had received from the hands of the deacon the myſtic cup of the blood of Chriſt. Odious to himſelf and to mankind, Conſtans periſhed by domeſtic, perhaps by epiſcopal, treaſon, in the capital of Sicily. A ſervant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, ſtruck him violently with the vaſe. He fell, ſtunned by the blow and ſuffocated by the water; and his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, beheld with indifference the corpſe of their lifeleſs emperor. The troops of Sicily inveſted with the purple an obſcure youth, whoſe inimitable beauty

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eluded, and it might eaſily elude, the declining art of the painters and ſculptors of the age.

Conſtantine IV. Pogonatus, A. D. 668, September.

Conſtans had left in the Byzantine palace three ſons, the eldeſt of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father ſummoned them to attend his perſon in Sicily, theſe precious hoſtages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refuſal informed him that they were the children of the ſtate. The news of his murder was conveyed with almoſt ſupernatural ſpeed from Syracuſe to Conſtantinople; and Conſtantine, the eldeſt of his ſons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred. His ſubjects contributed, with zeal and alacrity, to chaſtiſe the guilt and preſumption of a province which had uſurped the rights of the ſenate and people; the young emperor ſailed from the Helleſpont with a powerful fleet; and the legions of Rome and Carthage were aſſembled under his ſtandard in the harbour of Syracuſe. The defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was eaſy, his puniſhment juſt, and his beauteous head was expoſed in the hippodrome: but I cannot applaud the clemency of a prince, who, among a crowd of victims, condemned the ſon of a patrician, for deploring with ſome bitterneſs the execution of a virtuous father. The youth was caſtrated: he ſurvived the operation, and the memory of this indecent cruelty is preſerved by the elevation of Germanus to the rank of a patriarch and ſaint. After pouring this bloody libation on his father's tomb, Conſtantine returned to his capital, and the growth of his young beard during the Sicilian voyage, was announced by the familiar ſurname of Pogonatus, to the Grecian world. But his reign, like that of his predeceſſor, was ſtained with fraternal diſcord. On his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, he had beſtowed the title of Auguſtus: an empty title, for they continued to languiſh without truſt or power in the ſolitude of the palace. At their ſecret inſtigation, the troops of

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of the Anatolian *theme* or province approached the city on the Aſiatic ſide, demanded for the royal brothers, the partition or exerciſe of ſovereignty, and ſupported their ſeditious claim by a theological argument. They were Chriſtians (they cried), and orthodox Catholics; the ſincere votaries of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal perſons in heaven, it is reaſonable there ſhould be three equal perſons upon earth. The emperor invited theſe learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propoſe their arguments to the ſenate: they obeyed the ſummons, but the proſpect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the ſuburb of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Conſtantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were ſtill pronounced in the public acclamations: but on the repetition or ſuſpicion of a ſimilar offence, the obnoxious princes were deprived of their titles and noſes, in the preſence of the Catholic biſhops who were aſſembled at Conſtantinople in the ſixth general ſynod. In the cloſe of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to eſtabliſh the right of primogeniture: the hair of his two ſons, Juſtinian and Heraclius, was offered on the ſhrine of St. Peter, as a ſymbol of their ſpiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Auguſtus and the aſſurance of the empire.

Juſtinian II. A. D. 685, September.

After the deceaſe of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to Juſtinian II.; and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was diſhonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his nameſake only in the expenſive luxury of building. His paſſions were ſtrong; his underſtanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a fooliſh pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the ſmalleſt community would not have choſen him for their local magiſtrate. His favourite miniſters were two beings the leaſt ſuſceptible of human ſympathy, an eunuch and a monk: to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the finances;

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finances; the former corrected the emperor's mother with a ſcourge, the latter ſuſpended the inſolvent tributaries, with their heads downwards, over a ſlow and ſmoaky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had moſt commonly been the effect of their fear; but Juſtinian, who poſſeſſed ſome vigour of character, enjoyed the ſufferings, and braved the revenge, of his ſubjects about ten years, till the meaſure was full, of his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon, Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above three years, with ſome of the nobleſt and moſt deſerving of the patricians: he was ſuddenly drawn forth to aſſume the government of Greece; and this promotion of an injured man was a mark of the contempt rather than of the confidence of his prince. As he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his friends, Leontius obſerved with a ſigh that he was a victim adorned for ſacrifice, and that inevitable death would purſue his footſteps. They ventured to reply, that glory and empire might be the recompenſe of a generous reſolution; that every order of men abhorred the reign of a monſter; and that the hands of two hundred thouſand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was choſen for their deliverance; and in the firſt effort of the conſpirators, the præfect was ſlain, and the priſons were forced open: the emiſſaries of Leontius proclaimed in every ſtreet, "Chriſtians, to St. Sophia;" and the ſeaſonable text of the patriarch, "this is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory ſermon. From the church the people adjourned to the hippodrome: Juſtinian, in whoſe cauſe not a ſword had been drawn, was dragged before theſe tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the inſtant death of the tyrant. But Leontius, who was already clothed with the purple, caſt an eye of pity on the proſtrate ſon of his own benefactor and of ſo many emperors. The life of Juſtinian was ſpared; the amputation of his noſe, perhaps

haps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed: the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impoſe the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was baniſhed to Cherſonæ in Crim-Tartary, a lonely ſettlement, where corn, wine, and oil, were imported as foreign luxuries.

His exile, A. D. 695—705.

On the edge of the Scythian wilderneſs, Juſtinian ſtill cheriſhed the pride of his birth and the hope of his reſtoration. After three years exile, he received the pleaſing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a ſecond revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apſimar, who aſſumed the more reſpectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal ſucceſſion was ſtill formidable to a plebeian uſurper; and his jealouſy was ſtimulated by the complaints and charges of the Cherſonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the ſpirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his perſon by common hope or common deſpair, Juſtinian fled from the inhoſpitable ſhore to the hord of the Chozars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Boryſthenes. The khan entertained with pity and reſpect the royal ſuppliant: Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Aſiatic ſide of the lake Mœotis, was aſſigned for his reſidence; and every Roman prejudice was ſtifled in his marriage with the ſiſter of the Barbarian, who ſeems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the ſacrament of baptiſm. But the faithleſs Chozar was ſoon tempted by the gold of Conſtantinople; and had not the deſign been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her huſband muſt have been aſſaſſinated, or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After ſtrangling, with his own hands, the two emiſſaries of the khan, Juſtinian ſent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in ſearch of new and more faithful allies. His veſſel was aſſaulted by a violent tempeſt; and one of his pious companions adviſed him to deſerve the mercy of God by a vow of general for-

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giveneſs, if he ſhould be reſtored to the throne. "Of forgiveneſs?" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I periſh this inſtant—may the "Almighty whelm me in the waves—if I conſent to ſpare a ſingle "head of my enemies!" He ſurvived this impious menace, ſailed into the mouth of the Danube, truſted his perſon in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchaſed the aid of Terbelis, a Pagan conqueror, by the promiſe of his daughter and a fair partition of the treaſures of the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the confines of Thrace; and the two princes beſieged Conſtantinople at the head of fifteen thouſand horſe. Apſimar was diſmayed by the ſudden and hoſtile apparition of his rival, whoſe head had been promiſed by the Chozar, and of whoſe evaſion he was yet ignorant. After an abſence of ten years, the crimes of Juſtinian were faintly remembered, and the birth and misfortunes of their hereditary ſovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever diſcontented with the ruling powers; and by the active diligence of his adherents he was introduced into the city and palace of Conſtantine.

His reſtoration and death, A. D. 705—711.

In rewarding his allies and recalling his wife, Juſtinian diſplayed ſome ſenſe of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after ſweeping away an heap of gold coin, which he meaſured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiouſly performed than the ſacred oath of revenge which he had ſworn amidſt the ſtorms of the Euxine. The two uſurpers, for I muſt reſerve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his priſon, the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apſimar were caſt proſtrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor; and Juſtinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconſtant people ſhouted, in the words of the Pſalmiſt, "Thou ſhalt trample on the aſp and baſiliſk, and on the "lion and dragon ſhalt thou ſet thy foot!" The univerſal defection

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which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wiſh of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I ſhall preſume to obſerve, that ſuch a wiſh is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant, ſince his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguiſhed by a ſingle blow, inſtead of the ſlow variety of tortures which Juſtinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleaſures were inexhauſtible: neither private virtue nor public ſervice could expiate the guilt of active, or even paſſive, obedience to an eſtabliſhed government; and during the ſix years of his new reign, he conſidered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only inſtruments of royalty. But his moſt implacable hatred was pointed againſt the Cherſonites, who had inſulted his exile and violated the laws of hoſpitality. Their remote ſituation afforded ſome means of defence, or at leaſt of eſcape; and a grievous tax was impoſed on Conſtantinople, to ſupply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are "guilty, and all muſt periſh," was the mandate of Juſtinian; and the bloody execution was entruſted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the ſavage. Yet even the ſavage Stephen imperfectly accompliſhed the intentions of his ſovereign. The ſlowneſs of his attack allowed the greater part of the inhabitants to withdraw into the country; and the miniſter of vengeance contented himſelf with reducing the youth of both ſexes to a ſtate of ſervitude, with roaſting alive ſeven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the ſea, and with reſerving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, the fleet was driven on the rocky ſhores of Anatolia; and Juſtinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved ſo many thouſands of his ſubjects and enemies in a common ſhipwreck: but the tyrant was ſtill inſatiate of blood; and a ſecond expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proſcribed colony. In the ſhort interval, the Cherſonites had

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returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had renounced the cauſe of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were aſſembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was inveſted with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Juſtinian, eſcaped his diſpleaſure by abjuring his allegiance: the fleet, under their new ſovereign, ſteered back a more auſpicious courſe to the harbours of Sinope and Conſtantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Deſtitute of friends, he was deſerted by his Barbarian guards; and the ſtroke of the aſſaſſin was praiſed as an act of patriotiſm and Roman virtue. His ſon Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, ſuſpending round his neck the moſt formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the wood of the true croſs. But the popular fury that dares to trample on ſuperſtition, is deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguiſhed after a reign of one hundred years.

Philippicus, A. D. 711, December.

Between the fall of the Heraclian and the riſe of the Iſaurian dynaſty, a ſhort interval of ſix years is divided into three reigns. Bardanes, or Philippicus, was hailed at Conſtantinople as an hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he might taſte ſome moments of happineſs in the firſt tranſports of ſincere and univerſal joy. Juſtinian had left behind him an ample treaſure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine: but this uſeful fund was ſoon and idly diſſipated by his ſucceſſor. On the feſtival of his birth-day, Philippicus entertained the multitude with the games of the hippodrome; from thence he paraded through the ſtreets with a thouſand banners and a thouſand trumpets; refreſhed himſelf in the baths of Zeuxippus, and, returning to the palace, entertained his nobles with a ſumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber,

chamber, intoxicated with flattery and wine, and forgetful that his example had made every ſubject ambitious, and that every ambitious ſubject was his ſecret enemy. Some bold conſpirators introduced themſelves in the diſorder of the feaſt; and the ſlumbering monarch was ſurpriſed, bound, blinded, and depoſed, before he was ſenſible of his danger. Yet the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the ſenate and people promoted Artemius from the office of ſecretary to that of emperor: he aſſumed the title of Anaſtaſius the ſecond, and diſplayed in a ſhort and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But, after the extinction of the Imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffuſed the ſeeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obſcure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly inveſted with the purple: after ſome months of a naval war, Anaſtaſius reſigned the ſceptre; and the conqueror, Theodoſius the third, ſubmitted in his turn to the ſuperior aſcendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops. His two predeceſſors were permitted to embrace the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion: the reſtleſs impatience of Anaſtaſius tempted him to riſk and to loſe his life in a treaſonable enterpriſe; but the laſt days of Theodoſius were honourable and ſecure. The ſingle ſublime word "HEALTH," which he inſcribed on his tomb, expreſſes the confidence of philoſophy or religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preſerved among the people of Epheſus. This convenient ſhelter of the church might ſometimes impoſe a leſſon of clemency; but it may be queſtioned whether it is for the public intereſt to diminiſh the perils of unſucceſsful ambition.

Anaſtaſius II. A. D. 713, June 4.

Theodoſius III. A. D. 716, January.

I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant; I ſhall briefly repreſent the founder of a new dynaſty, who is known to poſterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whoſe public and private life is involved in the eccleſiaſtical ſtory of the Iconoclaſts. Yet in ſpite of

Leo III. the Iſaurian, A. D. 718, March 25.

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the clamours of ſuperſtition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Iſaurian, may be reaſonably drawn from the obſcurity of his birth, and the duration of his reign.—I. In an age of manly ſpirit, the proſpect of an Imperial reward would have kindled every energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of competitors as deſerving as they were deſirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the laſt to the firſt rank of ſociety, ſuppoſes ſome qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and diſdainful of ſpeculative ſcience; and in the purſuit of fortune, he might abſolve himſelf from the obligations of benevolence and juſtice: but to his character we may aſcribe the uſeful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their paſſions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Iſauria, and that Conon was his primitive name. The writers, whoſe awkward ſatire is praiſe, deſcribe him as an itinerant pedlar who drove an aſs with ſome paltry merchandiſe to the country fairs; and fooliſhly relate that he met on the road ſome Jewiſh fortune-tellers, who promiſed him the Roman empire, on condition that he ſhould aboliſh the worſhip of idols. A more probable account relates the migration of his father from Aſia Minor to Thrace, where he exerciſed the lucrative trade of a grazier; and he muſt have acquired conſiderable wealth, ſince the firſt introduction of his ſon was procured by a ſupply of five hundred ſheep to the Imperial camp. His firſt ſervice was in the guards of Juſtinian, where he ſoon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealouſy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conſpicuous in the Colchian war: from Anaſtaſius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the ſuffrage of the ſoldiers he was raiſed to the empire with the general applauſe of the Roman world.—II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo the third ſup-

ported himſelf againſt the envy of his equals, the diſcontent of a powerful faction, and the aſſaults of his foreign and domeſtic enemies. The Catholics, who accuſe his religious innovations, are obliged to confeſs that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with firmneſs. Their ſilence reſpects the wiſdom of his adminiſtration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Conſtantinople; and the purple which he had acquired, was tranſmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.

Conſtantine V. Copronymus, A. D. 741, June 18.

In a long reign of thirty-four years, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Leo, Conſtantine the fifth, ſurnamed Copronymus, attacked with leſs temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhauſted the bitterneſs of religious gall, in their portrait of this ſpotted panther, this anti-chriſt, this flying dragon of the ſerpent's ſeed, who ſurpaſſed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was moſt noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire. In perſon, the emperor aſſiſted at the execution of his victims, ſurveyed their agonies, liſtened to their groans, and indulged, without ſatiating, his appetite for blood: a plate of noſes was accepted as a grateful offering, and his domeſtics were often ſcourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His ſurname was derived from his pollution of his baptiſmal font. The infant might be excuſed; but the manly pleaſures of Copronymus degraded him below the level of a brute; his luſt confounded the eternal diſtinctions of ſex and ſpecies; and he ſeemed to extract ſome unnatural delight from the objects moſt offenſive to human ſenſe. In his religion, the Iconoclaſt was an Heretic, a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, and an Atheiſt; and his belief of an inviſible power could be diſcovered only in his magic rites, human victims, and nocturnal ſacrifices to Venus and the dæmons of antiquity. His life was ſtained with the moſt oppoſite vices, and the ulcers which covered his body, anticipated before

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fore his death the ſentiment of hell-tortures. Of theſe accuſations, which I have ſo patiently copied, a part is refuted by its own abſurdity; and in the private anecdotes of the life of princes, the lie is more eaſy as the detection is more difficult. Without adopting the pernicious maxim, that where much is alleged, ſomething muſt be true, I can however diſcern, that Conſtantine the fifth was diſſolute and cruel. Calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and her licentious tongue is checked in ſome meaſure by the experience of the age and country to which ſhe appeals. Of the biſhops and monks, the generals and magiſtrates, who are ſaid to have ſuffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conſpicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation viſible and permanent. The Catholics hated the perſon and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppreſſion. They diſſemble the provocations which might excuſe or juſtify his rigour, but even theſe provocations muſt gradually inflame his reſentment, and harden his temper in the uſe or the abuſe of deſpotiſm. Yet the character of the fifth Conſtantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deſerve the curſes or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confeſſion of his enemies, I am informed of the reſtoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of two thouſand five hundred captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he repeopled Conſtantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praiſe his activity and courage; he was on horſeback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by ſea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and Barbarian war. Heretical praiſe muſt be caſt into the ſcale, to counterbalance the weight of orthodox invective. The Iconoclaſts revered the virtues of the prince: forty years after his death, they ſtill prayed before the tomb of the ſaint. A miraculous viſion was propagated by

fanaticiſm or fraud: and the Chriſtian hero appeared on a milk-white ſteed, brandiſhing his lance againſt the pagans of Bulgaria: "An abſurd fable," ſays the Catholic hiſtorian, "ſince Copronymus "is chained with the dæmons in the abyſs of hell."

Leo IV. A. D. 775, Sept. 14.

Leo the fourth, the ſon of the fifth and the father of the ſixth Conſtantine, was of a feeble conſtitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. The aſſociation of the young Conſtantine was urged by the officious zeal of his ſubjects; and the emperor, conſcious of his decay, complied, after a prudent heſitation, with their unanimous wiſhes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national conſent was ratified by every circumſtance of pomp and ſolemnity, that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conſcience, of the Greeks. An oath of fidelity was adminiſtered in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome, to the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, who adjured the holy names of the ſon, and mother, of God. "Be witneſs, O Chriſt! that we will watch "over the ſafety of Conſtantine the ſon of Leo, expoſe our lives "in his ſervice, and bear true allegiance to his perſon and poſterity." They pledged their faith on the wood of the true croſs, and the act of their engagement was depoſited on the altar of St. Sophia. The firſt to ſwear, and the firſt to violate their oath, were the five ſons of Copronymus by a ſecond marriage; and the ſtory of theſe princes is ſingular and tragic. The right of primogeniture excluded them from the throne; the injuſtice of their elder brother defrauded them of a legacy of about two millions ſterling; ſome vain titles were not deemed a ſufficient compenſation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conſpired againſt their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their firſt attempt was pardoned; for the ſecond offence they were condemned to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate: and for the third treaſon, Nicephorus, the eldeſt and moſt guilty, was deprived

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of his eyes, and his four brothers, Chriſtopher, Nicetas, Anthemeus, and Eudoxas, were puniſhed, as a milder ſentence, by the amputation of their tongues. After five years confinement, they eſcaped to the church of St. Sophia, and diſplayed a pathetic ſpectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Chriſtians," cried Nicephorus for himſelf and his mute brethren, "behold the ſons of your emperor, if you "can ſtill recogniſe our features in this miſerable ſtate. A life, an "imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has ſpared. It "is now threatened, and we now throw ourſelves on your com-"paſſion." The riſing murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been checked by the preſence of a miniſter, who ſoothed the unhappy princes with flattery and hope, and gently drew them from the ſanctuary to the palace. They were ſpeedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm retreat, and in their helpleſs condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were tormented by the thirſt of power, and tempted by a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their priſon, and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Conſtantinople. But the Athenian people, ever zealous in the cauſe of Irene, prevented her juſtice or cruelty; and the five ſons of Copronymus were plunged in eternal darkneſs and oblivion.

Conſtantine VI. and Irene, A. D. 780, September 8.

For himſelf, that emperor had choſen a Barbarian wife, the daughter of the khan of the Chozars: but in the marriage of his heir, he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, ſeventeen years old, whoſe ſole fortune muſt have conſiſted in her perſonal accompliſhments. The nuptials of Leo and Irene were celebrated with royal pomp; ſhe ſoon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble huſband, and in his teſtament he declared the empreſs, guardian of the Roman world, and of their ſon Conſtantine the ſixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene moſt ably and aſſiduouſly diſcharged, in her public adminiſtration, the duties

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duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the reſtoration of images has deſerved the name and honours of a ſaint, which ſhe ſtill occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he liſtened to the favourites of his own age, who ſhared his pleaſures, and were ambitious of ſharing his power. Their reaſons convinced him of his right, their praiſes of his ability, to reign; and he conſented to reward the ſervices of Irene by a perpetual baniſhment to the iſle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration eaſily diſconcerted their raſh projects; a ſimilar, or more ſevere, puniſhment was retaliated on themſelves and their adviſers; and Irene inflicted on the ungrateful prince the chaſtiſement of a boy. After this conteſt, the mother and the ſon were at the head of two domeſtic factions; and, inſtead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, ſhe held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empreſs was overthrown by the abuſe of victory; the oath of fidelity which ſhe exacted to herſelf alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refuſal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general declaration, that Conſtantine the ſixth was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this character he aſcended his hereditary throne, and diſmiſſed Irene to a life of ſolitude and repoſe. But her haughty ſpirit condeſcended to the arts of diſſimulation: ſhe flattered the biſhops and eunuchs, revived the filial tenderneſs of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. The character of Conſtantine was not deſtitute of ſenſe or ſpirit; but his education had been ſtudiouſly neglected; and his ambitious mother expoſed to the public cenſure the vices which ſhe had nouriſhed and the actions which ſhe had ſecretly adviſed: his divorce and ſecond marriage offended the prejudices of the clergy, and by his imprudent rigour he forfeited the attachment of the Armenian guards. A powerful conſpiracy was formed for the reſtoration of Irene; and the ſecret,

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though widely diffuſed, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, ſuſpicious of his danger, eſcaped from Conſtantinople, with the deſign of appealing to the provinces and armies. By this haſty flight, the empreſs was left on the brink of the precipice; yet before ſhe implored the mercy of her ſon, Irene addreſſed a private epiſtle to the friends whom ſhe had placed about his perſon, with a menace, that unleſs *they* accompliſhed, *ſhe* would reveal, their treaſon. Their fear rendered them intrepid; they ſeized the emperor on the Aſiatic ſhore, and he was tranſported to the porphyry apartment of the palace, where he had firſt ſeen the light. In the mind of Irene, ambition had ſtifled every ſentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council, that Conſtantine ſhould be rendered incapable of the throne: her emiſſaries aſſaulted the ſleeping prince, and ſtabbed their daggers with ſuch violence and precipitation into his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal ſentence. An ambiguous paſſage of Theophanes perſuaded the annaliſt of the church that death was the immediate conſequence of this barbarous execution. The Catholics have been deceived or ſubdued by the authority of Baronius; and proteſtant zeal has reechoed the words of a cardinal, deſirous, as it ſhould ſeem, to favour the patroneſs of images. Yet the blind ſon of Irene ſurvived many years, oppreſſed by the court and forgotten by the world: the Iſaurian dynaſty was ſilently extinguiſhed; and the memory of Conſtantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphroſyne with the emperor Michael the ſecond.

Irene, A. D. 792, Auguſt 19.

The moſt bigotted orthodoxy has juſtly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not eaſily be paralleled in the hiſtory of crimes. To her bloody deed, ſuperſtition has attributed a ſubſequent darkneſs of ſeventeen days; during which many veſſels in mid-day were driven from their courſe, as if the ſun, a globe of fire ſo vaſt and ſo remote, could ſympathiſe with the atoms of a revolving planet.

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On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpuniſhed; her reign was crowned with external ſplendour; and if ſhe could ſilence the voice of conſcience, ſhe neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as ſhe moved through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the reins of four milk-white ſteeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But theſe patricians were for the moſt part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude juſtified, on this occaſion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raiſed, enriched, entruſted with the firſt dignities of the empire, they baſely conſpired againſt their benefactreſs: the great treaſurer Nicephorus was ſecretly inveſted with the purple; her ſucceſſor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their firſt interview, ſhe recapitulated with dignity the revolutions of her life, gently accuſed the perfidy of Nicephorus, inſinuated that he owed his life to her unſuſpicious clemency, and, for the throne and treaſures which ſhe reſigned, ſolicited a decent and honourable retreat. His avarice refuſed this modeſt compenſation; and, in her exile of the iſle of Leſbos, the empreſs earned a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by the labours of her diſtaff.

Nicephorus I. A. D. 802, October 31.

Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the univerſal abhorrence of their people. His character was ſtained with the three odious vices of hypocriſy, ingratitude, and avarice: his want of virtue was not redeemed by any ſuperior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleaſing qualifications. Unſkilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquiſhed by the Saracens, and ſlain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the deſtruction of a Roman army. His ſon and heir Stauracius eſcaped from the field with a mortal wound: yet ſix months of an expiring life were ſufficient to refute his indecent,

Stauracius, A. D. 811, July 25.

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though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near proſpect of his deceaſe, Michael, the great maſter of the palace, and the huſband of his ſiſter Procopia, was named by every perſon of the palace and city, except by his envious brother. Tenacious of a ſceptre now falling from his hand, he conſpired againſt the life of his ſucceſſor, and cheriſhed the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But theſe raſh projects ſerved only to inflame the zeal of the people and to remove the ſcruples of the candidate: Michael the firſt accepted the purple, and before he ſunk into the grave, the ſon of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new ſovereign. Had Michael in an age of peace aſcended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people: but his mild virtues were adapted to the ſhade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, or of reſiſting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and ſucceſs expoſed him to the contempt of the ſoldiers, the maſculine ſpirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the inſolence of a female, who, in the front of the ſtandards, preſumed to direct their diſcipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours adviſed the new Semiramis to reverence the majeſty of a Roman camp. After an unſucceſsful campaign, the emperor left in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a diſaffected army under the command of his enemies; and their artful eloquence perſuaded the ſoldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the huſband of Procopia, and to aſſert the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital: yet the clergy, the ſenate, and the people of Conſtantinople, adhered to the cauſe of Michael; and the troops and treaſures of Aſia might have protracted the miſchiefs of civil war. But his humanity (by the ambitious, it will be termed his weakneſs) proteſted, that not a drop

Michael I. Rhangabe, A. D. 811, October 2.

drop of Chriſtian blood ſhould be ſhed in his quarrel, and his meſſengers preſented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were diſarmed by his innocence and ſubmiſſion; his life and his eyes were ſpared; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of ſolitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been ſtripped of the purple and ſeparated from his wife.

Leo V. the Armenian, A. D. 813, July 11.

A rebel, in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curioſity to conſult an Aſiatic prophet, who, after prognoſticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the ſucceſſive reigns of the two former, the fruitleſs and fatal enterpriſe of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced, by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the huſband of Procopia, the crown was preſented to the ſame Leo, the firſt in military rank and the ſecret author of the mutiny. As he affected to heſitate, "With this ſword," ſaid his companion Michael, "I will open the "gates of Conſtantinople to your Imperial ſway; or inſtantly plunge "it into your boſom, if you obſtinately reſiſt the juſt deſires of your "fellow-ſoldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned ſeven years and an half under the name of Leo the fifth. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military diſcipline; but if his ſeverity was ſometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconſtancy was taxed by the epithet of Chameleon, but the Catholics have acknowledged by the voice of a ſaint and confeſſors, that the life of the Iconoclaſt was uſeful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his ſubordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public ſervice. Yet the Phrygian

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was diſſatisfied at receiving as a favour a ſcanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had beſtowed on his equal; and his diſcontent, which ſometimes evaporated in haſty diſcourſe, at length aſſumed a more threatening and hoſtile aſpect againſt a prince whom he repreſented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and diſmiſſed the old companion of his arms, till fear and reſentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a ſcrutiny into his actions and deſigns, was convicted of treaſon, and ſentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empreſs Theophano was fatal to her huſband and family. A ſolemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution: ſhe urged, that the anniverſary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman ſpectacle, and Leo conſented with reluctance to a decent reſpite. But on the vigil of the feaſt, his ſleepleſs anxiety prompted him to viſit at the dead of night the chamber in which his enemy was confined: he beheld him releaſed from his chain, and ſtretched on his gaoler's bed in a profound ſlumber: Leo was alarmed at theſe ſigns of ſecurity and intelligence; but, though he retired with ſilent ſteps, his entrance and departure were noticed by a ſlave who lay concealed in a corner of the priſon. Under the pretence of requeſting the ſpiritual aid of a confeſſor, Michael informed the conſpirators, that their lives depended on his diſcretion, and that a few hours were left to aſſure their own ſafety, by the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great feſtivals, a choſen band of prieſts and chanters was admitted into the palace by a private gate to ſing matins in the chapel; and Leo, who regulated with the ſame ſtrictneſs the diſcipline of the choir and of the camp, was ſeldom abſent from theſe early devotions. In the eccleſiaſtical habit, but with ſwords under their robes, the conſpirators mingled with the proceſſion, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and expected, as the ſignal of murder, the intonation of the

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the firſt pſalm by the emperor himſelf. The imperfect light, and the uniformity of dreſs, might have favoured his eſcape, while their aſſault was pointed againſt an harmleſs prieſt; but they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake, and encompaſſed on all ſides the royal victim. Without a weapon and without a friend, he graſped a weighty croſs, and ſtood at bay againſt the hunters of his life; but as he aſked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The ſtroke of a well-aimed ſword ſeparated from his body the right arm and the croſs, and Leo the Armenian was ſlain at the foot of the altar.

Michael II. the Stammerer, A. D. 820, Dec. 25.

A memorable reverſe of fortune was diſplayed in Michael the ſecond, who, from a defect in his ſpeech, was ſurnamed the Stammerer. He was ſnatched from the fiery furnace to the ſovereignty of an empire; and as in the tumult a ſmith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs ſeveral hours after he was ſeated on the throne of the Cæſars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation, was unprofitably ſpent: in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael loſt his provinces with as ſupine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers. His title was diſputed by Thomas, the laſt of the military triumvirate, who tranſported into Europe fourſcore thouſand Barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the ſhores of the Caſpian. He formed the ſiege of Conſtantinople; but the capital was defended with ſpiritual and carnal weapons; a Bulgarian king aſſaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune, or the weakneſs, to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an aſs, and, amidſt the inſults of the people, was led through the ſtreets, which he ſprinkled with his blood. The depravation of manners, as ſavage as they were corrupt, is marked by the preſence of the emperor himſelf. Deaf to the lamentations of a fellow-

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fellow-ſoldier, he inceſſantly preſſed the diſcovery of more accomplices, till his curioſity was checked by the queſtion of an honeſt or guilty miniſter: "Would you give credit to an enemy, againſt the "moſt faithful of your friends?" After the death of his firſt wife, the emperor, at the requeſt of the ſenate, drew from her monaſtery Euphroſyne, the daughter of Conſtantine the ſixth. Her auguſt birth might juſtify a ſtipulation in the marriage-contract, that her children ſhould equally ſhare the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphroſyne were barren; and ſhe was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his ſon and ſucceſſor.

Theophilus, A. D. 829, October 3.

The character of Theophilus is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed, and perhaps magnified, the virtues of an heretic and a perſecutor. His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his juſtice by the ſubjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was raſh and fruitleſs, and his juſtice arbitrary and cruel. He diſplayed the banner of the croſs againſt the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a ſignal overthrow; Amorium, the native city of his anceſtors, was levelled with the ground, and from his military toils, he derived only the ſurname of the Unfortunate. The wiſdom of a ſovereign is compriſed in the inſtitution of laws and the choice of magiſtrates, and while he ſeems without action, his civil government revolves round his centre with the ſilence and order of the planetary ſyſtem. But the juſtice of Theophilus was faſhioned on the model of the Oriental deſpots, who, in perſonal and irregular acts of authority, conſult the reaſon or paſſion of the moment, without meaſuring the ſentence by the law or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herſelf at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empreſs, who had raiſed his palace wall to ſuch an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air!

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On the proof of the fact, inſtead of granting, like an ordinary judge, ſufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the ſovereign adjudged to her uſe and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant ſatisfaction: his zeal converted a civil treſpaſs into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was ſtripped and ſcourged in the public place of Conſtantinople. For ſome venial offences, ſome defect of equity or vigilance, the principal miniſters, a præfect, a quæſtor, a captain of the guards, were baniſhed or mutilated, or ſcalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as theſe dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they muſt have alienated from his ſervice the beſt and wiſeſt of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exerciſe of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, ſafe in their obſcurity, applauded the danger and debaſement of their ſuperiors. This extraordinary rigour was juſtified, in ſome meaſure, by its ſalutary conſequences; ſince, after a ſcrutiny of ſeventeen days, not a complaint or abuſe could be found in the court or city: and it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public intereſt is the motive and law of the ſupreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the ſuſpicion, of treaſon, that judge is of all others the moſt credulous and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the aſſaſſins of Leo and the ſaviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny ſacrificed a brother and a prince to the future ſafety of his life. A Perſian of the race of the Saſſanides died in poverty and exile at Conſtantinople, leaving an only ſon, the iſſue of a plebeian marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophobus was revealed, and his merit was not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, a Chriſtian and a ſoldier; advanced with rapid ſteps in the career of fortune and glory; re-

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ceived the hand of the emperor's ſiſter; and was promoted to the command of thirty thouſand Perſians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. Theſe troops, doubly infected with mercenary and fanatic vices, were deſirous of revolting againſt their benefactor, and erecting the ſtandard of their native king: but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, diſconcerted their ſchemes, and eſcaped from their hands to the camp or palace of his royal brother. A generous confidence might have ſecured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and his infant ſon, to whom Theophilus, in the flower of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire. But his jealouſy was exaſperated by envy and diſeaſe: he feared the dangerous virtues which might either ſupport or oppreſs their infancy and weakneſs; and the dying emperor demanded the head of the Perſian prince. With ſavage delight, he recogniſed the familiar features of his brother: "Thou art "no longer Theophobus," he ſaid; and, ſinking on his couch, he added, with a faultering voice, "Soon, too ſoon, I ſhall be no more "Theophilus!"

The Ruſſians, who have borrowed from the Greeks the greateſt part of their civil and eccleſiaſtical policy, preſerved, till the laſt century, a ſingular inſtitution in the marriage of the Czar. They collected, not the virgins of every rank and of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited in the palace the choice of their ſovereign. It is affirmed, that a ſimilar method was adopted in the nuptials of Theophilus. With a golden apple in his hand, he ſlowly walked between two lines of contending beauties: his eye was detained by the charms of Icaſia, and, in the awkwardneſs of a firſt declaration, the prince could only obſerve, that, in this world, women had been the cauſe of much evil: "And ſurely, ſir," ſhe pertly replied, "they "have likewiſe been the occaſion of much good." This affectation of unſeaſon-

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unſeaſonable wit diſpleaſed the Imperial lover: he turned aſide in diſguſt; Icaſia concealed her mortification in a convent; and the modeſt ſilence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple. She deſerved the love, but did not eſcape the ſeverity, of her lord. From the palace garden he beheld a veſſel deeply laden, and ſteering into the port: on the diſcovery that the precious cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife, he condemned the ſhip to the flames, with a ſharp reproach, that her avarice had degraded the character of an empreſs into that of a merchant. Yet his laſt choice entruſted her with the guardianſhip of the empire and her ſon Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The reſtoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclaſts, has endeared her name to the devotion of the Greeks; but in the fervour of religious zeal, Theodora entertained a grateful regard for the memory and ſalvation of her huſband. After thirteen years of a prudent and frugal adminiſtration, ſhe perceived the decline of her influence; but the ſecond Irene imitated only the virtues of her predeceſſor. Inſtead of conſpiring againſt the life or government of her ſon, ſhe retired, without a ſtruggle, though not without a murmur, to the ſolitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin, of the worthleſs youth.

Michael III. A. D. 842, January 20.

Among the ſucceſſors of Nero and Elagabalus, we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who conſidered pleaſure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleaſure. Whatever might have been the maternal care of Theodora in the education of Michael the third, her unfortunate ſon was a king before he was a man. If the ambitious mother laboured to check the progreſs of reaſon, ſhe could not cool the ebullition of paſſion; and her ſelfiſh policy was juſtly repaid by the contempt and ingratitude of the headſtrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected her authority, without feeling his own in-

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capacity to govern the empire and himſelf. With Theodora, all gravity and wiſdom retired from the court; their place was ſupplied by the alternate dominion of vice and folly; and it was impoſſible, without forfeiting the public eſteem, to acquire or preſerve the favour of the emperor. The millions of gold and ſilver which had been accumulated for the ſervice of the ſtate, were laviſhed on the vileſt of men, who flattered his paſſions and ſhared his pleaſures; and in a reign of thirteen years, the richeſt of ſovereigns was compelled to ſtrip the palace and the churches of their precious furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the amuſements of the theatre, and ſighed to be ſurpaſſed in the accompliſhments in which he ſhould have bluſhed to excel. Yet the ſtudies of Nero in muſic and poetry, betrayed ſome ſymptoms of a liberal taſte; the more ignoble arts of the ſon of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, ſtill amuſed the idleneſs, of the capital: for himſelf, the emperor aſſumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were diſtributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contention he forgot the dignity of his perſon and the ſafety of his dominions. He ſilenced the meſſenger of an invaſion, who preſumed to divert his attention in the moſt critical moment of the race; and by his command, the importunate beacons were extinguiſhed, that too frequently ſpread the alarm from Tarſus to Conſtantinople. The moſt ſkilful charioteers obtained the firſt place in his confidence and eſteem; their merit was profuſely rewarded; the emperor feaſted in their houſes, and preſented their children at the baptiſmal font; and while he applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and ſtately reſerve of his predeceſſors. The unnatural luſts which had degraded even the manhood of Nero, were baniſhed from the world; yet the ſtrength of Michael was conſumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his paſſions were inflamed

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flamed by wine, he was provoked to iſſue the moſt ſanguinary commands; and if any feelings of humanity were left, he was reduced, with the return of ſenſe, to approve the ſalutary diſobedience of his ſervants. But the moſt extraordinary feature in the character of Michael, is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The ſuperſtition of the Greeks might indeed excite the ſmile of a philoſopher: but his ſmile would have been rational and temperate, and he muſt have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who inſulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was inveſted in the robes of the patriarch: his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, aſſumed their eccleſiaſtical garments: they uſed or abuſed the ſacred veſſels of the altar; and in their bacchanalian feaſts, the holy communion was adminiſtered in a nauſeous compound of vinegar and muſtard. Nor were theſe impious ſpectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a ſolemn feſtival, the emperor, with his biſhops or buffoons, rode on aſſes through the ſtreets, encountered the true patriarch at the head of his clergy; and by their licentious ſhouts and obſcene geſtures, diſordered the gravity of the Chriſtian proceſſion. The devotion of Michael appeared only in ſome offence to reaſon or piety: he received his theatrical crowns from the ſtatue of the Virgin; and an imperial tomb was violated for the ſake of burning the bones of Conſtantine the Iconoclaſt. By this extravagant conduct, the ſon of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious: every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehenſive that a caprice might ſnatch away what a caprice had beſtowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and ſleep, Michael the third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynaſty, whom the emperor had raiſed to an equality of rank and power.

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Baſil I. the Macedonian, A. D. 867, Sept. 24.

The genealogy of Baſil the Macedonian (if it be not the ſpurious offſpring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the moſt illuſtrious families. The Arſacides, the rivals of Rome, poſſeſſed the ſceptre of the Eaſt near four hundred years: a younger branch of theſe Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal deſcendants ſurvived the partition and ſervitude of that ancient monarchy. Two of theſe, Artabanus and Chlienes, eſcaped or retired to the court of Leo the firſt: his bounty ſeated them in a ſafe and hoſpitable exile, in the province of Macedonia: Adrianople was their final ſettlement. During ſeveral generations they maintained the dignity of their birth; and their Roman patriotiſm rejected the tempting offers of the Perſian and Arabian powers, who recalled them to their native country. But their ſplendour was inſenſibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Baſil was reduced to a ſmall farm, which he cultivated with his own hands: yet he ſcorned to diſgrace the blood of the Arſacides by a plebeian alliance: his wife, a widow of Adrianople, was pleaſed to count among her anceſtors, the great Conſtantine; and their royal infant was connected by ſome dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No ſooner was he born, than the cradle of Baſil, his family, and his city, were ſwept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians: he was educated a ſlave in a foreign land; and in this ſevere diſcipline, he acquired the hardineſs of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he ſhared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generouſly broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the ſhores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of Barbarians, embarked in the ſhips which had been ſtationed for their reception, and returned to Conſtantinople, from whence they were diſtributed to their reſpective homes. But the freedom of

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Baſil was naked and deſtitute: his farm was ruined by the calamities of war: after his father's death, his manual labour, or ſervice, could no longer ſupport a family of orphans; and he reſolved to ſeek a more conſpicuous theatre, in which every virtue and every vice may lead to the paths of greatneſs. The firſt night of his arrival at Conſtantinople, without friends or money, the weary pilgrim ſlept on the ſteps of the church of St. Diomede: he was fed by the caſual hoſpitality of a monk; and was introduced to the ſervice of a couſin and nameſake of the emperor Theophilus; who, though himſelf of a diminutive perſon, was always followed by a train of tall and handſome domeſtics. Baſil attended his patron to the government of Peloponneſus; eclipſed, by his perſonal merit, the birth and dignity of Theophilus, and formed an uſeful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras. Her ſpiritual or carnal love embraced the young adventurer, whom ſhe adopted as her ſon. Danielis preſented him with thirty ſlaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the ſupport of his brothers, and the purchaſe of ſome large eſtates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition ſtill attached him to the ſervice of Theophilus; and a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court. A famous wreſtler, in the train of the Bulgarian ambaſſadors, had defied, at the royal banquet, the boldeſt and moſt robuſt of the Greeks. The ſtrength of Baſil was praiſed; he accepted the challenge; and the Barbarian champion was overthrown at the firſt onſet. A beautiful but vicious horſe was condemned to be hamſtrung: it was ſubdued by the dexterity and courage of the ſervant of Theophilus; and his conqueror was promoted to an honourable rank in the Imperial ſtables. But it was impoſſible to obtain the confidence of Michael, without complying with his vices; and his new favourite, the great chamberlain of the palace, was raiſed and ſupported by a diſgraceful marriage with a royal concubine, and the diſhonour of his ſiſter, who ſucceeded to her

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her place. The public adminiſtration had been abandoned to the Cæſar Bardas, the brother and enemy of Theodora; but the arts of female influence perſuaded Michael to hate and to fear his uncle: he was drawn from Conſtantinople, under the pretence of a Cretan expedition, and ſtabbed in the tent of audience, by the ſword of the chamberlain, and in the preſence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Baſil was inveſted with the title of Auguſtus and the government of the empire. He ſupported this unequal aſſociation till his influence was fortified by popular eſteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a ſecond colleague, who had rowed in the gallies. Yet the murder of his benefactor muſt be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treaſon; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael, were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The different ages of Baſil the firſt, may be compared with thoſe of Auguſtus. The ſituation of the Greek did not allow him in his earlieſt youth to lead an army againſt his country, or to proſcribe the nobleſt of her ſons; but his aſpiring genius ſtooped to the arts of a ſlave; he diſſembled his ambition and even his virtues, and graſped, with the bloody hand of an aſſaſſin, the empire which he ruled with the wiſdom and tenderneſs of a parent. A private citizen may feel his intereſt repugnant to his duty; but it muſt be from a deficiency of ſenſe or courage, that an abſolute monarch can ſeparate his happineſs from his glory, or his glory from the public welfare. The life or panegyric of Baſil has indeed been compoſed and publiſhed under the long reign of his deſcendants; but even their ſtability on the throne may be juſtly aſcribed to the ſuperior merit of their anceſtor. In his character, his grandſon Conſtantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty: but that feeble prince, unleſs he had copied a real model, could not eaſily have

ſoared ſo high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the moſt ſolid praiſe of Baſil is drawn from the compariſon of a ruined and a flouriſhing monarchy, that which he wreſted from the diſſolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynaſty. The evils which had been ſanctified by time and example, were corrected by his maſter-hand; and he revived, if not the national ſpirit, at leaſt the order and majeſty of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his underſtanding vigorous and deciſive; and in his practice he obſerved that rare and ſalutary moderation, which purſues each virtue, at an equal diſtance between the oppoſite vices. His military ſervice had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the ſpirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the Barbarians. As ſoon as he had formed a new army by diſcipline and exerciſe, he appeared in perſon on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and ſuppreſſed the dangerous though juſt revolt of the Manichæans. His indignation againſt a rebel who had long eluded his purſuit, provoked him to wiſh and to pray, that, by the grace of God, he might drive three arrows into the head of Chryſochir. That odious head, which had been obtained by treaſon rather than by valour, was ſuſpended from a tree, and thrice expoſed to the dexterity of the Imperial archer: a baſe revenge againſt the dead, more worthy of the times, than of the character of Baſil. But his principal merit was in the civil adminiſtration of the finances and of the laws. To repleniſh an exhauſted treaſury, it was propoſed to reſume the laviſh and ill-placed gifts of his predeceſſor: his prudence abated one moiety of the reſtitution; and a ſum of twelve hundred thouſand pounds was inſtantly procured to anſwer the moſt preſſing demands, and to allow ſome ſpace for the mature operations of œconomy. Among the various ſchemes for the improvement of the

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revenue, a new mode was ſuggeſted of capitation, or tribute, which would have too much depended on the arbitrary diſcretion of the aſſeſſors. A ſufficient liſt of honeſt and able agents was inſtantly produced by the miniſter; but on the more careful ſcrutiny of Baſil himſelf, only two could be found, who might be ſafely entruſted with ſuch dangerous powers; and they juſtified his eſteem by declining his confidence. But the ſerious and ſucceſsful diligence of the emperor eſtabliſhed by degrees an equitable balance of property and payment, of receipt and expenditure: a peculiar fund was appropriated to each ſervice; and a public method ſecured the intereſt of the prince and the property of the people. After reforming the luxury, he aſſigned two patrimonial eſtates to ſupply the decent plenty, of the Imperial table: the contributions of the ſubject were reſerved for his defence; and the reſidue was employed in the embelliſhment of the capital and provinces. A taſte for building, however coſtly, may deſerve ſome praiſe and much excuſe: from thence induſtry is fed, art is encouraged, and ſome object is attained of public emolument or pleaſure: the uſe of a road, an aqueduct, or an hoſpital, is obvious and ſolid; and the hundred churches that aroſe by the command of Baſil, were conſecrated to the devotion of the age. In the character of a judge, he was aſſiduous and impartial; deſirous to ſave, but not afraid to ſtrike: the oppreſſors of the people were ſeverely chaſtiſed; but his perſonal foes, whom it might be unſafe to pardon, were condemned, after the loſs of their eyes, to a life of ſolitude and repentance. The change of language and manners demanded a reviſion of the obſolete juriſprudence of Juſtinian: the voluminous body of his Inſtitutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels, was digeſted under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Baſilics*, which were improved and completed by his ſon and grandſon, muſt be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race. This glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chace. A furious

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rious ſtag entangled his horns in the belt of Baſil, and raiſed him from his horſe: he was reſcued by an attendant, who cut the belt and ſlew the animal; but the fall, or the fever, exhauſted the ſtrength of the aged monarch, and he expired in the palace, amidſt the tears of his family and people. If he ſtruck off the head of the faithful ſervant, for preſuming to draw his ſword againſt his ſovereign; the pride of deſpotiſm, which had lain dormant in his life, revived in the laſt moments of deſpair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

Leo VI. the Philoſopher, A. D. 886, March 1.

Of the four ſons of the emperor, Conſtantine died before his father, whoſe grief and credulity were amuſed by a flattering impoſtor and a vain apparition. Stephen, the youngeſt, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a ſaint; both Leo and Alexander were alike inveſted with the purple, but the powers of government were ſolely exerciſed by the elder brother. The name of Leo the ſixth has been dignified with the title of *philoſopher*; and the union of the prince and the ſage, of the active and ſpeculative virtues, would indeed conſtitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far ſhort of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his paſſions and appetites under the dominion of reaſon? His life was ſpent in the pomp of the palace, in the ſociety of his wives and concubines; and even the clemency which he ſhewed, and the peace which he ſtrove to preſerve, muſt be imputed to the ſoftneſs and indolence of his character. Did he ſubdue his prejudices, and thoſe of his ſubjects? His mind was tinged with the moſt puerile ſuperſtition; the influence of the clergy, and the errors of the people, were conſecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic ſtyle, the fates of the empire, are founded on the arts of aſtrology and divination. If we ſtill enquire the reaſon of his ſage appellation, it can only be replied, that the ſon of Baſil was leſs ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church

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and ſtate; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and that ſeveral books of profane and eccleſiaſtical ſcience were compoſed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial *philoſopher*. But the reputation of his philoſophy and religion was overthrown by a domeſtic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holineſs of celibacy, were preached by the monks and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a neceſſary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the ſurvivor might ſatisfy by a *ſecond* union, the weakneſs or the ſtrength of the fleſh: but a *third* marriage was cenſured as a ſtate of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a ſin or ſcandal as yet unknown to the Chriſtians of the Eaſt. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himſelf had aboliſhed the ſtate of concubines, and condemned, without annulling, third marriages: but his patriotiſm and love ſoon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance, which in a ſimilar caſe he had impoſed on his ſubjects. In his three firſt alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine; and after a trial of her fecundity, and the birth of Conſtantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child, by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refuſed his bleſſing: the Imperial baptiſm of the young prince was obtained by a promiſe of ſeparation; and the contumacious huſband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the deſertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the ſucceſſion to the empire, could bend the ſpirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo, he was recalled from exile to the civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Conſtan-

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tine, condemned the future ſcandal of fourth marriages; and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

Alexander, Conſtantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, A. D. 911, May 11.

In the Greek language, *purple* and *porphyry* are the ſame word: and as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn, that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which ſtained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reſerved for the uſe of the pregnant empreſſes; and the royal birth of their children was expreſſed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been bleſſed with an heir; but this peculiar ſurname was firſt applied to Conſtantine the ſeventh. His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years, ſix had elapſed before his father's death; and the ſon of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant ſubject of thoſe who oppreſſed his weakneſs or abuſed his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been inveſted with the title of Auguſtus, was the firſt colleague and governor of the young prince: but in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael; and when he was extinguiſhed by a timely death, he entertained a project of caſtrating his nephew, and leaving the empire to a worthleſs favourite. The ſucceeding years of the minority of Conſtantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a ſucceſſion or council of ſeven regents, who purſued their intereſt, gratified their paſſions, abandoned the republic, ſupplanted each other, and finally vaniſhed in the preſence of a ſoldier. From an obſcure origin, Romanus Lecapenus had raiſed himſelf to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times, had deſerved, or at leaſt had obtained, the national eſteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet, he ſailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Conſtantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the guardian of the prince. His ſupreme office was at firſt defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus ſoon

diſdained

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Romanus I. Lecapenus, A. D. 919, Dec. 24. Chriſtopher, Stephen, Conſtantine VIII.

diſdained the ſubordinate powers of a miniſter, and aſſumed, with the titles of Cæſar and Auguſtus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three ſons, Chriſtopher, Stephen, and Conſtantine, were ſucceſſively adorned with the ſame honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the firſt to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preſervation of his life and crown, he might ſtill applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the uſurper. The examples of ancient and modern hiſtory would have excuſed the ambition of Romanus: the powers and the laws of the empire were in his hand; the ſpurious birth of Conſtantine would have juſtified his excluſion; and the grave or the monaſtery was open to receive the ſon of the concubine. But Lecapenus does not appear to have poſſeſſed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The ſpirit and activity of his private life diſſolved away in the ſunſhine of the throne; and in his licentious pleaſures, he forgot the ſafety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he reſpected the ſanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents and the attachment of the people. The ſtudious temper and retirement of Conſtantine, diſarmed the jealouſy of power: his books and muſic, his pen and his pencil, were a conſtant ſource of amuſement; and if he could improve a ſcanty allowance by the ſale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artiſt, he was endowed with a perſonal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adverſity.

Conſtantine VII. A. D. 945, January 27.

The fall of Romanus was occaſioned by his own vices and thoſe of his children. After the deceaſe of Chriſtopher, his eldeſt ſon, the two ſurviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conſpired againſt their father. At the hour of noon, when all ſtrangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a ſmall

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ſmall iſland in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domeſtic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the ſons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had atchieved a guilty and perilous enterpriſe for the benefit of their rival. Their ſiſter Helena, the wife of Conſtantine, revealed, or ſuppoſed, their treacherous deſign of aſſaſſinating her huſband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two uſurpers were prevented, ſeized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the ſame iſland and monaſtery where their father had been ſo lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, and, after a juſt reproach of their folly and ingratitude, preſented his Imperial colleagues with an equal ſhare of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Conſtantine the ſeventh obtained the poſſeſſion of the Eaſtern world, which he ruled, or ſeemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the ſtudies which had amuſed and dignified his leiſure, were incompatible with the ſerious duties of a ſovereign. The emperor neglected the practice, to inſtruct his ſon Romanus in the theory, of government: while he indulged the habits of intemperance and ſloth, he dropt the reins of the adminiſtration into the hands of Helena his wife; and, in the ſhifting ſcene of her favour and caprice, each miniſter was regretted in the promotion of a more worthleſs ſucceſſor. Yet the birth and miſfortunes of Conſtantine had endeared him to the Greeks; they excuſed his failings; they reſpected his learning, his innocence, and charity, his love of juſtice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his ſubjects. The body, according to ancient cuſtom, lay in ſtate in the veſtibule of the palace; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the ſenate, and the clergy,

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clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiſs the inanimate corpſe of their ſovereign. Before the proceſſion moved towards the Imperial ſepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition: "Ariſe, O king of the world, and obey the ſummons of the King "of kings!"

Romanus II. junior, A. D. 959, Nov. 15.

The death of Conſtantine was imputed to poiſon; and his ſon Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, aſcended the throne of Conſtantinople. A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be ſuſpected of anticipating his inheritance, muſt have been already loſt in the public eſteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largeſt ſhare of the guilt was tranſferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of baſe origin, maſculine ſpirit, and flagitious manners. The ſenſe of perſonal glory and public happineſs, the true pleaſures of royalty, were unknown to the ſon of Conſtantine; and, while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were conſumed in ſtrenuous idleneſs. In the morning he viſited the circus; at noon he feaſted the ſenators; the greater part of the afternoon he ſpent in the *ſphæriſterium*, or tenniscourt, the only theatre of his victories; from thence he paſſed over to the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largeſt ſize, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In ſtrength and beauty he was conſpicuous above his equals: tall and ſtreight as a young cypreſs, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes ſparkling, his ſhoulders broad, his noſe long and aquiline. Yet even theſe perfections were inſufficient to fix the love of Theophano; and, after a reign of four years, ſhe mingled for her huſband the ſame deadly draught which ſhe had compoſed for his father.

Nicephorus II. Phocas,

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two ſons, Baſil the ſecond and Conſtantine the ninth, and two daughters,

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daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldeſt ſiſter was given to Otho the ſecond, emperor of the Weſt; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apoſtle of Ruſſia, and, by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the firſt, king of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arſacides, ſtill flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her huſband, the empreſs aſpired to reign in the name of her ſons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two, years of age; but ſhe ſoon felt the inſtability of a throne, which was ſupported by a female who could not be eſteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herſelf into the arms of the braveſt ſoldier; her heart was capacious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that intereſt was the motive and excuſe of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of an hero and a ſaint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and ſplendid: the deſcendant of a race, illuſtrious by their military exploits, he had diſplayed, in every ſtation and in every province, the courage of a ſoldier and the conduct of a chief; and Nicephorus was crowned with recent laurels, from the important conqueſt of the iſle of Crete. His religion was of a more ambiguous caſt; and his haircloth, his faſts, his pious idiom, and his wiſh to retire from the buſineſs of the world, were a convenient maſk for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he impoſed on an holy patriarch, by whoſe influence, and by a decree of the ſenate, he was entruſted, during the minority of the young princes, with the abſolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As ſoon as he had ſecured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Conſtantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correſpondence with the empreſs, and, without degrading her ſons, aſſumed with the title of Auguſtus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power.

A. D. 963, Auguſt 6.

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But his marriage with Theophano was refuſed by the ſame patriarch who had placed the crown on his head: by his ſecond nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of ſpiritual affinity was oppoſed to their celebration; and ſome evaſion and perjury were required to ſilence the ſcruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was loſt in the purple: in a reign of ſix years he provoked the hatred of ſtrangers and ſubjects; and the hypocriſy and avarice of the firſt Nicephorus were revived in his ſucceſſor. Hypocriſy I ſhall never juſtify or palliate; but I will dare to obſerve, that the odious vice of avarice is of all others moſt haſtily arraigned, and moſt unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment ſeldom expects an accurate ſcrutiny into his fortune and expence; and in a ſteward of the public treaſure, frugality is always a virtue, and the encreaſe of taxes too often an indiſpenſable duty. In the uſe of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was ſtrictly applied to the ſervice of the ſtate: each ſpring the emperor marched in perſon againſt the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conqueſts, and the ſecurity of the Eaſtern barrier.

John Zimiſces, Baſil II. Conſtantine IX. A. D. 969, Dec. 25.

Among the warriors who promoted his elevation, and ſerved under his ſtandard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deſerved and obtained the moſt eminent rewards. The ſtature of John Zimiſces was below the ordinary ſtandard; but this diminutive body was endowed with ſtrength, beauty, and the ſoul of an hero. By the jealouſy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the Eaſt, to that of director of the poſts, and his murmurs were chaſtiſed with diſgrace and exile. But Zimiſces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empreſs: on her interceſſion, he was permitted to reſide at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital: her bounty was repaid in his clandeſtine and amorous viſits to the palace;

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palace; and Theophano conſented, with alacrity, to the death of an ugly and penurious huſband. Some bold and truſty conſpirators were concealed in her moſt private chambers: in the darkneſs of a winter night, Zimiſces, with his principal companions, embarked in a ſmall boat, traverſed the Boſphorus, landed at the palace ſtairs, and ſilently aſcended a ladder of ropes, which was caſt down by the female attendants. Neither his own ſuſpicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortreſs which he had erected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domeſtic foe, at whoſe voice every door was opened to the aſſaſſins. As he ſlept on a bear-ſkin, on the ground, he was rouſed by their noiſy intruſion, and thirty daggers glittered before his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimiſces imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign; but he enjoyed the inhuman ſpectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by inſult and cruelty; and as ſoon as the head of Nicephorus was ſhewn from the window, the tumult was huſhed, and the Armenian was emperor of the Eaſt. On the day of his coronation, he was ſtopped on the threſhold of St. Sophia, by the intrepid patriarch; who charged his conſcience with the deed of treaſon and blood; and required, as a ſign of repentance, that he ſhould ſeparate himſelf from his more criminal aſſociate. This ſally of apoſtolic zeal was not offenſive to the prince, ſince he could neither love nor truſt a woman who had repeatedly violated the moſt ſacred obligations; and Theophano, inſtead of ſharing his Imperial fortune, was diſmiſſed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their laſt interview, ſhe diſplayed a frantic and impotent rage; accuſed the ingratitude of her lover; aſſaulted, with words and blows, her ſon Baſil, as he ſtood ſilent and ſubmiſſive in the preſence of a ſuperior colleague; and avowed her own proſtitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeaſed by her exile, and the puniſhment of the meaner accomplices:

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the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimiſces was forgotten in the ſplendour of his virtues. Perhaps his profuſion was leſs uſeful to the ſtate than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his perſon; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſor. The greateſt part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: his perſonal valour and activity were ſignalized on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Ruſſians and the Saracens, he deſerved the titles of ſaviour of the empire, and conqueror of the Eaſt. In his laſt return from Syria, he obſerved that the moſt fruitful lands of his new provinces were poſſeſſed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honeſt indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is "it for them that we ſhed our blood, and exhauſt the treaſures of "our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimiſces is ſtrongly marked with the ſuſpicion of poiſon.

Baſil II. and Conſtantine IX. A. D. 976, January 10.

Under this uſurpation, or regency, of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Baſil and Conſtantine, had ſilently grown to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of dominion: the reſpectful modeſty of their attendance and ſalutation, was due to the age and merit of their guardians: the childleſs ambition of thoſe guardians had no temptation to violate their right of ſucceſſion: their patrimony was ably and faithfully adminiſtered; and the premature death of Zimiſces was a loſs, rather than a benefit, to the ſons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obſcure and voluntary pupils of a miniſter, who extended his reign by perſuading them to indulge the pleaſures of youth, and to diſdain the labours of government. In this ſilken web, the weakneſs of Conſtantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulſe of genius and the deſire of action; he frowned, and the

miniſter was no more. Baſil was the acknowledged ſovereign of Conſtantinople and the provinces of Europe; but Aſia was oppreſſed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, ſubjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the example of ſucceſsful uſurpation. Againſt theſe domeſtic enemies, the ſon of Romanus firſt drew his ſword, and they trembled in the preſence of a lawful and high-ſpirited prince. The firſt in the front of battle was thrown from his horſe, by the ſtroke of poiſon, or an arrow: the ſecond, who had been twice loaded with chains, and twice inveſted with the purple, was deſirous of ending in peace the ſmall remainder of his days. As the aged ſuppliant approached the throne, with dim eyes and faultering ſteps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the inſolence of youth and power, "And is this the man who has ſo long "been the object of our terror?" After he had confirmed his own authority, and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimiſces would not ſuffer their royal pupil to ſleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions againſt the Saracens were rather glorious, than uſeful to the empire; but the final deſtruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, ſince the time of Beliſarius, the moſt important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet inſtead of applauding their victorious prince, his ſubjects deteſted the rapacious and rigid avarice of Baſil; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only diſcern the courage, patience, and ferociouſneſs, of a ſoldier. A vicious education, which could not ſubdue his ſpirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every ſcience; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grandſire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artiſts and arts. Of ſuch a character, in ſuch an age, ſuperſtition took a firm and laſting poſſeſſion; after the firſt licence of his youth, Baſil the ſecond devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of an hermit,

wore

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wore the monaſtic habit under his robes and armour, obſerved a vow of continence, and impoſed on his appetites a perpetual abſtinence from wine and fleſh. In the ſixty-eighth year of his age, his martial ſpirit urged him to embark in perſon for a holy war againſt the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death, and Baſil, ſurnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was diſmiſſed from the world, with the bleſſings of the clergy and the curſes of the people. After his deceaſe, his brother Conſtantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleaſures, of royalty; and his only care was the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. He had enjoyed, ſixty-ſix years, the title of Auguſtus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longeſt, and moſt obſcure, of the Byzantine hiſtory.

Conſtantine IX. A. D. 1025, December.

A lineal ſucceſſion of five emperors, in a period of an hundred and ſixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynaſty, which had been thrice reſpected by the uſurpers of their power. After the death of Conſtantine the ninth, the laſt male of the royal race, a new and broken ſcene preſents itſelf, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the ſpace of his ſingle reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chaſtity to the public intereſt, and Conſtantine himſelf had only three daughters; Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preſerved till a mature age in a ſtate of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was diſcuſſed in the council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refuſed to give an heir to the empire, but her ſiſter Zoe preſented herſelf a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful perſon and fair reputation, was choſen for her huſband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed, that blindneſs or death was the ſecond alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife ſacrificed her own happineſs to his ſafety and greatneſs; and her entrance into a monaſtery removed the only bar to the Imperial nup-

Romanus III. Argyrus, A. D. 1028, Nov. 12.

tials. After the deceaſe of Conſtantine, the ſceptre devolved to Romanus the third; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitleſs; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were leſs favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleaſure. Her favourite chamberlain was an handſome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whoſe firſt trade had been that of a money-changer; and Romanus, either from gratitude or equity, connived at their criminal intercourſe, or accepted a ſlight aſſurance of their innocence. But Zoe ſoon juſtified the Roman maxim, that every adultreſs is capable of poiſoning her huſband; and the death of Romanus was inſtantly followed by the ſcandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the fourth. The expectations of Zoe were however diſappointed: inſtead of a vigorous and grateful lover, ſhe had placed in her bed, a miſerable wretch, whoſe health and reaſon were impaired by epileptic fits, and whoſe conſcience was tormented by deſpair and remorſe. The moſt ſkilful phyſicians of the mind and body were ſummoned to his aid; and his hopes were amuſed by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the moſt popular ſaints; the monks applauded his penance, and, except reſtitution (but to whom ſhould he have reſtored?) Michael ſought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in ſackcloth and aſhes, his brother, the eunuch John, ſmiled at his remorſe, and enjoyed the harveſt of a crime of which himſelf was the ſecret and moſt guilty author. His adminiſtration was only the art of ſatiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her ſlaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his ſurname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of veſſels: at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her ſon, the ſon of a me-

Michael IV. the Paphlagonian, A. D. 1034, April 11.

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a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was inveſted with the title and purple of the Cæſars, in the preſence of the ſenate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that ſhe was oppreſſed by the liberty and power which ſhe recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the end of four days, ſhe placed the crown on the head of Michael the fifth, who had proteſted, with tears and oaths, that he ſhould ever reign the firſt and moſt obedient of her ſubjects. The only act of his ſhort reign, was his baſe ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empreſs. The diſgrace of the former was pleaſing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Conſtantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of ſo many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught, that there is a period in which the patience of the tameſt ſlaves riſes into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree aſſembled in a formidable tumult which laſted three days; they beſieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her priſon, Theodora from her monaſtery, and condemned the ſon of Calaphates to the loſs of his eyes or of his life. For the firſt time, the Greeks beheld with ſurpriſe the two royal ſiſters ſeated on the ſame throne, preſiding in the ſenate, and giving audience to the ambaſſadors of the nations. But this ſingular union ſubſiſted no more than two months; the two ſovereigns, their tempers, intereſts, and adherents, were ſecretly hoſtile to each other; and as Theodora was ſtill averſe to marriage, the indefatigable Zoe, at the age of ſixty, conſented, for the public good, to ſuſtain the embraces of a third huſband, and the cenſures of the Greek church. His name and number were Conſtantine the tenth, and the epithet of *Monomachus*, the ſingle combatant, muſt have been expreſſive of his valour and victory in ſome public or private quarrel. But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his diſſolute reign was ſpent in the alternative

Michael V. Calaphates, A. D. 1041, Dec. 14.

Zoe and Theodora, A. D. 1042, April 21.

Conſtantine X. Monomachus, A. D. 1042, June 11.

native of ſickneſs and pleaſure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Conſtantine in his exile to the iſle of Leſbos, and Sclerena gloried in the appellation of his miſtreſs. After his marriage and elevation, ſhe was inveſted with the title and pomp of *Auguſta*, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful conſort (ſuch was the delicacy or corruption of Zoe) conſented to this ſtrange and ſcandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He ſurvived them both; but the laſt meaſures of Conſtantine to change the order of ſucceſſion were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his deceaſe, ſhe reſumed, with the general conſent, the poſſeſſion of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eaſtern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wiſhed to prolong their dominion, they perſuaded the aged princeſs to nominate for her ſucceſſor Michael the ſixth. The ſurname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profeſſion; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only ſee with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his miniſters. Whilſt he aſcended the throne, Theodora ſunk into the grave; the laſt of the Macedonian or Baſilian dynaſty. I have haſtily reviewed, and gladly diſmiſs, this ſhameful and deſtructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of ſervitude, were tranſferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

Theodora, A. D. 1054, Nov. 30.

Michael VI. Stratioticus, A. D. 1056, Auguſt 22.

From this night of ſlavery, a ray of freedom, or at leaſt of ſpirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preſerved or revived the uſe of ſurnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now diſcern the riſe, ſucceſſion, and alliances of the laſt dynaſties of Conſtantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the ſinking empire, aſſumed the honour of a Roman origin: but the family had been long ſince tranſported from Italy to

Iſaac I. Comnenus, A. D. 1057, Auguſt 31.

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Aſia. Their patrimonial eſtate was ſituate in the diſtrict of Caſtamona in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs, who had already entered the paths of ambition, reviſited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modeſt though honourable dwelling of his fathers. The firſt of their line was the illuſtrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the ſecond Baſil, contributed by war and treaty to appeaſe the troubles of the Eaſt: he left in a tender age, two ſons, Iſaac and John, whom, with the conſciouſneſs of deſert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his ſovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monaſtery, the arts of the palace, and the exerciſes of the camp: and from the domeſtic ſervice of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputation of the Comneni, and their ancient nobility was illuſtrated by the marriage of the two brothers, with a captive princeſs of Bulgaria, and the daughter of a patrician, who had obtained the name of *Charon* from the number of enemies whom he had ſent to the infernal ſhades. The ſoldiers had ſerved with reluctant loyalty a ſeries of effeminate maſters; the elevation of Michael the ſixth was a perſonal inſult to the more deſerving generals; and their diſcontent was inflamed by the parſimony of the emperor and the inſolence of the eunuchs. They ſecretly aſſembled in the ſanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military ſynod would have been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant Catacalon, if the patriotiſm or modeſty of the veteran had not ſuggeſted the importance of birth as well as merit in the choice of a ſovereign. Iſaac Comnenus was approved by general conſent, and the aſſociates ſeparated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia at the head of their reſpective ſquadrons and detachments. The cauſe of Michael was defended in a ſingle battle by the mercenaries of the Imperial guard, who were aliens to the public intereſt, and animated only by

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a principle of honour and gratitude. After their defeat, the fears of the emperor ſolicited a treaty, which was almoſt accepted by the moderation of the Comnenian. But the former was betrayed by his ambaſſadors, and the latter was prevented by his friends. The ſolitary Michael ſubmitted to the voice of the people; the patriarch annulled their oath of allegiance; and as he ſhaved the head of the royal monk, congratulated his beneficial exchange of temporal royalty for the kingdom of heaven: an exchange, however, which the prieſt, on his own account, would probably have declined. By the hands of the ſame patriarch, Iſaac Comnenus was ſolemnly crowned: the ſword which he inſcribed on his coins, might be an offenſive ſymbol, if it implied his title by conqueſt; but this ſword would have been drawn againſt the foreign and domeſtic enemies of the ſtate. The decline of his health and vigour ſuſpended the operation of active virtue; and the proſpect of approaching death determined him to interpoſe ſome moments between life and eternity. But inſtead of leaving the empire as the marriage portion of his daughter, his reaſon and inclination concurred in the preference of his brother John, a ſoldier, a patriot, and the father of five ſons, the future pillars of an hereditary ſucceſſion. His firſt modeſt reluctance might be the natural dictates of diſcretion and tenderneſs, but his obſtinate and ſucceſsful perſeverance, however it may dazzle with the ſhew of virtue, muſt be cenſured as a criminal deſertion of his duty, and a rare offence againſt his family and country. The purple which he had refuſed was accepted by Conſtantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian houſe, and whoſe noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy. In the monaſtic habit, Iſaac recovered his health, and ſurvived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he obſerved the rule of St. Baſil, and executed the moſt ſervile offices of the convent: but his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and reſpectful viſits

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of the reigning monarch, who revered in his perſon the character of a benefactor and a ſaint.

Conſtantine XI. Ducas, A. D. 1059, Dec. 25.

If Conſtantine the eleventh were indeed the ſubject moſt worthy of empire, we muſt pity the debaſement of the age and nation in which he was choſen. In the labour of puerile declamations he ſought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious, in his opinion, than that of Rome; and, in the ſubordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a ſovereign and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatneſs, Ducas was anxious only to ſecure, at the expence of the republic, the power and proſperity of his children. His three ſons, Michael the ſeventh, Andronicus the firſt, and Conſtantine the twelfth, were inveſted, in a tender age, with the equal title of Auguſtus; and the ſucceſſion was ſpeedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia, was entruſted with the adminiſtration; but experience had taught the jealouſy of the dying monarch to protect his ſons from the danger of her ſecond nuptials; and her ſolemn engagement, atteſted by the principal ſenators, was depoſited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of ſeven months, the wants of Eudocia, or thoſe of the ſtate, called aloud for the male virtues of a ſoldier; and her heart had already choſen Romanus Diogenes, whom ſhe raiſed from the ſcaffold to the throne. The diſcovery of a treaſonable attempt had expoſed him to the ſeverity of the laws: his beauty and valour abſolved him in the eyes of the empreſs; and Romanus, from a mild exile, was recalled on the ſecond day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown to the public; and the promiſe which would have betrayed her falſehood and levity, was ſtolen by a dextrous emiſſary from the ambition of the patriarch. Xiphilin at firſt alleged the ſanctity of oaths and the ſacred nature of a truſt; but a whiſper, that his brother was the future emperor, relaxed his ſcru-

Eudocia, A. D. 1067, May.

ples, and forced him to confeſs that the public ſafety was the ſupreme law. He reſigned the important paper; and when his hopes were confounded by the nomination of Romanus, he could no longer regain his ſecurity, retract his declarations, nor oppoſe the ſecond nuptials of the empreſs. Yet a murmur was heard in the palace; and the Barbarian guards had raiſed their battle-axes in the cauſe of the houſe of Ducas, till the young princes were ſoothed by the tears of their mother and the ſolemn aſſurances of the fidelity of their guardian, who filled the Imperial ſtation with dignity and honour. Hereafter I ſhall relate his valiant, but unſucceſsful, efforts to reſiſt the progreſs of the Turks. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the Eaſt; and after he was releaſed from the chains of the ſultan, he vainly ſought his wife and his ſubjects. His wife had been thruſt into a monaſtery, and the ſubjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a priſoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the ſtroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general conſternation, the Cæſar John aſſerted the indefeaſible right of his three nephews: Conſtantinople liſtened to his voice; and the Turkiſh captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domeſtic than in foreign war: the loſs of two battles compelled him to yield, on the aſſurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and, after the cruel extinction of his ſight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a ſtate of miſery. Under the triple reign of the houſe of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldeſt, the puſillanimous Michael, was incapable of ſuſtaining the Roman ſceptre; and his ſurname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he ſhared with an avaricious favourite, who

Romanus III. Diogenes, A. D. 1067, Auguſt.

Michael VII. Parapinaces, Andronicus I. Conſtantine XII. A. D. 1071, Auguſt.

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who enhanced the price, and diminiſhed the meaſure, of wheat. In the ſchool of Pſellus, and after the example of his mother, the ſon of Eudocia made ſome proficiency in philoſophy and rhetoric; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk and the learning of a ſophiſt. Strong in the contempt of their ſovereign and their own eſteem, two generals, at the head of the European and Aſiatic legions, aſſumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the ſame month; they bore the ſame name of Nicephorus; but the two candidates were diſtinguiſhed by the ſurnames of Bryennius and Botaniates; the former in the maturity of wiſdom and courage, the latter conſpicuous only by the memory of his paſt exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory ſteps, his active competitor ſtood in arms before the gates of Conſtantinople. The name of Bryennius was illuſtrious; his cauſe was popular; but his licentious troops could not be reſtrained from burning and pillaging a ſuburb; and the people, who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulſed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the ſhores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the ſynod, and the ſenate, was circulated through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople; and the general aſſembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated, with order and calmneſs, on the choice of their ſovereign. The guards of Michael would have diſperſed this unarmed multitude; but the feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, reſigned the enſigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monaſtic habit, and the title of archbiſhop of Epheſus. He left a ſon, a Conſtantine, born and educated in the purple; and a daughter of the houſe of Ducas illuſtrated the blood, and confirmed the ſucceſſion, of the Comnenian dynaſty.

John

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Nicephorus III. Botaniates, A. D. 1078, March 25.

John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Iſaac, ſurvived in peace and dignity his generous refuſal of the ſceptre. By his wife Anne, a woman of maſculine ſpirit and policy, he left eight children: the three daughters multiplied the Comnenian alliances with the nobleſt of the Greeks: of the five ſons, Manuel was ſtopped by a premature death; Iſaac and Alexius reſtored the Imperial greatneſs of their houſe, which was enjoyed without toil or danger, by the two younger brethren, Adrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the third and moſt illuſtrious of the brothers, was endowed by nature with the choiceſt gifts both of mind and body: they were cultivated by a liberal education, and exerciſed in the ſchool of obedience and adverſity. The youth was diſmiſſed from the perils of the Turkiſh war, by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aſpiring race, was accuſed of treaſon, and baniſhed, by the ſons of Ducas, to an iſland in the Propontis. The two brothers ſoon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's ſide againſt the rebels and Barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deſerted by the world and by himſelf. In his firſt interview with Botaniates, "Prince," ſaid Alexius, with a noble frankneſs, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of "God and of the people have made me your ſubject. Judge of my "future loyalty, by my paſt oppoſition." The ſucceſſor of Michael entertained him with eſteem and confidence: his valour was employed againſt three rebels, who diſturbed the peace of the empire, or at leaſt of the emperors. Urſel, Bryennius, and Baſilacius, were formidable by their numerous forces and military fame: they were ſucceſſively vanquiſhed in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was ſoon tainted by fear and ſuſpicion; nor is it eaſy to ſettle between a ſubject and a deſpot,

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deſpot, the debt of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt, and the latter to diſcharge by an executioner. The refuſal of Alexius to march againſt a fourth rebel, the huſband of his ſiſter, deſtroyed the merit or memory of his paſt ſervices: the favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accuſed; and the retreat of the two brothers might be juſtified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were depoſited in a ſanctuary, reſpected by tyrants: the men, mounted on horſeback, ſallied from the city, and erected the ſtandard of civil war. The ſoldiers, who had been gradually aſſembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cauſe of a victorious and injured leader: the ties of common intereſt and domeſtic alliance ſecured the attachment of the houſe of Ducas; and the generous diſpute of the Comneni was terminated by the deciſive reſolution of Iſaac, who was the firſt to inveſt his younger brother with the name and enſigns of royalty. They returned to Conſtantinople, to threaten rather than beſiege that impregnable fortreſs; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was ſurpriſed; and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Palæologus, who fought againſt his father, without foreſeeing that he laboured for his poſterity. Alexius aſcended the throne; and his aged competitor diſappeared in a monaſtery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city; but the public diſorders were expiated by the tears and faſts of the Comneni, who ſubmitted to every penance compatible with the poſſeſſion of the empire.

Alexius I. Comnenus, A. D. 1081, April 1.

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inſpired by a tender regard for his perſon and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conſcious of the juſt ſuſpicion of her readers, the princeſs Anne Comnena repeatedly proteſts, that, beſides her perſonal knowledge, ſhe had ſearched the diſcourſe and writings of the moſt reſpectable veterans: that after an interval

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interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of, the world, her mournful ſolitude was inacceſſible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and ſacred than the memory of her parent. Yet inſtead of the ſimplicity of ſtyle and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and ſcience, betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is loſt in a vague conſtellation of virtues; and the perpetual ſtrain of panegyric and apology, awakens our jealouſy, to queſtion the veracity of the hiſtorian and the merit of the hero. We cannot however refuſe her judicious and important remark, that the diſorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the juſtice of Heaven and the vices of his predeceſſors. In the Eaſt, the victorious Turks had ſpread, from Perſia to the Helleſpont, the reign of the Koran and the Creſcent: the Weſt was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new ſwarms, who had gained, in the ſcience of war, what they had loſt in the ferociouſneſs of manners. The ſea was not leſs hoſtile than the land; and while the frontiers were aſſaulted by an open enemy, the palace was diſtracted with ſecret treaſon and conſpiracy. On a ſudden, the banner of the Croſs was diſplayed by the Latins: Europe was precipitated on Aſia; and Conſtantinople had almoſt been ſwept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempeſt Alexius ſteered the Imperial veſſel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, ſkilful in ſtratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and riſing from his defeats with inexhauſtible vigour. The diſcipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and ſoldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourſe

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with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his diſcerning eye pervaded the new ſyſtem of an unknown world; and I ſhall hereafter deſcribe the ſuperior policy with which he balanced the intereſts and paſſions of the champions of the firſt cruſade. In a long reign of thirty-ſeven years, he ſubdued and pardoned the envy of his equals: the laws of public and private order were reſtored: the arts of wealth and ſcience were cultivated: the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Aſia; and the Comnenian ſceptre was tranſmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed ſome defects in his character; and have expoſed his memory to ſome juſt or ungenerous reproach. The reader may poſſibly ſmile at the laviſh praiſe which his daughter ſo often beſtows on a flying hero: the weakneſs or prudence of his ſituation might be miſtaken for a want of perſonal courage; and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and diſſimulation. The increaſe of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne and ſecured the ſucceſſion; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhauſted the revenue, and inſulted the miſery of the people. Anna is a faithful witneſs that his happineſs was deſtroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life: the patience of Conſtantinople was fatigued by the length and ſeverity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had loſt the love and reverence of his ſubjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the ſacred riches to the defence of the ſtate; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his ſword. His character was degraded by the ſuperſtition of the Greeks; and the ſame inconſiſtent principle of human nature enjoined the emperor to found an hoſpital for the poor and infirm, and to direct the execution of an heretic, who was burnt

burnt alive in the ſquare of St. Sophia. Even the ſincerity of his moral and religious virtues was ſuſpected by the perſons who had paſſed their lives in his familiar confidence. In his laſt hours, when he was preſſed by his wife Irene to alter the ſucceſſion, he raiſed his head, and breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of this world. The indignant reply of the empreſs may be inſcribed as an epitaph on his tomb, "You die, as you have lived—AN HYPOCRITE!"

John, or Calo-Johannes, A. D. 1118, Auguſt 15.

It was the wiſh of Irene to ſupplant the eldeſt of her ſurviving ſons, in favour of her daughter the princeſs Anne, whoſe philoſophy would not have refuſed the weight of a diadem. But the order of male ſucceſſion was aſſerted by the friends of their country; the lawful heir drew the royal ſignet from the finger of his inſenſible or conſcious father, and the empire obeyed the maſter of the palace. Anna Comnena was ſtimulated by ambition and revenge to conſpire againſt the life of her brother, and when the deſign was prevented by the fears or ſcruples of her huſband, ſhe paſſionately exclaimed, that nature had miſtaken the two ſexes, and had endowed Bryennius with the ſoul of a woman. The two ſons of Alexius, John and Iſaac, maintained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtue of their race; and the younger brother was content with the title of *Sebaſtocrator*, which approached the dignity, without ſharing the power, of the emperor. In the ſame perſon, the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; his ſwarthy complexion, harſh features, and diminutive ſtature, had ſuggeſted the ironical ſurname of Calo-Johannes, or John the Handſome, which his grateful ſubjects more ſeriouſly applied to the beauties of his mind. After the diſcovery of her treaſon, the life and fortune of Anne were juſtly forfeited to the laws. Her life was ſpared by the clemency of the emperor, but he viſited the pomp and treaſures of her palace, and beſtowed the rich confiſcation on the moſt deſerving of his friends. That reſpectable friend, Axuch, a ſlave of Turkiſh

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extraction, preſumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal: his generous maſter applauded and imitated the virtue of his favourite, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chaſtiſement of the guilty princeſs. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never diſturbed by conſpiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful neceſſity of puniſhing, or even of pardoning, his perſonal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, the penalty of death was aboliſhed in the Roman empire, a law of mercy moſt delightful to the humane theoriſt, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is ſeldom conſiſtent with the public ſafety. Severe to himſelf, indulgent to others, chaſte, frugal, abſtemious, the philoſophic Marcus would not have diſdained the artleſs virtues of his ſucceſſor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the ſchools. He deſpiſed and moderated the ſtately magnificence of the Byzantine court, ſo oppreſſive to the people, ſo contemptible to the eye of reaſon. Under ſuch a prince, innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had every thing to hope; and without aſſuming the tyrannic office of a cenſor, he introduced a gradual though viſible reformation in the public and private manners of Conſtantinople. The only defect of this accompliſhed character, was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handſome may be juſtified, at leaſt in their principle, by the neceſſity of repelling the Turks from the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus. The ſultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the Barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Aſia enjoyed the tranſient bleſſings of their deliverance. From Conſtantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the ſieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were aſtoniſhed by the ſuperior ſpirit and proweſs

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of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of reſtoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind, the Euphrates and Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a ſingular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal: but in the ſtruggle, a poiſoned arrow dropt from his quiver, and a ſlight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the beſt and greateſt of the Comnenian princes.

Manuel, A. D. 1143, April 8.

A premature death had ſwept away the two eldeſt ſons of John the Handſome; of the two ſurvivors, Iſaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their dying prince was ratified by the ſoldiers who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkiſh war. The faithful Axuch haſtened to the capital, ſecured the perſon of Iſaac in honourable confinement, and purchaſed with a gift of two hundred pounds of ſilver, the leading eccleſiaſtics of St. Sophia, who poſſeſſed a deciſive voice in the conſecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops, Manuel ſoon viſited Conſtantinople; his brother acquieſced in the title of Sebaſtocrator; his ſubjects admired the lofty ſtature and martial graces of their new ſovereign, and liſtened with credulity to the flattering promiſe, that he blended the wiſdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government, they were taught, that he emulated the ſpirit, and ſhared the talents, of his father, whoſe ſocial virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-ſeven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare againſt the Turks, the Chriſtians, and the hords of the wilderneſs beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exerciſed on mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coaſt of Italy and Egypt, and on the ſeas of Sicily and Greece: the

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the influence of his negociations extended from Jeruſalem to Rome and Ruſſia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for a while, became an object of reſpect or terror to the powers of Aſia and Europe. Educated in the ſilk and purple of the Eaſt, Manuel poſſeſſed the iron temper of a ſoldier, which cannot eaſily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard the firſt of England, and of Charles the twelfth of Sweden. Such was his ſtrength and exerciſe in arms, that Raymond, ſurnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the liſts on a fiery courſer, and overturned in his firſt career two of the ſtouteſt of the Italian knights. The firſt in the charge, the laſt in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for *his* ſafety, and the latter for their own. After poſting an ambuſcade in a wood, he rode forwards in ſearch of ſome perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refuſed to deſert their ſovereign. Eighteen horſemen, after a ſhort combat, fled before them: but the numbers of the enemy encreaſed; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful, and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a ſquadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle againſt the Hungarians, impatient of the ſlowneſs of his troops, he ſnatched a ſtandard from the head of the column, and was the firſt, almoſt alone, who paſſed a bridge that ſeparated him from the enemy. In the ſame country, after tranſporting his army beyond the Save, he ſent back the boats, with an order, under pain of death, to their commander, that he ſhould leave him to conquer or die on that hoſtile land. In the ſiege of Corfu, towing after him a captive galley, the emperor ſtood aloft on the poop, oppoſing againſt the vollies of darts and ſtones, a large buckler and a flowing ſail, nor could he have eſcaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian admiral enjoined his archers to reſpect the perſon of an hero. In one day, he is ſaid

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to have ſlain above forty of the Barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkiſh priſoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his ſaddle: he was ever the foremoſt to provoke or to accept a ſingle combat; and the *gigantic* champions, who encountered his arm, were tranſpierced by the lance, or cut aſunder by the ſword, of the invincible Manuel. The ſtory of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reaſonable ſuſpicion of the veracity of the Greeks: I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may obſerve, that in the long ſeries of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the ſubject of ſimilar exaggeration. With the valour of a ſoldier, he did not unite the ſkill or prudence of a general: his victories were not productive of any permanent or uſeful conqueſt; and his Turkiſh laurels were blaſted in his laſt unfortunate campaign, in which he loſt his army in the mountains of Piſidia, and owed his deliverance to the generoſity of the ſultan. But the moſt ſingular feature in the character of Manuel, is the contraſt and viciſſitude of labour and ſloth, of hardineſs and effeminacy. In war he ſeemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he ſlept in the ſun or in the ſnow, tired in the longeſt marches the ſtrength of his men and horſes, and ſhared with a ſmile the abſtinence or diet of the camp. No ſooner did he return to Conſtantinople, than he reſigned himſelf to the arts and pleaſures of a life of luxury: the expence of his dreſs, his table, and his palace, ſurpaſſed the meaſure of his predeceſſors, and whole ſummer days were idly waſted in the delicious iſles of the Propontis, in the inceſtuous love of his niece Theodora. The double coſt of a warlike and diſſolute prince, exhauſted the revenue, and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the diſtreſs of his laſt Turkiſh camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a deſperate ſoldier. As he quenched his thirſt, he complained that the water of a fountain was

mingled

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mingled with Chriſtian blood. "It is not the firſt time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drank, O emperor, the "blood of your Chriſtian ſubjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married, to the virtuous Bertha or Irene of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princeſs of Antioch. The only daughter of his firſt wife was deſtined for Bela an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Conſtantinople under the name of Alexius; and the conſummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman ſceptre to a race of free and warlike Barbarians. But as ſoon as Maria of Antioch had given a ſon and heir to the empire, the preſumptive rights of Bela were aboliſhed, and he was deprived of his promiſed bride; but the Hungarian prince reſumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and diſplayed ſuch virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The ſon of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years, he aſcended the Byzantine throne, after his father's deceaſe had cloſed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Alexius II. A. D. 1180, Sept. 24.

The fraternal concord of the two ſons of the great Alexius, had been ſometimes clouded by an oppoſition of intereſt and paſſion. By ambition, Iſaac the Sebaſtocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmneſs and clemency of John the Handſome. The errors of Iſaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were ſhort and venial; but John, the elder of his ſons, renounced for ever his religion. Provoked by a real or imaginary inſult of his uncle, he eſcaped from the Roman to the Turkiſh camp: his apoſtacy was rewarded with the Sultan's daughter, the title of Chelebi, or noble, and the inheritance of a princely eſtate; and the fifteenth century, Mahomet the ſecond boaſted of his Imperial deſcent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, younger brother of John, ſon of Iſaac, and grandſon of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the moſt conſpicuous characters of the age; and his genuine adventures might form the ſubject of a very ſingular romance.

Character and firſt adventures of Andronicus.

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mance. To juſtify the choice of three ladies of royal birth, it is incumbent on me to obſerve, that their fortunate lover was caſt in the beſt proportions of ſtrength and beauty; and that the want of the ſofter graces was ſupplied by a manly countenance, a lofty ſtature, athletic muſcles, and the air and deportment of a ſoldier. The preſervation, in his old age, of health and vigour, was the reward of temperance and exerciſe. A piece of bread and a draught of water was often his ſole and evening repaſt; and if he taſted of a wild boar, or a ſtag, which he had roaſted with his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a laborious chace. Dextrous in arms, he was ignorant of fear: his perſuaſive eloquence could bend to every ſituation and character of life: his ſtyle, though not his practice, was faſhioned by the example of St. Paul; and, in every deed of miſchief, he had a heart to reſolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the Roman army; but, in the march through Aſia Minor, deſign or accident tempted him to wander in the mountains; the hunter was encompaſſed by the Turkiſh huntſmen, and he remained ſome time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the ſultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his couſin: he ſhared the perils and the pleaſures of Manuel; and while the emperor lived in public inceſt with his niece Theodora, the affections of her ſiſter Eudocia were ſeduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the decencies of her ſex and rank, ſhe gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witneſs that ſhe ſlept, or watched, in the arms of her lover. She accompanied him to his military command of Cilicia, the firſt ſcene of his valour and imprudence. He preſſed, with active ardour, the ſiege of Mopſueſtia: the day was employed in the boldeſt attacks; but the night was waſted in ſong and dance; and a band of Greek comedians formed the choiceſt part of his retinue. Andronicus was

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ſurpriſed by the ſally of a vigilant foe; but, while his troops fled in diſorder, his invincible lance tranſpierced the thickeſt ranks of the Armenians. On his return to the Imperial camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel with public ſmiles and a private reproof; but the dutchies of Naiſſus, Braniſeba, and Caſtoria, were the reward or conſolation of the unſucceſsful general. Eudocia ſtill attended his motions: at midnight, their tent was ſuddenly attacked by her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infamy in his blood: his daring ſpirit refuſed her advice, and the diſguiſe of a female habit; and boldly ſtarting from his couch, he drew his ſword, and cut his way through the numerous aſſaſſins. It was here that he firſt betrayed his ingratitude and treachery: he engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor: approached the royal tent at a ſuſpicious hour, with a drawn ſword, and, under the maſk of a Latin ſoldier, avowed an intention of revenge againſt a mortal foe; and imprudently praiſed the fleetneſs of his horſe, as an inſtrument of flight and ſafety. The monarch diſſembled his ſuſpicions; but, after the cloſe of the campaign, Andronicus was arreſted and ſtrictly confined in a tower of the palace of Conſtantinople.

In this priſon he was left above twelve years; a moſt painful reſtraint, from which the thirſt of action and pleaſure perpetually urged him to eſcape. Alone and penſive, he perceived ſome broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and gradually widened the paſſage, till he had explored a dark and forgotten receſs. Into this hole he conveyed himſelf, and the remains of his proviſions, replacing the bricks in their former poſition, and eraſing with care the footſteps of his retreat. At the hour of the cuſtomary viſit, his guards were amazed by the ſilence and ſolitude of the priſon, and reported, with ſhame and fear, his incomprehenſible flight. The gates of the palace and city were inſtantly ſhut: the ſtricteſt orders were diſpatched into the provinces, for the recovery of the fugitive; and his wife, on the

ſuſpicion of a pious act, was baſely impriſoned in the ſame tower. At the dead of night, ſhe beheld a ſpectre: ſhe recognized her huſband: they ſhared their proviſions; and a ſon was the fruit of theſe ſtolen interviews, which alleviated the tedioufneſs of their confinement. In the cuſtody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was inſenſibly relaxed; and the captive had accompliſhed his real eſcape, when he was diſcovered, brought back to Conſtantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment, and the means, of his deliverance. A boy, his domeſtic ſervant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in wax the impreſſion of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a ſimilar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the priſon, in the bottom of a hogſhead. Andronicus employed, with induſtry and courage, the inſtruments of his ſafety, unlocked the doors, deſcended from the tower, concealed himſelf all day among the buſhes, and ſcaled in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A boat was ſtationed for his reception: he viſited his own houſe, embraced his children, caſt away his chain, mounted a fleet horſe, and directed his rapid courſe towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace, an intrepid friend ſupplied him with horſes and money: he paſſed the river, traverſed with ſpeed the deſert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almoſt reached the town of Halicz, in the Poliſh Ruſſia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who reſolved to convey their important captive to Conſtantinople. His preſence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence of ſickneſs, he diſmounted in the night, and was allowed to ſtep aſide from the troop: he planted in the ground his long ſtaff; clothed it with his cap and upper garment; and, ſtealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuſe, for ſome time, the eyes of the Walachians. From Halicz he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the reſidence of the great duke: the ſubtle Greek ſoon obtained the eſteem and confidence of Ieroſlaus:

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his character could assume the manners of every climate; and the Barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chace of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus atchieved this important service: his private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side, and of oblivion on the other; and he marched at the head of the Russian cavalry, from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathised with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public, misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood: her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices of the princes and nobles. But when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His patriotism was offensive to the emperor, but he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence, by an honourable banishment, a second command of the Cilician frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station, the Armenians again exercised his courage and exposed his negligence; and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations, was unhorsed, and almost slain by the vigour of his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria, and daughter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch. For her sake, he deserted his station, and

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waſted the ſummer in balls and tournaments: to his love ſhe ſacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the reſentment of Manuel for this domeſtic affront, interrupted his pleaſures: Andronicus left the indiſcreet princeſs to weep and to repent; and, with a band of deſperate adventurers, undertook the pilgrimage of Jeruſalem. His birth, his martial renown, and profeſſions of zeal, announced him as the champion of the croſs: he ſoon captivated both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was inveſted with the lordſhip of Berytus, on the coaſt of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood reſided a young and handſome queen, of his own nation and family, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alexis, and widow of Baldwin the third, king of Jeruſalem. She viſited and loved her kinſman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous ſeduction; and her ſhame was more public and ſcandalous than that of her predeceſſors. The emperor ſtill thirſted for revenge; and his ſubjects and allies of the Syrian frontier, were repeatedly preſſed to ſeize the perſon, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Paleſtine he was no longer ſafe; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jeruſalem was expoſed to the Eaſt, his obſequious concubine; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakneſs. Damaſcus was his firſt refuge; and, in the characters of the great Noureddin and his ſervant Saladin, the ſuperſtitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Muſulmans. As the friend of Noureddin he viſited, moſt probably, Bagdad, and the courts of Perſia; and, after a long circuit round the Caſpian ſea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally ſettled among the Turks of Aſia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The ſultan of Colonia afforded an hoſpitable retreat to Andronicus, his miſtreſs, and his band of outlaws: the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond; and he ſeldom returned without

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an ample harveſt of ſpoil and of Chriſtian captives. In the ſtory of his adventures, he was fond of comparing himſelf to David, who eſcaped, by a long exile, the ſnares of the wicked. But the royal prophet (he preſumed to add) was content to lurk on the borders of Judæa, to ſlay an Amalekite, and to threaten, in his miſerable ſtate, the life of the avaricious Nabal. The excurſions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range; and he had ſpread over the Eaſtern world the glory of his name and religion. By a ſentence of the Greek church, the licentious rover had been ſeparated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove, that he never abjured the profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and ſecret perſecution of the emperor; but he was at length enſnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond ſucceeded in his attempt to ſurpriſe the perſon of Theodora: the queen of Jeruſalem and her two children were ſent to Conſtantinople, and their loſs embittered the tedious ſolitude of baniſhment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, who was ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of this haughty ſpirit. Proſtrate on the ground, he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his paſt rebellion; nor would he preſume to ariſe unleſs ſome faithful ſubject would drag him to the foot of the throne, by an iron chain with which he had ſecretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the aſſembly; his ſins were forgiven by the church and ſtate; but the juſt ſuſpicion of Manuel fixed his reſidence at a diſtance from the court, at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, ſurrounded with rich vineyards, and ſituate on the coaſt of the Euxine. The death of Manuel, and the diſorders of the minority, ſoon opened the faireſt field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wiſdom, or experience: his mother,

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ther, the empreſs Mary, abandoned her perſon and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his ſiſter, another Mary, whoſe huſband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæſar, excited a conſpiracy, and at length an inſurrection, againſt her odious ſtepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakneſs of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Conſtantinople; the two factions fought a bloody battle in the ſquare of the palace, and the rebels ſuſtained a regular ſiege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honeſt zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the moſt reſpectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praiſe of the talents and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement, he affected to revolve the ſolemn duties of his oath: "If the "ſafety or honour of the Imperial family be threatened, I will re-"veal and oppoſe the miſchief to the utmoſt of my power." His correſpondence with the patriarch and patricians, was ſeaſoned with apt quotations from the pſalms of David and the epiſtles of St. Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Conſtantinople, his ſlender train inſenſibly ſwelled to a crowd and an army; his profeſſions of religion and loyalty were miſtaken for the language of his heart; and the ſimplicity of a foreign dreſs, which ſhewed to advantage his majeſtic ſtature, diſplayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All oppoſition ſunk before him; he reached the ſtreights of the Thracian Boſphorus; the Byzantine navy ſailed from the harbour to receive and tranſport the ſaviour of the empire: the torrent was loud and irreſiſtible, and the inſects who had baſked in the ſunſhine of royal favour diſappeared at the blaſt of the ſtorm. It was the firſt care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to ſalute the emperor, to confine his mother, to puniſh her miniſter, and to

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reſtore the public order and tranquillity. He then viſited the ſepulchre of Manuel: the ſpectators were ordered to ſtand aloof, but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge. "I no longer fear thee, "my old enemy, who haſt driven me a vagabond to every climate of "the earth. Thou art ſafely depoſited under a ſevenfold dome, from "whence thou canſt never ariſe till the ſignal of the laſt trumpet. It "is now my turn, and ſpeedily will I trample on thy aſhes and thy "poſterity." From his ſubſequent tyranny we may impute ſuch feelings to the man, and the moment: but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate ſound to his ſecret thoughts. In the firſt months of his adminiſtration, his deſigns were veiled by a fair ſemblance of hypocriſy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude: the coronation of Alexius was performed with due ſolemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Chriſt, moſt fervently declared, that he lived, and was ready to die, for the ſervice of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were inſtructed to maintain, that the ſinking empire muſt periſh in the hands of a child, that the Romans could only be ſaved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, ſkilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modeſty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himſelf conſtrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to ſolicit the aſſociation of a colleague, who inſtantly degraded him from the ſupreme rank, ſecluded his perſon, and verified the raſh declaration of the patriarch, that Alexius might be conſidered as dead, ſo ſoon as he was committed to the cuſtody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the impriſonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation, and inflaming againſt her the paſſions of the multitude, the tyrant accuſed and tried the

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empreſs for a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Hungary. His own ſon, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conſcience to their ſafety: but the obſequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel; and her unfortunate ſon ſubſcribed the ſentence of her death. Maria was ſtrangled, her corpſe was buried in the ſea, and her memory was wounded by the inſult moſt offenſive to female vanity, a falſe and ugly repreſentation of her beauteous form. The fate of her ſon was not long deferred: he was ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and the tyrant, inſenſible to pity or remorſe, after ſurveying the body of the innocent youth, ſtruck it rudely with his foot: "Thy father," he cried, "was a *knave*, thy "mother a *whore*, and thyſelf a *fool!*"

Andronicus I. Comnenus, A. D. 1183, October.

The Roman ſceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half as the guardian or ſovereign of the empire. His government exhibited a ſingular contraſt of vice and virtue. When he liſtened to his paſſions, he was the ſcourge; when he conſulted his reaſon, the father, of his people. In the exerciſe of private juſtice, he was equitable and rigorous: a ſhameful and pernicious venality was aboliſhed, and the offices were filled with the moſt deſerving candidates by a prince who had ſenſe to chuſe, and ſeverity to puniſh. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and perſons of ſhipwrecked mariners; the provinces, ſo long the objects of oppreſſion or neglect, revived in proſperity and plenty; and millions applauded the diſtant bleſſings of his reign, while he was curſed by the witneſſes of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, That blood-thirſty is the man who returns from baniſhment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius; and was now verified for the third time in

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the life of Andronicus. His memory was ſtored with a black liſt of the enemies and rivals, who had traduced his merit, oppoſed his greatneſs, or inſulted his misfortunes; and the only comfort of his exile was the ſacred hope and promiſe of revenge. The neceſſary extinction of the young emperor and his mother, impoſed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might puniſh, the aſſaſſin; and the repetition of murder rendered him leſs willing, and leſs able, to forgive. An horrid narrative of the victims whom he ſacrificed by poiſon or the ſword, by the ſea or the flames, would be leſs expreſſive of his cruelty than the appellation of the Halcyon-days, which was applied to a rare and bloodleſs week of repoſe: the tyrant ſtrove to transfer, on the laws and the judges, ſome portion of his guilt; but the maſk was fallen, and his ſubjects could no longer miſtake the true author of their calamities. The nobleſt of the Greeks, more eſpecially thoſe who, by deſcent or alliance, might diſpute the Comnenian inheritance, eſcaped from the monſter's den: Nice or Pruſa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt, and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus reſiſted the daggers and ſwords of his moſt formidable enemies: Nice and Pruſa were reduced and chaſtiſed: the Sicilians were content with the ſack of Theſſalonica; and the diſtance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was ſubverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Iſaac Angelus, a deſcendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim, by the prudence or ſuperſtition of the emperor. In a moment of deſpair, Angelus defended his life and liberty, ſlew the executioner, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. The ſanctuary was inſenſibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate, prognoſticated their own. But their lamentations were ſoon turned

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to curſes, and their curſes to threats: they dared to aſk, "Why do "we fear? why do we obey? We are many, and he is one; our "patience is the only bond of our ſlavery." With the dawn of day the city burſt into a general ſedition, the priſons were thrown open, the coldeſt and moſt ſervile were rouſed to the defence of their country, and Iſaac, the ſecond of the name, was raiſed from the ſanctuary to the throne. Unconſcious of his danger, the tyrant was abſent; withdrawn from the toils of ſtate, in the delicious iſlands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter of Lewis the ſeventh, of France, and relict of the unfortunate Alexius; and his ſociety, more ſuitable to his temper than to his age, was compoſed of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the firſt alarm he ruſhed to Conſtantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was aſtoniſhed by the ſilence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general deſertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his ſubjects; they neither deſired, nor would grant, forgiveneſs: he offered to reſign the crown to his ſon Manuel; but the virtues of the ſon could not expiate his father's crimes. The ſea was ſtill open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown along the coaſt: when fear had ceaſed, obedience was no more: the Imperial galley was purſued and taken by an armed brigantine; and the tyrant was dragged to the preſence of Iſaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life; but, inſtead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous ſufferers, whom he had deprived of a father, an huſband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compenſation for their loſs; and

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a ſhort reſpite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterneſs of death. Aſtride on a camel, without any danger of a reſcue, he was carried through the city, and the baſeſt of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majeſty of their prince. After a thouſand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet, between two pillars that ſupported the ſtatues of a wolf and a ſow; and every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on his body ſome mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their ſwords into his body, releaſed him from all human puniſhment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy "upon me! and why will you bruiſe a broken reed?" were the only words that eſcaped from his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is loſt in pity for the man; nor can we blame his puſillanimous reſignation, ſince a Greek Chriſtian was no longer maſter of his life.

Iſaac II. Angelus, A. D. 1185, Sept. 12.

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus; but I ſhall here terminate the ſeries of the Greek emperors ſince the time of Heraclius. The branches that ſprang from the Comnenian trunk had inſenſibly withered; and the male line was continued only in the poſterity of Andronicus himſelf, who, in the public confuſion, uſurped the ſovereignty of Trebizond, ſo obſcure in hiſtory, and ſo famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Conſtantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours, by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His ſon Andronicus is conſpicuous only by his cowardice. His grandſon Iſaac puniſhed and ſucceeded the tyrant; but he was dethroned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother; and their diſcord introduced the Latins to the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, the firſt great period in the fall of the Eaſtern empire.

A. D. 1204, April 12.

If

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If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found, that a period of ſix hundred years is filled by ſixty emperors, including in the Auguſtan liſt ſome female ſovereigns; and deducting ſome uſurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and ſome princes who did not live to poſſeſs their inheritance. The average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Iſaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was moſt tranquil and proſperous when it could acquieſce in hereditary ſucceſſion: five dynaſties, the Heraclian, Iſaurian, Amorian, Baſilian, and Comnenian families enjoyed and tranſmitted the royal patrimony during their reſpective ſeries, of five, four, three, ſix, and four generations; ſeveral princes number the years of their reign with thoſe of their infancy; and Conſtantine the ſeventh and his two grandſons occupy the ſpace of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynaſties, the ſucceſſion is rapid and broken, and the name of a ſucceſsful candidate is ſpeedily erazed by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the ſummit of royalty: the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the ſtroke of conſpiracy, or undermined by the ſilent arts of intrigue: the favourites of the ſoldiers or people, of the ſenate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately clothed with the purple: the means of their elevation were baſe, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the ſame faculties, but with a longer meaſure of exiſtence, would caſt down a ſmile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, ſo eager, in a narrow ſpan, to graſp at a precarious and ſhort-lived enjoyment. It is thus that

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the experience of hiſtory exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a compoſition of ſome days, in a peruſal of ſome hours, ſix hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment: the grave is ever beſide the throne; the ſucceſs of a criminal is almoſt inſtantly followed by the loſs of his prize; and our immortal reaſon ſurvives and diſdains the ſixty phantoms of kings who have paſſed before our eyes, and faintly dwell on our remembrance. The obſervation, that, in every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with the ſame commanding energy, may abate the ſurpriſe of a philoſopher; but while he condemns the vanity, he may ſearch the motive, of this univerſal deſire to obtain and hold the ſceptre of dominion. To the greater part of the Byzantine ſeries, we cannot reaſonably aſcribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was beneficent and pure: the moſt illuſtrious of the princes, who precede or follow that reſpectable name, have trod with ſome dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a ſelfiſh policy: in ſcrutinizing the imperfect characters of Leo the Iſaurian, Baſil the firſt, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilus, the ſecond Baſil, and Manuel Comnenus, our eſteem and cenſure are almoſt equally balanced; and the remainder of the Imperial crowd could only deſire and expect to be forgotten by poſterity. Was perſonal happineſs the aim and object of their ambition? I ſhall not deſcant on the vulgar topics of the miſery of kings; but I may ſurely obſerve, that their condition, of all others, is the moſt pregnant with fear, and the leaſt ſuſceptible of hope. For theſe oppoſite paſſions, a larger ſcope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity, than in the ſmooth and ſolid temper of the modern world, which cannot eaſily repeat either the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius.

But

But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes expoſed them to domeſtic perils, without affording any lively promiſe of foreign conqueſt. From the pinnacle of greatneſs, Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and ſhameful than that of the vileſt malefactor; but the moſt glorious of his predeceſſors had much more to dread from their ſubjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without ſpirit, the nation turbulent without freedom: the Barbarians of the Eaſt and Weſt preſſed on the monarchy, and the loſs of the provinces was terminated by the final ſervitude of the capital.

The entire ſeries of Roman emperors, from the firſt of the Cæſars to the laſt of the Conſtantines, extends above fifteen hundred years: and the term of dominion, unbroken by foreign conqueſt, ſurpaſſes the meaſure of the ancient monarchies; the Aſſyrians or Medes, the ſucceſſors of Cyrus, or thoſe of Alexander.

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Introduction, Worſhip, and Perſecution of Images.—Revolt of Italy and Rome.—Temporal Dominion of the Popes.—Conqueſt of Italy by the Franks.—Eſtabliſhment of Images.—Character and Coronation of Charlemagne.—Reſtoration and Decay of the Roman Empire in the Weſt.—Independence of Italy.—Conſtitution of the Germanic Body.

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Introduction of images into the Chriſtian church.

IN the connection of the church and ſtate, I have conſidered the former as ſubſervient only, and relative, to the latter; a ſalutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held ſacred. The oriental philoſophy of the Gnoſtics, the dark abyſs of predeſtination and grace, and the ſtrange transformation of the Euchariſt from the ſign to the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body[1], I have purpoſely abandoned to the curioſity of ſpeculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleaſure, the objects of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Chriſtianity, the conſtitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganiſm, and the ſects that aroſe from the myſterious controverſies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this claſs, we may juſtly rank the worſhip

[1] The learned Selden has given the hiſtory of tranſubſtantiation in a comprehenſive and pithy ſentence. "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073. in his Table-talk.)

of

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of images, ſo fiercely diſputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; ſince a queſtion of popular ſuperſtition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the reſtoration of the Roman empire in the Weſt.

The primitive Chriſtians were poſſeſſed with an unconquerable repugnance to the uſe and abuſe of images; and this averſion may be aſcribed to their deſcent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Moſaic law had ſeverely proſcribed all repreſentations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly eſtabliſhed in the principles and practice of the choſen people. The wit of the Chriſtian apologiſts was pointed againſt the fooliſh idolaters, who bowed before the workmanſhip of their own hands; the images of braſs and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with ſenſe and motion, ſhould have ſtarted rather from the pedeſtal to adore the creative powers of the artiſt[2]. Perhaps ſome recent and imperfect converts of the Gnoſtic tribe, might crown the ſtatues of Chriſt and St. Paul with the profane honours which they paid to thoſe of Ariſtotle and Pythagoras[3]; but the public religion of the Catholics was uniformly ſimple and ſpiritual; and the firſt notice of the uſe of pictures is in the cenſure of the council of Illiberis, three hundred years after the Chriſtian æra. Under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent biſhops condeſcended to indulge a viſible ſuperſtition, for the benefit of the multitude; and, after the ruin of Paganiſm, they were no

[2] Nec intelligunt homines ineptiſſimi, quôd ſi ſentire ſimulacra et moveri poſſent, adoratura hominem fuiſſent a quo ſunt expolita (Divin. Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 2.). Lactantius is the laſt, as well as the moſt eloquent, of the Latin apologiſts. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.

[3] See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Auguſtin (Baſnage, Hiſt. des Egliſes Reformées, tom. ii. p. 1313.). This Gnoſtic practice has a ſingular affinity with the private worſhip of Alexander Severus (Lampridius, c. 29. Lardner, Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iii. p. 34.).

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longer reſtrained by the apprehenſion of an odious parallel. The firſt introduction of a ſymbolic worſhip was in the veneration of the croſs, and of relics. The ſaints and martyrs, whoſe interceſſion was implored, were ſeated on the right-hand of God; but the gracious and often ſupernatural favours, which, in the popular belief, were ſhowered round their tomb, conveyed an unqueſtionable ſanction of the devout pilgrims, who viſited, and touched, and kiſſed, theſe lifeleſs remains, the memorials of their merits and ſufferings[4]. But a memorial, more intereſting than the ſkull or the ſandals of a departed worthy, is the faithful copy of his perſon and features, delineated by the arts of painting or ſculpture. In every age, ſuch copies, ſo congenial to human feelings, have been cheriſhed by the zeal of private friendſhip, or public eſteem: the images of the Roman emperors were adored with civil, and almoſt religious honours; a reverence leſs oſtentatious, but more ſincere, was applied to the ſtatues of ſages and patriots; and theſe profane virtues, theſe ſplendid ſins, diſappeared in the preſence of the holy men, who had died for their celeſtial and everlaſting country. At firſt, the experiment was made with caution and ſcruple; and the venerable pictures were diſcreetly allowed to inſtruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proſelytes. By a ſlow though inevitable progreſſion, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy: the devout Chriſtian prayed before the image of a ſaint; and the Pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incenſe, again ſtole into the Catholic church. The ſcruples of reaſon, or piety, were ſilenced by the ſtrong evidence of viſions and miracles; and the pictures which ſpeak, and move, and bleed, muſt be endowed with a divine energy, and may be conſidered as the proper objects of religious adoration. The moſt audacious pencil might tremble in the

Their worſhip.

[4] See this Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 193. 383.; vol. iii. p. 93—105.

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raſh attempt of defining, by forms and colours, the infinite Spirit, the eternal Father, who pervades and ſuſtains the univerſe[5]. But the ſuperſtitious mind was more eaſily reconciled to paint and to worſhip the angels, and, above all, the Son of God, under the human ſhape, which, on earth, they have condeſcended to aſſume. The ſecond perſon of the Trinity had been clothed with a real and mortal body; but that body had aſcended into heaven; and, had not ſome ſimilitude been preſented to the eyes of his diſciples, the ſpiritual worſhip of Chriſt might have been obliterated by the viſible relics and repreſentations of the ſaints. A ſimilar indulgence was requiſite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary: the place of her burial was unknown; and the aſſumption of her ſoul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The uſe, and even the worſhip, of images, was firmly eſtabliſhed before the end of the ſixth century: they were fondly cheriſhed by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Aſiatics: the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new ſuperſtition; but this ſemblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude Barbarians and the Arian clergy of the Weſt. The bolder forms of ſculpture, in braſs or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offenſive to the fancy or conſcience of the Chriſtian Greeks; and a ſmooth ſurface of colours has ever been eſteemed a more decent and harmleſs mode of imitation[6].

[5] Ου γαρ το Θειον απλουν υπαρχον και αληπτον μορφαις τισι και σχημασιν απεικαζομεν. υτε κηρω και ξυλοις την υπερηφανον και προαναρχον ουσιαν τιμαν ημεις διεγνωκαμεν (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025. edit. Venet.). Il ſeroit peutêtre à-propos de ne point ſouffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les defenſeurs les plus zelés des images ayant condamne celles ci, et le concile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jeſus Chriſt et des Saints (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 154.).

[6] This general hiſtory of images is drawn from the xxiid book of the Hiſt. des Egliſes Reformées of Baſnage, tom. ii. p. 1310—1337. He was a proteſtant, but of a manly ſpirit; and on this head the proteſtants are ſo notoriouſly in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor friar Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 42.

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The image of Edeſſa.

The merit and effect of a copy depends on its reſemblance with the original; but the primitive Chriſtians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apoſtles: the ſtatue of Chriſt at Paneas in Paleſtine[7] was more probably that of ſome temporal ſaviour; the Gnoſtics and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Chriſtian artiſts could only be guided by the clandeſtine imitation of ſome heathen model. In this diſtreſs, a bold and dextrous invention aſſured at once the likeneſs of the image and the innocence of the worſhip. A new ſuperſtructure of fable was raiſed on the popular baſis of a Syrian legend, on the correſpondence of Chriſt and Abgarus, ſo famous in the days of Euſebius, ſo reluctantly deſerted by our modern advocates. The biſhop of Cæſarea[8] records the epiſtle[9], but he moſt ſtrangely forgets the picture, of Chriſt[10]; the perfect impreſſion of his

[7] After removing ſome rubbiſh of miracle and inconſiſtency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Paleſtine was decorated with a bronze ſtatue, repreſenting a grave perſonage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or ſuppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inſcription—τῳ Σωτηρι, τῳ ευεργετῃ—was perhaps inſcribed on the pedeſtal. By the Chriſtians, this groupe was fooliſhly explained of their founder and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux (Euſeb. vii. 18. Philoſtorg. vii. 3, &c.). M. de Beauſobre more reaſonably conjectures the philoſopher Apollonius, or the emperor Veſpaſian: in the latter ſuppoſition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice (Bibliothéque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1—92.).

[8] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 13. The learned Aſſemannus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Joſua Stylites, and James biſhop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original or the archives of Edeſſa (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318. 420. 554.); their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

[9] The evidence for theſe epiſtles is ſtated and rejected by the candid Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. i. p. 297—309.). Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable, poſt, I am aſhamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemonts, &c. to diſcover Mr. Addiſon, an Engliſh gentleman (his Works, vol. i. p. 528. Baſkerville's edition); but his ſuperficial tract on the Chriſtian religion owes its credit to his name, his ſtyle, and the intereſted applauſe of our clergy.

[10] From the ſilence of James of Sarug (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289. 318.), and the teſtimony of Evagrius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. c. 27.), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, moſt probably after the ſiege of Edeſſa in 540

his face on a linen, with which he gratified the faith of the royal ſtranger, who had invoked his healing power, and offered the ſtrong city of Edeſſa to protect him againſt the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long impriſonment of the image in a nich of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was releaſed by ſome prudent biſhop, and ſeaſonably preſented to the devotion of the times. Its firſt and moſt glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Choſroes Nuſhirvan; and it was ſoon revered as a pledge of the divine promiſe, that Edeſſa ſhould never be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true indeed, that the text of Procopius aſcribes the double deliverance of Edeſſa to the wealth and valour of her citizens, who purchaſed the abſence and repelled the aſſaults of the Perſian monarch. He was ignorant, the profane hiſtorian, of the teſtimony which he is compelled to deliver in the eccleſiaſtical page of Evagrius, that the Palladium was expoſed on the rampart, and that the water which had been ſprinkled on the holy face, inſtead of quenching, added new fewel to the flames of the beſieged. After this important ſervice, the image of Edeſſa was preſerved with reſpect and gratitude; and if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the ſimilitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The ſtyle and ſentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worſhip was removed from the groſſeſt idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image, "whoſe celeſtial ſplendour the hoſt of heaven preſumes not to be-"hold? HE who dwells in heaven condeſcends this day to viſit us

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540 (Aſſeman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius, de Bell. Perſic. l. ii.). It is the ſword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epiſt. i. ad Leon. Iſaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657.) of John Damaſcenus (Opera, tom. i. p. 281. edit. Lequien), and of the ſecond Nicene Council (Actio v. p. 1030.). The moſt perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus (Compend. p. 175—178.).

"by

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"by his venerable image: He who is ſeated on the cherubim, "viſits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated "with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable "manner, and which we ſanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the ſixth century, theſe images, *made without hands* (in Greek, it is a ſingle word [11]), were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eaſtern empire [12]: they were the objects of worſhip, and the inſtruments of miracles: and in the hour of danger or tumult, their venerable preſence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repreſs the fury, of the Roman legions. Of theſe pictures, the far greater part, the tranſcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a ſecondary likeneſs and improper title: but there were ſome of higher deſcent, who derived their reſemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpoſe, with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The moſt ambitious aſpired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edeſſa; and ſuch is the *veronica* of Rome, or Spain, or Jeruſalem, which Chriſt in his agony and bloody ſweat applied to his face, and delivered to an holy matron. The fruitful precedent was ſpeedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the ſaints and martyrs. In the church of Dioſpolis in Paleſtine, the features of the Mother of God [13] were deeply inſcribed in a marble column: the Eaſt and Weſt have been decorated

Its copies.

[11] Αχειροποιητος. See Ducange, in Gloſſ. Græc. et Lat. The ſubject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jeſuit Gretſer (Syntagma de Imaginibus non Manû factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis, p. 289—330.), the aſs, or rather the fox, of Ingoldſtadt (ſee the Scaligerana); with equal reaſon and wit by the proteſtant Beauſobre, in the ironical controverſy which he has ſpread through many volumes of the Bibliothéque Germanique (tom. xviii. p. 1—50. xx. p. 27—68. xxv. p. 1—36. xxvii. p. 85—118. xxviii. p. 1—33. xxxi. p. 111—148. xxxii. p. 75—107. xxxiv. p. 67—96.).

[12] Theophylact Simocatta (l. ii. c. 3. p. 34. l. iii. c. 1. p. 63.) celebrates the θεανδρικον εικασμα, which he ſtyles αχειροποιητον; yet it was no more than a copy, ſince he adds, αρχετυπον το εκεινον οι Ρωμαιοι (of Edeſſa) θρησκευσι τι αρρητον. See Pagi, tom. ii. A. D. 586, N° 11.

[13] See, in the genuine or ſuppoſed works of John Damaſcenus, two paſſages on the Virgin and St. Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretſer, nor conſequently by Beauſobre (Opera Joh. Damaſcen. tom. i. p. 618. 631.).

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by the pencil of St. Luke; and the evangeliſt, who was perhaps a phyſician, has been forced to exerciſe the occupation of a painter, ſo profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive Chriſtians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muſe of Homer and the chiſſel of Phidias, might inſpire a philoſophic mind with momentary devotion: but theſe Catholic images were faintly and flatly delineated by monkiſh artiſts in the laſt degeneracy of taſte and genius[14].

Oppoſition to image-worſhip.

The worſhip of images had ſtolen into the church by inſenſible degrees, and each petty ſtep was pleaſing to the ſuperſtitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of ſin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuſe, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehenſion, that under the maſk of Chriſtianity, they had reſtored the religion of their fathers: they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters; the inceſſant charge of the Jews and Mahometans[15], who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worſhip. The ſervitude of the Jews might curb their zeal and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Muſulmans, who reigned at Damaſcus, and threatened Conſtantinople, caſt into the ſcale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Paleſtine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Chriſt, his mother, and his ſaints; and each city preſumed on the hope or promiſe of miraculous defence. In a rapid conqueſt of ten years, the Arabs ſubdued thoſe cities and theſe images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hoſts pronounced a deciſive judgment between the adoration and contempt of theſe mute

[14] "Your ſcandalous figures ſtand quite "out from the canvaſs: they are as bad as a "group of ſtatues!" It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek prieſt applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refuſed to accept.

[15] By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manaſſes, the origin of the Iconoclaſts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promiſed the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of theſe hoſtile ſectaries are turned into an abſurd conſpiracy for reſtoring the purity of the Chriſtian worſhip (ſee Spanheim, Hiſt. Imag. c. 2.).

and

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and inanimate idols. For a while Edeſſa had braved the Perſian aſſaults; but the choſen city, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine reſemblance became the ſlave and trophy of the infidels. After a ſervitude of three hundred years, the Palladium was yielded to the devotion of Conſtantinople, for a ranſom of twelve thouſand pounds of ſilver, the redemption of two hundred Muſulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edeſſa [16]. In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs and diſmay, the eloquence of the monks was exerciſed in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the ſin and ſchiſm of the greateſt part of the Orientals had forfeited the favour, and annihilated the virtue, of theſe precious ſymbols. But they were now oppoſed by the murmurs of many ſimple or rational Chriſtians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and ſecretly deſired the reformation of the church. As the worſhip of images had never been eſtabliſhed by any general or poſitive law, its progreſs in the Eaſtern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the perſonal characters of the biſhops. The ſplendid devotion was fondly cheriſhed by the levity of the capital, and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote diſtricts of Aſia were ſtrangers to this innovation of ſacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnoſtics and Arians maintained, after their converſion, the ſimple worſhip which had preceded their ſeparation; and the Armenians, the moſt warlike ſubjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the ſight of images [17]. Theſe various denominations

[16] See Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 267.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 201.), and Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 264.), and the Criticiſms of Pagi (tom. iii. A. D. 944). The prudent Franciſcan refuſes to determine whether the image of Edeſſa now repoſes at Rome or Genoa; but its repoſe is inglorious, and this ancient object of worſhip is no longer famous or faſhionable.

[17] Αρμενιοις και Αλαμανοις επισης ἡ ἁγιων εικονων προσκυνησις

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nations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and averſion, of ſmall account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a ſoldier, a prelate, or an eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and ſtate.

Leo the Iconoclaſt, and his ſucceſſors, A. D. 726—840.

Of ſuch adventurers, the moſt fortunate was the emperor Leo the third [18], who, from the mountains of Iſauria, aſcended the throne of the Eaſt. He was ignorant of ſacred and profane letters; but his education, his reaſon, perhaps his intercourſe with the Jews and Arabs, had inſpired the martial peaſant with an hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince, to impoſe on his ſubjects the dictates of his own conſcience. But in the outſet of an unſettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo ſubmitted to the meanneſs of hypocriſy, bowed before the idols which he deſpiſed, and ſatisfied the Roman pontiff with the annual profeſſions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his firſt ſteps were moderate and cautious: he aſſembled a great council of ſenators and biſhops, and enacted, with their conſent, that all the images ſhould be removed from the ſanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be viſible to the eyes, and inacceſſible to the ſuperſtition, of the people. But it was impoſſible on either ſide to check the rapid though adverſe impulſe of veneration and abhorrence: in their lofty poſition, the ſacred images ſtill edified

προσκυνησις απηγορευται (Nicetas, l. ii. p. 258.). The Armenian churches are ſtill content with the Croſs (Miſſions du Levant, tom. iii. p. 148.): but ſurely the ſuperſtitious Greek is unjuſt to the ſuperſtition of the Germans of the xiith century.

[18] Our original, but not impartial, monuments of the Iconoclaſts muſt be drawn from the Acts of the Councils, tom. viii and ix. Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet. and the hiſtorical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manaſſes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. Eccleſ. Seculum viii and ix.), and Maimbourg (Hiſt. des Iconoclaſtes), have treated the ſubject with learning, paſſion, and credulity. The proteſtant labours of Frederic Spanheim (Hiſtoria Imaginum Reſtituta) and James Baſnage (Hiſt. des Egliſes Reformées, tom. ii. l. xxiii. p. 1339—1385.) are caſt into the Iconoclaſt ſcale. With this mutual aid, and oppoſite tendency, it is eaſy for *us* to poiſe the balance with philoſophic indifference.

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their votaries and reproached the tyrant. He was himſelf provoked by reſiſtance and invective; and his own party accuſed him of an imperfect diſcharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation, the example of the Jewiſh king, who had broken without ſcruple the brazen ſerpent of the temple. By a ſecond edict, he proſcribed the exiſtence as well as the uſe of religious pictures; the churches of Conſtantinople and the provinces were cleanſed from idolatry; the images of Chriſt, the Virgin, and the Saints, were demoliſhed, or a ſmooth ſurface of plaſter was ſpread over the walls of the edifice. The ſect of the Iconoclaſts was ſupported by the zeal and deſpotiſm of ſix emperors, and the Eaſt and Weſt were involved in a noiſy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the deſign of Leo the Iſaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council: but the convocation of ſuch an aſſembly was reſerved for his ſon Conſtantine [99]; and though it is ſtigmatiſed by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheiſts, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many ſymptoms of reaſon and piety. The debates and decrees of many provincial ſynods introduced the ſummons of the general council which met in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, and was compoſed of the reſpectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight biſhops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the ſlaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the Weſt from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine ſynod aſſumed the rank and powers of the ſeventh general council: yet even this title was a re-

Their ſynod of Conſtantinople, A. D. 754.

[99] Some flowers of rhetoric are Συνοδον παρανομον και αθεον, and the biſhops τους ματαιοφρονας. By Damaſcenus it is ſtyled ακυρος και αθεκτος (Opera, tom. i. p. 623.). Spanheim's Apology for the Synod of Conſtantinople (p. 171, &c.) is worked up with truth and ingenuity, from ſuch materials as he could find in the Nicene Acts (p. 1046, &c.). The witty John of Damaſcus converts επισκοπους into επισκοτους: makes them κοιλιοδουλους, ſlaves of their belly, &c. Opera, tom. i. p. 306.

cognition

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cognition of the ſix preceding aſſemblies which had laborioufly built the ſtructure of the Catholic faith. After a ſerious deliberation of ſix months, the three hundred and thirty-eight biſhops pronounced and ſubſcribed an unanimous decree, that all viſible ſymbols of Chriſt, except in the Euchariſt, were either blaſphemous or heretical; that image-worſhip was a corruption of Chriſtianity and a renewal of Paganiſm; that all ſuch monuments of idolatry ſhould be broken or erazed; and that thoſe who ſhould refuſe to deliver the objects of their private ſuperſtition, were guilty of diſobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. In their loud and loyal acclamations, they celebrated the merits of their temporal redeemer; and to his zeal and juſtice they entruſted the execution of their ſpiritual cenſures. At Conſtantinople, as in the former councils, the will of the prince was the rule of epiſcopal faith; but on this occaſion, I am inclined to ſuſpect that a large majority of the prelates ſacrificed their ſecret conſcience to the temptations of hope and fear. In the long night of ſuperſtition, the Chriſtians had wandered far away from the ſimplicity of the goſpel: nor was it eaſy for them to diſcern the clue, and tread back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worſhip of images was inſeparably blended, at leaſt to a pious fancy, with the Croſs, the Virgin, the Saints and their relics: the holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and viſions; and the nerves of the mind, curioſity and ſcepticiſm, were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Conſtantine himſelf is accuſed of indulging a royal licence to doubt, or deny, or deride the myſteries of the Catholics[20], but they were deeply inſcribed in the public and private creed of his biſhops; and the boldeſt Iconoclaſt

Their creed.

[20] He is accuſed of proſcribing the title of ſaint; ſtyling the Virgin, mother of *Chriſt*; comparing her after her delivery to an empty purſe; of Arianiſm, Neſtorianiſm, &c. In his defence, Spanheim (c. iv. p. 207.) is ſomewhat embarraſſed between the intereſt of a proteſtant and the duty of an orthodox divine.

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might aſſault with a ſecret horror, the monuments of popular devotion, which were conſecrated to the honour of his celeſtial patrons. In the reformation of the ſixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man; the thirſt of innovation ſuperſeded the reverence of antiquity, and the vigour of Europe could diſdain thoſe phantoms which terrified the ſickly and ſervile weakneſs of the Greeks.

Their perſecution of the images and monks, A.D. 726—775.

The ſcandal of an abſtract hereſy can be only proclaimed to the people by the blaſt of the eccleſiaſtical trumpet; but the moſt ignorant can perceive, the moſt torpid muſt feel, the profanation and downfal of their viſible deities. The firſt hoſtilities of Leo were directed againſt a lofty Chriſt on the veſtibule, and above the gate, of the palace. A ladder had been planted for the aſſault, but it was furiouſly ſhaken by a crowd of zealots and women: they beheld, with pious tranſport, the miniſters of ſacrilege tumbling from on high, and daſhed againſt the pavement; and the honours of the ancient martyrs were proſtituted to theſe criminals, who juſtly ſuffered for murder and rebellion[21]. The execution of the Imperial edicts was reſiſted by frequent tumults in Conſtantinople and the provinces: the perſon of Leo was endangered, his officers were maſſacred, and the popular enthuſiaſm was quelled by the ſtrongeſt efforts of the civil and military power. Of the Archipelago, or Holy Sea, the numerous iſlands were filled with images and monks: their votaries abjured, without ſcruple, the enemy of Chriſt, his mother, and the ſaints: they armed a fleet of boats and gallies, diſplayed their conſecrated banners, and boldly ſteered for the harbour of Conſtantinople, to place on the throne a new favourite of God and the people. They depended on

[21] The holy confeſſor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, θειῳ κινουμενοι ζηλῳ (p. 339.). Gregory II. (in Epiſt. i. ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii. p. 661, 664.) applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the Imperial officers.

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the ſuccour of a miracle; but their miracles were inefficient againſt the *Greek fire*; and, after the defeat and conflagration of their fleet, the naked iſlands were abandoned to the clemency or juſtice of the conqueror. The ſon of Leo, in the firſt year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition againſt the Saracens: during his abſence, the capital, the palace, and the purple, were occupied by his kinſman Artavaſdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worſhip of images was triumphantly reſtored: the patriarch renounced his diſſimulation, or diſſembled his ſentiments; and the righteous claim of the uſurper was acknowledged, both in the new, and in ancient, Rome. Conſtantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he deſcended at the head of the bold and affectionate Iſaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was diſtracted with clamour, ſedition, conſpiracy, and mutual hatred, and ſanguinary revenge: the perſecution of images was the motive, or pretence, of his adverſaries; and, if they miſſed a temporal diadem, they were rewarded by the Greeks with the crown of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandeſtine treaſon, the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful ſlaves of the ſuperſtition to which they owed their riches and influence. They prayed, they preached, they abſolved, they inflamed, they conſpired: the ſolitude of Paleſtine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St. John Damaſcenus[22], the laſt of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head,

[22] John, or Manſur, was a noble Chriſtian of Damaſcus, who held a conſiderable office in the ſervice of the caliph. His zeal in the cauſe of images expoſed him to the reſentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the ſuſpicion of a treaſonable correſpondence, he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculouſly reſtored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he reſigned his office, diſtributed his wealth, and buried himſelf in the monaſtery of St. Sabas, between Jeruſalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous; but his learned editor, father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St. John Damaſcenus was already a monk before the Iconoclaſt diſpute (Opera, tom. i. Vit. St. Joan. Damaſcen. p. 10—13. et Notas ad loc.).

both

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both in this world and the next [23]. I am not at leiſure to examine how far the monks provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their real and pretended ſufferings, nor how many loſt their lives or limbs, their eyes or their beards, by the cruelty of the emperor. From the chaſtiſement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, as it was wealthy and uſeleſs, his reſentment might be ſtimulated by avarice and juſtified by patriotiſm. The formidable name and miſſion of the *Dragon* [24], his viſitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the *black* nation: the religious communities were diſſolved; the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, moveables, and cattle, were confiſcated; and our modern precedents will ſupport the charge, that much wanton or malicious havock was exerciſed againſt the relics, and even the books, of the monaſteries. With the habit and profeſſion of monks, the public and private worſhip of images was rigorouſly proſcribed; and it ſhould ſeem, that a ſolemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the ſubjects, or at leaſt from the clergy, of the Eaſtern empire [25].

State of Italy.

The patient Eaſt abjured, with reluctance, her ſacred images; they were fondly cheriſhed, and vigorouſly defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In eccleſiaſtical rank and juriſdiction, the patriarch of Conſtantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal.

[23] After ſending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—το μιαρον αυτου γεννημα, και της κακιας αυτου κληρονομος εν διπλω γενομενος (Opera Damaſcen. tom. i. p. 625.). If the authenticity of this piece be ſuſpicious, we are ſure that in other works, no longer extant, Damaſcenus beſtowed on Conſtantine the titles of νεον Μωαμεθ, Χριſομαχον, μισαγιον (tom. i. p. 306.).

[24] In the narrative of this perſecution from Theophanes and Cedrenus, Spanheim (p. 235—238.) is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons *(Dracones)* of Louis XIV.; and highly ſolaces himſelf with this controverſial pun.

[25] Προγραμμα γαρ εξεπεμψε κατα πασαν εξαρχιαν την υπο της χειρος αυτου, παντας υπογραψαι και ομνυναι τω αθετησαι την προσκυνησιν των σεπτων εικονων (Damaſcen. Op. tom. i. p. 625.). This oath and ſubſcription I do not remember to have ſeen in any modern compilation.

But

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But the Greek prelate was a domeſtic ſlave under the eye of his maſter, at whoſe nod he alternately paſſed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne to the convent. A diſtant and dangerous ſtation, amidſt the Barbarians of the Weſt, excited the ſpirit and freedom of the Latin biſhops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans: the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue; and the weakneſs or neglect of the emperors compelled them to conſult, both in peace and war, the temporal ſafety of the city. In the ſchool of adverſity the prieſt inſenſibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; the ſame character was aſſumed, the ſame policy was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who aſcended the chair of St. Peter; and, after the loſs of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again reſtored the ſupremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced, and juſtified, by the hereſy of the Iconoclaſts; but the conduct of the ſecond and third Gregory, in this memorable conteſt, is variouſly interpreted by the wiſhes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimouſly declare, that, after a fruitleſs admonition, they pronounced the ſeparation of the Eaſt and Weſt, and deprived the ſacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and ſovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is ſtill more clearly expreſſed by the Greeks, who beheld the accompliſhment of the papal triumphs; and as they are more ſtrongly attached to their religion than to their country, they praiſe, inſtead of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of theſe apoſtolical men[26]. The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praiſe and the precedent: this great and glorious example of the depoſition of royal heretics is

[26] Και την Ρωμην σεν παση Ιταλιᾳ της βασιλειας αὐτου απεςησε, ſays Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 343.). For this Gregory is ſtyled by Cedrenus ανηρ αποςολικος (p. 450.); Zonaras ſpecifies the thunder, αναθηματι συνοδικῳ (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104, 105.). It may be obſerved, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

celebrated

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celebrated by the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine[27]; and if they are aſked, why the ſame thunders were not hurled againſt the Neros and Julians of antiquity? they reply, that the weakneſs of the primitive church was the ſole cauſe of her patient loyalty[28]. On this occaſion, the effects of love and hatred are the ſame; and the zealous proteſtants, who ſeek to kindle the indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes and magiſtrates, expatiate on the inſolence and treaſon of the two Gregories againſt their lawful ſovereign[29]. They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the moſt part, of the Gallican church[30], who reſpect the ſaint, without approving the ſin. Theſe common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumſcribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, ſcripture, and tradition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latins[31], and the lives[32] and epiſtles of the popes themſelves.

Two

[27] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 730, N° 4, 5.: dignum exemplum! Bellarmin, de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8.: mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iii, Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet ſuch is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bologneſe, and ſubject of the pope.

[28] Quod ſi Chriſtiani olim non depoſuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Chriſtianis (honeſt Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.). Cardinal Perron adds a diſtinction more honourable to the firſt Chriſtians, but not more ſatisfactory to modern princes—the *treaſon* of heretics and apoſtates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Chriſt and his vicar (Perroniana, p. 89.).

[29] Take, as a ſpecimen, the cautious Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, p. 1350, 1351.) and the vehement Spanheim (Hiſt. Imaginum), who, with an hundred more, tread in the footſteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

[30] See Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. epiſt. vii. 7. p. 456—474.), Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. Nov. Teſtamenti, ſecul. viii. diſſert. i. p. 92—96.), Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 215, 216.), and Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 317—320.), a diſciple of the Gallican ſchool. In the field of controverſy I always pity the moderate party, who ſtand on the open middle ground expoſed to the fire of both ſides.

[31] They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus (de Geſtis Langobard. l. vi. c. 49. p. 506, 507. in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. i. pars i.), and the nominal Anaſtaſius (de Vit. Pont. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus III. p. 165. Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195.). Yet I may remark, that the true Anaſtaſius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 134. edit. Reg.) and the Hiſtoria Miſcella (l. xxi. p. 151. in tom. i. Script. Ital.), both of the ix[th] century, tranſlate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

[32] With ſome minute difference, the moſt learned critics, Lucas Holſtenius, Scheleſtrate, Ciampini,

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Epiſtles of Gregory II. to the emperor, A. D. 727.

Two original epiſtles, from Gregory the ſecond to the emperor Leo, are ſtill extant [33]; and if they cannot be praiſed as the moſt perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at leaſt the maſk, of the founder of the papal monarchy. "During ten "pure and fortunate years," ſays Gregory to the emperor, "we have "taſted the annual comfort of your royal letters, ſubſcribed in purple "ink, with your own hand, the ſacred pledges of your attachment "to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the "change! how tremendous the ſcandal! You now accuſe the Ca-"tholics of idolatry; and, by the accuſation, you betray your own "impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to "adapt the groſſneſs of our ſtyle and arguments: the firſt elements "of holy letters are ſufficient for your confuſion; and were you to "enter a grammar-ſchool, and avow yourſelf the enemy of our "worſhip, the ſimple and pious children would be provoked to caſt "their horn-books at your head." After this decent ſalutation, the pope attempts the uſual diſtinction between the idols of antiquity and the Chriſtian images. The former were the fanciful repreſentations of phantoms or dæmons, at a time when the true God had not manifeſted his perſon in any viſible likeneſs. The latter are the genuine forms of Chriſt, his mother, and his ſaints, who had approved, by a crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of this relative worſhip. He muſt indeed have truſted to the ignorance of Leo, ſince he could

Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori (Prolegomena ad tom. iii. pars i.), are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was compoſed and continued by the apoſtolical librarians and notaries of the viii[th] and ix[th] centuries; and that the laſt and ſmalleſt part is the work of Anaſtaſius, whoſe name it bears. The ſtyle is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it muſt be read as a curious and authentic record of the times. The epiſtles of the popes are diſperſed in the volumes of Councils.

[33] The two epiſtles of Gregory II. have been preſerved in the Acts of the Nicene Council (tom. viii. p. 651—674.). They are without a date, which is variouſly fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 120.) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that ſome *papiſts* have praiſed the good ſenſe and moderation of theſe letters.

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aſſert the perpetual uſe of images, from the apoſtolic age, and their venerable preſence in the ſix ſynods of the Catholic church. A more ſpecious argument is drawn from preſent poſſeſſion and recent practice: the harmony of the Chriſtian world ſuperſedes the demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confeſſes, that ſuch aſſemblies can only be uſeful under the reign of an orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than an heretic, he recommends peace, ſilence, and implicit obedience to his ſpiritual guides of Conſtantinople and Rome. The limits of civil and eccleſiaſtical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter, the ſoul: the ſword of juſtice is in the hands of the magiſtrate: the more formidable weapon of excommunication is entruſted to the clergy; and in the exerciſe of their divine commiſſion, a zealous ſon will not ſpare his offending father: the ſucceſſor of St. Peter may lawfully chaſtiſe the kings of the earth. "You aſſault us, O tyrant! with a carnal and military "hand: unarmed and naked, we can only implore the Chriſt, the "prince of the heavenly hoſt, that he will ſend unto you a devil, for "the deſtruction of your body and the ſalvation of your ſoul. You "declare, with fooliſh arrogance, I will diſpatch my orders to Rome: "I will break in pieces the image of St. Peter; and Gregory, like "his predeceſſor Martin, ſhall be tranſported in chains, and in exile, "to the foot of the Imperial throne. Would to God, that I might "be permitted to tread in the footſteps of the holy Martin; but "may the fate of Conſtans ſerve as a warning to the perſecutors of "the church. After his juſt condemnation by the biſhops of Sicily, "the tyrant was cut off, in the fulneſs of his ſins, by a domeſtic "ſervant: the ſaint is ſtill adored by the nations of Scythia, among "whom he ended his baniſhment and his life. But it is our duty "to live for the edification and ſupport of the faithful people; nor "are we reduced to riſk our ſafety on the event of a combat. In-

"capable

" capable as you are of defending your Roman ſubjects, the mari-
" time ſituation of the city may perhaps expoſe it to your depreda-
" tion; but we can remove to the diſtance of four-and-twenty
" *ſtadia* [34], to the firſt fortreſs of the Lombards, and then——you
" may purſue the winds. Are you ignorant that the popes are the
" bond of union, the mediators of peace, between the Eaſt and
" Weſt? The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and
" they revere, as a God upon earth, the apoſtle St. Peter, whoſe
" image you threaten to deſtroy [35]. The remote and interior king-
" doms of the Weſt preſent their homage to Chriſt and his vice-
" gerent; and we now prepare to viſit one of their moſt powerful
" monarchs, who deſires to receive from our hands the ſacrament of
" baptiſm [36]. The Barbarians have ſubmitted to the yoke of the
" goſpel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the Shepherd.
" Theſe pious Barbarians are kindled into rage: they thirſt to
" avenge the perſecution of the Eaſt. Abandon your raſh and fatal
" enterpriſe; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you perſiſt, we are
" innocent of the blood that will be ſpilt in the conteſt; may it fall
" on your own head."

Revolt of Italy, A. D. 728, &c.

The firſt aſſault of Leo againſt the images of Conſtantinople had been witneſſed by a crowd of ſtrangers from Italy and the Weſt,

[34] Εικοσι-τεσσαρα ϛαδια ὑποχωρησει ὁ Αρχιερευς Ρωμης εις την χωραν της Καμπανιας, και ὑπαγε διωξον τους ανεμους (Epiſt. i. p. 664.). This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digeſtion. Camillo Pellegrini (diſſert. iv. de Ducatû Beneventi, in the Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173.) forcibly reckons the xxiv^th ſtadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman dutchy, to the firſt fortreſs, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs *ſtadia* for miles, without much enquiry into the genuine meaſure.

[35] Ὁι αἱ πασαι βασιλειαι της δυσεως ως Θεου επιγειον εχουσι.

[36] Απο της εσωτερω δυσεως τω λεγομενω Σεπτετω (p. 665.). The pope appears to have impoſed on the ignorance of the Greeks: he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the Weſt had embraced Chriſtianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have ſome reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy*, to Ina king of Weſſex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the ſecond, viſited Rome, for the purpoſe, not of baptiſm, but of pilgrimage (Pagi, A. D. 689, N° 2. A. D. 726, N° 15.)?

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who related with grief and indignation the ſacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of his proſcriptive edict, they trembled for their domeſtic deities; the images of Chriſt and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs, and ſaints, were aboliſhed in all the churches of Italy; and a ſtrong alternative was propoſed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his diſobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to heſitate; and the haughty ſtrain in which Gregory addreſſed the emperor diſplays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of reſiſtance. Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed againſt the public enemy, and his paſtoral letters admoniſhed the Italians of their danger and their duty [37]. At this ſignal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cauſe of religion; their military force by ſea and land conſiſted, for the moſt part, of the natives; and the ſpirit of patriotiſm and zeal was transfuſed into the mercenary ſtrangers. The Italians ſwore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; the Roman people was devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to ſhare the merit and advantage of this holy war. The moſt treaſonable act, but the moſt obvious revenge, was the deſtruction of the ſtatues of Leo himſelf: the moſt effectual and pleaſing meaſure of rebellion, was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abuſed by the impoſition of a new capitation [38]. A form

[37] I ſhall tranſcribe the important and deciſive paſſage of the Liber Pontificalis. Reſpiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis juſſionem, jam contra Imperatorem quaſi contra *hoſtem* ſe armavit, renuens hæreſim ejus, ſcribens ubique ſe cavere Chriſtianos eo quod orta fuiſſet, impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pentapolenſes, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris juſſionem reſtiterunt: dicentes ſe nunquam in ejuſdem pontificis condeſcendere necem, ſed pro ejus magis defenſenſione viriliter decertare (p. 156.).

[38] A *cenſus*, or capitation, ſays Anaſtaſius (p. 156.); a moſt cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themſelves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg (Hiſt. des Iconoclaſtes, l. i.), and Theophanes (p. 344.), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Iſrael. This mode

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form of adminiſtration was preſerved by the election of magiſtrates and governors; and ſo high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Conſtantinople. In that palace, the Roman biſhops, the ſecond and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made either by fraud or force to ſeize their perſons, and to ſtrike at their lives. The city was repeatedly viſited or aſſaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or ſecret truſt; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained ſome domeſtic aid, and the ſuperſtition of Naples may bluſh that her fathers were attached to the cauſe of hereſy. But theſe clandeſtine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and maſſacred, their leaders ſuffered an ignominious death, and the popes, however inclined to mercy, refuſed to intercede for theſe guilty victims. At Ravenna[39], the ſeveral quarters of the city had long exerciſed a bloody and hereditary feud; in religious controverſy they found a new aliment of faction: but the votaries of images were ſuperior in numbers or ſpirit, and the exarch, who attempted to ſtem the torrent, loſt his life in a popular ſedition. To puniſh this flagitious deed, and reſtore his dominion in Italy, the emperor ſent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf. After ſuffering from the winds and waves much loſs and delay, the Greeks made their deſcent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna: they threatened to depopulate the guilty capital, and to

mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, moſt unluckily for the hiſtorian, it was impoſed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Lewis XIV.

[39] See the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus (in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i.), whoſe deeper ſhade of Barbariſm marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for ſome curious and domeſtic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna (p. 154.), the revenge of Juſtinian II. (p. 160, 161.), the defeat of the Greeks (p. 170, 171.), &c.

imitate,

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imitate, perhaps to ſurpaſs, the example of Juſtinian the ſecond, who had chaſtiſed a former rebellion by the choice and execution of fifty of the principal inhabitants. The women and clergy, in ſackcloth and aſhes, lay proſtrate in prayer; the men were in arms for the defence of their country; the common danger had united the factions, and the event of a battle was preferred to the ſlow miſeries of a ſiege. In a hard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced, a phantom was ſeen, a voice was heard, and Ravenna was victorious by the aſſurance of victory. The ſtrangers retreated to their ſhips, but the populous ſea-coaſt poured forth a multitude of boats; the waters of the Po were ſo deeply infected with blood, that during ſix years, the public prejudice abſtained from the fiſh of the river; and the inſtitution of an annual feaſt perpetuated the worſhip of images, and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidſt the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a ſynod of ninety-three biſhops againſt the hereſy of the Iconoclaſts. With their conſent, he pronounced a general excommunication againſt all who by word or deed ſhould attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the ſaints: in this ſentence the emperor was tacitly involved[40], but the vote of a laſt and hopeleſs remonſtrance may ſeem to imply that the anathema was yet ſuſpended over his guilty head. No ſooner had they confirmed their own ſafety, the worſhip of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their ſeverity, and to have ſpared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. Their moderate counſels delayed and prevented the election of a new emperor, and

[40] Yet Leo was undoubtedly compriſed in the ſi quis .... imaginum ſacrarum .... deſtructor .... extiterit ſit extorris a corpore D. N. Jeſu Chriſti vel totius eccleſiæ unitate. The canoniſts may decide whether the guilt or the name conſtitutes the excommunication; and the deciſion is of the laſt importance to their ſafety, ſince, according to the oracle (Gratian Cauſ. xxiii. q. 5. c. 47. apud Spanheim, Hiſt. Imag. p. 112.), homicidas non eſſe qui excommunicatos trucidant.

they

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they exhorted the Italians not to ſeparate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reſide within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a maſter; and till the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exerciſed in the name of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine [41].

Republic of Rome.

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppreſſed by the arms and arts of Auguſtus, was reſcued, after ſeven hundred and fifty years of ſervitude, from the perſecution of Leo the Iſaurian. By the Cæſars, the triumphs of the conſuls had been annihilated: in the decline and fall of the empire, the god Terminus, the ſacred boundary, had inſenſibly receded from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; and Rome was reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tyber [42]. When the kings were baniſhed, the republic repoſed on the firm baſis which had been founded by their wiſdom and virtue. Their perpetual juriſdiction was divided between two annual magiſtrates: the ſenate continued to exerciſe the powers of adminiſtration and counſel; and the legiſlative authority was diſtributed in the aſſemblies of the people, by a well-proportioned ſcale of property and ſervice. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the ſcience of government and war: the will of the community was abſolute: the rights of individuals were ſacred: one hundred and thirty thouſand citizens were armed for defence or conqueſt; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation,

[41] Compeſcuit tale conſilium Pontifex, ſperans converſionem principis (Anaſtaſ. p. 156.). Sed ne deſiſterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat (p. 157.). The popes ſtyle Leo and Conſtantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with the ſtrange epithet of *Piiſſimi*. A famous Moſaic of the Lateran (A. D. 798) repreſents Chriſt, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Conſtantine V. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 337.)

[42] I have traced the Roman dutchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent diſſertation, of father Beretti (de Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, ſect. xx. p. 216—232.). Yet I muſt nicely obſerve, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation (p. 211.), and that Terracina was uſurped by the Greeks.

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deſerving of freedom and ambitious of glory[43]. When the ſovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguiſhed, the ruins of Rome preſented the ſad image of depopulation and decay: her ſlavery was an habit, her liberty an accident; the effect of ſuperſtition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The laſt veſtige of the ſubſtance, or even the forms, of the conſtitution, was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their ſcanty remnant, the offspring of ſlaves and ſtrangers, was deſpicable in the eyes of the victorious Barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expreſſed their moſt bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman; "and in this name," ſays the biſhop Liutprand, "we include whatever is baſe, whatever is "cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and "luxury, and every vice that can proſtitute the dignity of human "nature[44]." By the neceſſity of their ſituation, the inhabitants of Rome were caſt into the rough model of a republican government: they were compelled to elect ſome judges in peace and ſome leaders in war: the nobles aſſembled to deliberate, and their reſolves could not be executed without the union and conſent of the multitude. The ſtyle of the Roman ſenate and people was revived[45],

[43] On the extent, population, &c. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruſe, with pleaſure, the *Diſcours Preliminaire* to the Republique Romaine of M. de Beaufort (tom. i.), who will not be accuſed of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

[44] Quos *(Romanos)* nos, Longobardi ſcilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos noſtros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum niſi Romane, dicamus: hoc ſolo, id eſt Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum eſt comprehendentes (Liutprand, in Legat. Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.). For the ſins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have impoſed, as a fit penance, the daily peruſal of this barbarous paſſage.

[45] Pipino regi Francorum, omnis ſenatus, atque univerſa populi generalitas a Deo ſervatæ Romanæ urbis. Codex Carolin. epiſt. 36. in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160. The names of ſenatus and ſenator were never totally extinct (Diſſert. Chorograph. p. 216, 217.); but in the middle ages they ſignified little more than nobiles optimates, &c. (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin.).

but

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but the ſpirit was fled; and their new independence was diſgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiouſneſs and oppreſſion. The want of laws could only be ſupplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domeſtic counſels were moderated by the authority of the biſhop. His alms, his ſermons, his correſpondence with the kings and prelates of the Weſt, his recent ſervices, their gratitude, and oath, accuſtomed the Romans to conſider him as the firſt magiſtrate or prince of the city. The Chriſtian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inſcription are ſtill apparent on the moſt ancient coins[46]. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thouſand years; and their nobleſt title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from ſlavery.

Rome attacked by the Lombards, A. D. 730—752.

In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the holy people of Elis enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, and in the exerciſe of the Olympic games[47]. Happy would it have been for the Romans, if a ſimilar privilege had guarded the patrimony of St. Peter from the calamities of war; if the Chriſtians, who viſited the holy threſhold, would have ſheathed their ſwords in the preſence of the apoſtle and his ſucceſſor. But this myſtic circle could have been traced only by the wand of a legiſlator and a ſage: this pacific ſyſtem was incompatible with the zeal and ambition of the popes: their Romans were not addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent and placid labours of agriculture; and the Barbarians of Italy, though ſoftened by the climate, were far below the Grecian ſtates in the inſtitutions of public and private life. A memorable example of

[46] See Muratori, Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. diſſertat. xxvii. p. 548. On one of theſe coins we read Hadrianus Papa (*A. D.* 772); on the reverſe, Vict. DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (Science des Medailles, tom. ii. p. 42.) explains by *CON*ſtantinopoli *O*fficina *B* (*ſecunda*).

[47] See Weſt's Diſſertation on the Olympic Games (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32—36. edition in 12mo), and the judicious reflections of Polybius (tom. i. l. iv. p. 466. edit. Gronov.).

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repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutprand king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatican, the conqueror liſtened to the voice of Gregory the ſecond[48], withdrew his troops, reſigned his conqueſts, reſpectfully viſited the church of St. Peter, and, after performing his devotions, offered his ſword and dagger, his cuiraſs and mantle, his ſilver croſs, and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apoſtle. But this religious fervour was the illuſion, perhaps the artifice, of the moment; the ſenſe of intereſt is ſtrong and laſting; the love of arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards; and both the prince and people were irreſiſtibly tempted by the diſorders of Italy, the nakedneſs of Rome, and the unwarlike profeſſion of her new chief. On the firſt edicts of the emperor, they declared themſelves the champions of the holy images: Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already aſſumed that diſtinctive appellation; the Catholics of the Exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the firſt time into the impregnable fortreſs of Ravenna. That city and fortreſs were ſpeedily recovered by the active diligence and maritime forces of the Venetians; and thoſe faithful ſubjects obeyed the exhortation of Gregory himſelf, in ſeparating the perſonal guilt of Leo from the general cauſe of the Roman empire[49]. The Greeks were leſs mindful of the ſervice, than the Lombards of the injury: the two nations, hoſtile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance; the king and the exarch marched to the conqueſt of Spoleto and Rome: the ſtorm evaporated

[48] The ſpeech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely compoſed by Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173.), who imitates the licence and the ſpirit of Salluſt or Livy.

[49] The Venetian hiſtorians, John Sagorninus (Chron. Venet. p. 13.) and the doge Andrew Dandolo (Scriptores Rer. Ital. tom. xii. p. 135.), have preſerved this epiſtle of Gregory. The loſs and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (de Geſt. Langobard. l. vi. c. 49. 54. in Script. Ital. tom. i. pars i. p. 506. 508.); but our chronologiſts, Pagi, Muratori, &c. cannot aſcertain the date or circumſtances.

without

without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hoſtility and truce. His ſucceſſor Aſtolphus declared himſelf the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope: Ravenna was ſubdued by force or treachery[50], and this final conqueſt extinguiſhed the ſeries of the exarchs, who had reigned with a ſubordinate power ſince the time of Juſtinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was ſummoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful ſovereign; the annual tribute of a piece of gold was fixed as the ranſom of each citizen, and the ſword of deſtruction was unſheathed to exact the penalty of her diſobedience. The Romans heſitated; they entreated; they complained; and the threatening Barbarians were checked by arms and negociations, till the popes had engaged the friendſhip of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps[51].

Her deliverance by Pepin, A. D. 754.

In his diſtreſs, the firſt Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; and who, by his ſignal victory over the Saracens, had ſaved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. The ambaſſadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatneſs of his occupations, and the ſhortneſs of his life, prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His ſon Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, aſſumed the office of champion of the Roman church; and the zeal of the French prince appears to have been prompted by the love of glory and re-

[50] The option will depend on the various readings of the MSS. of Anaſtaſius—*decepperat*, or *decerpſerat* (Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars i. p. 167.).

[51] The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the Epiſtles of the Popes to Charles Martel (whom they ſtyle *Subregulus*), Pepin, and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the laſt of theſe princes. His original and authentic MS. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the Imperial library of Vienna, and has been publiſhed by Lambecius and Muratori (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 75, &c.).

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ligion. But the danger was on the banks of the Tyber, the ſuccour on thoſe of the Seine; and our ſympathy is cold to the relation of diſtant miſery. Amidſt the tears of the city, Stephen the third embraced the generous reſolution of viſiting in perſon the courts of Lombardy and France, to deprecate the injuſtice of his enemy, or to excite the pity and indignation of his friend. After ſoothing the public deſpair by litanies and orations, he undertook this laborious journey with the ambaſſadors of the French monarch and the Greek emperor. The king of the Lombards was inexorable; but his threats could not ſilence the complaints, nor retard the ſpeed, of the Roman pontiff, who traverſed the Pennine Alps, repoſed in the abbey of St. Maurice, and haſtened to graſp the right-hand of his protector; a hand which was never lifted in vain, either in war or friendſhip. Stephen was entertained as the viſible ſucceſſor of the apoſtle; at the next aſſembly, the field of March or of May, his injuries were expoſed to a devout and warlike nation, and he repaſſed the Alps, not as a ſuppliant, but as a conqueror, at the head of a French army, which was led by the king in perſon. The Lombards, after a weak reſiſtance, obtained an ignominious peace, and ſwore to reſtore the poſſeſſions, and to reſpect the ſanctity, of the Roman church. But no ſooner was Aſtolphus delivered from the preſence of the French arms, than he forgot his promiſe and reſented his diſgrace. Rome was again encompaſſed by his arms; and Stephen, apprehenſive of fatiguing the zeal of his Tranſalpine allies, enforced his complaint and requeſt, by an eloquent letter in the name and perſon of St. Peter himſelf[52]. The apoſtle aſſures his adoptive ſons, the king, the

[52] See this moſt extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epiſt. iii. p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blaſphemy; yet they ſurely meant to perſuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators; though it is executed on this occaſion in the rude faſhion of the age.

clergy, and the nobles of France, that dead in the fleſh, he is ſtill alive in the ſpirit; that they now hear, and muſt obey, the voice of the founder and guardian of the Roman church: that the Virgin, the angels, the ſaints, and the martyrs, and all the hoſt of heaven, unanimouſly urge the requeſt, and will confeſs the obligation; that riches, victory, and paradiſe, will crown their pious enterpriſe, and that eternal damnation will be the penalty of their neglect, if they ſuffer his tomb, his temple, and his people, to fall into the hands of the perfidious Lombards. The ſecond expedition of Pepin was not leſs rapid and fortunate than the firſt: St. Peter was ſatisfied, Rome was again ſaved, and Aſtolphus was taught the leſſons of juſtice and ſincerity by the ſcourge of a foreign maſter. After this double chaſtiſement, the Lombards languiſhed about twenty years in a ſtate of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and inſtead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peeviſhly haraſſed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evaſions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection and terminated without glory. On either ſide, their expiring monarchy was preſſed by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian the firſt, the genius, the fortune, and greatneſs of Charlemagne the ſon of Pepin; theſe heroes of the church and ſtate were united in public and domeſtic friendſhip, and while they trampled on the proſtrate, they varniſhed their proceedings with the faireſt colours of equity and moderation[53]. The paſſes of the Alps, and the walls of Pavia, were the only defence of the Lombards; the former were ſurpriſed, the

[53] Except in the divorce of the daughter of Deſiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated ſine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had moſt furiouſly oppoſed the alliance of a noble Frank—cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, fœtentiſſima natione Longobardorum—to whom he imputes the firſt ſtain of leproſy (Cod. Carolin. epiſt. 45. p. 178, 179.). Another reaſon againſt the marriage was the exiſtence of a firſt wife (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 232, 233. 236, 237.). But Charlemagne indulged himſelf in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

latter

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Conqueſt of Lombardy by Charlemagne, A. D. 774.

latter were inveſted, by the ſon of Pepin; and after a blockade of two years, Deſiderius, the laſt of their native princes, ſurrendered his ſceptre and his capital. Under the dominion of a foreign king, but in the poſſeſſion of their national laws, the Lombards became the brethren, rather than the ſubjects, of the Franks; who derived their blood, and manners, and language, from the ſame Germanic origin[54].

Pepin and Charlemagne, kings of France, A. D. 751. 753. 768.

The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family, form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and eccleſiaſtical, hiſtory. In the conqueſt of Italy, the champions of the Roman church obtained a favourable occaſion, a ſpecious title, the wiſhes of the people, the prayers and intrigues of the clergy. But the moſt eſſential gifts of the popes to the Carlovingian race were the dignities of king of France[55], and of patrician of Rome. I. Under the ſacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to reſume the practice of ſeeking, on the banks of the Tyber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and ſubſtance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exerciſed by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. His enemies were cruſhed by his valour; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the ſaviour of Chriſtendom; and the claims of perſonal merit were repeated and ennobled in a deſcent of four generations. The name and image of royalty was ſtill preſerved in the laſt deſcendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his

[54] See the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three firſt diſſertations of his Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. i.

[55] Beſides the common hiſtorians, three French critics, Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. l. vii. epiſt. 9. p. 477—487.), Pagi (Critica, A. D. 751, N° 1—6. A. D. 752, N° 1—10.), and Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. Novi Teſtamenti, diſſertat. ii. p. 96—107.), have treated this ſubject of the depoſition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a ſtrong bias to ſave the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard preſſed by the texts which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, Laureſhamenſes, Fuldenſes, Loiſielani.

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obſolete right could only be uſed as an inſtrument of ſedition: the nation was deſirous of reſtoring the ſimplicity of the conſtitution; and Pepin, a ſubject and a prince, was ambitious to aſcertain his own rank and the fortune of his family. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom: the blood of Clovis was pure and ſacred in their eyes; and their common ambaſſadors addreſſed the Roman pontiff, to diſpel their ſcruples, or to abſolve their promiſe. The intereſt of pope Zachary, the ſucceſſor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour: he pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the ſame perſon, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public ſafety, ſhould be degraded, ſhaved, and confined in a monaſtery for the remainder of his days. An anſwer, ſo agreeable to their wiſhes, was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a caſuiſt, the ſentence of a judge, or the oracle of a prophet: the Merovingian race diſappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the ſuffrage of a free people, accuſtomed to obey his laws and to march under his ſtandard. His coronation was twice performed, with the ſanction of the popes, by their moſt faithful ſervant St. Boniface, the apoſtle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen the third, who, in the monaſtery of St. Denys, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal unction of the kings of Iſrael was dextrouſly applied[56]: the ſucceſſor of St. Peter aſſumed the character of a divine ambaſſador: a German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed; and this Jewiſh rite has been diffuſed and maintained by the ſuperſtition

[56] Not abſolutely for the firſt time. On a leſs conſpicuous theatre, it had been uſed, in the vi^th and vii^th centuries, by the provincial biſhops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Conſtantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the laſt age of the empire. Conſtantine Manaſſes mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewiſh, incomprehenſible ceremony. See Selden's Titles of Honour, in his Works, vol. iii. part i. p. 234—249.

and

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and vanity of modern Europe. The Franks were abſolved from their ancient oath; but a dire anathema was thundered againſt them and their poſterity, if they ſhould dare to renew the ſame freedom of choice, or to elect a king, except in the holy and meritorious race of the Carlovingian princes. Without apprehending the future danger, theſe princes gloried in their preſent ſecurity: the ſecretary of Charlemagne affirms, that the French ſceptre was transferred by the authority of the popes[57]; and, in their boldeſt enterpriſes, they inſiſt, with confidence, on this ſignal and ſucceſsful act of temporal juriſdiction.

Patricians of Rome.

II. In the change of manners and language, the patricians of Rome[58] were far removed from the ſenate of Romulus, or the palace of Conſtantine, from the free nobles of the republic, or the fictitious parents of the emperor. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Juſtinian, the importance and danger of thoſe remote provinces required the preſence of a ſupreme magiſtrate; he was indifferently ſtyled the exarch or the patrician; and theſe governors of Ravenna, who fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their juriſdiction over the Roman city. Since the revolt of Italy and the loſs of the Exarchate, the diſtreſs of the Romans had exacted ſome ſacrifice of their independence. Yet, even in this act, they exerciſed the right of diſpoſing of themſelves; and the decrees of the ſenate and people ſucceſſively inveſted Charles Martel and his poſterity, with the honours of patrician of Rome. The leaders of a

[57] See Eginhard, in Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. i. p. 9, &c. c. iii. p. 24. Childeric was depoſed—*juſſû*, the Carlovingians were eſtabliſhed—*auctoritate*, Pontificis Romani. Launoy, &c. pretend that theſe ſtrong words are ſuſceptible of a very ſoft interpretation. Be it ſo; yet Eginhard underſtood the world, the court, and the Latin language.

[58] For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, ſee Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 149—151.), Pagi (Critica, A. D. 740, N° 6—11.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 308—329.), and St. Marc (Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie, tom. i. p. 379—382.). Of theſe, the Franciſcan Pagi is the moſt diſpoſed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the church, rather than of the empire.

powerful

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powerful nation would have diſdained a ſervile title and ſubordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was ſuſpended; and, in the vacancy of the empire, they derived a more glorious commiſſion from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambaſſadors preſented theſe patricians with the keys of the ſhrine of St. Peter, as a pledge and ſymbol of ſovereignty; with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city [59]. In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interpoſition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the ſafety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* repreſented only the title, the ſervice, the alliance, of theſe diſtant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and impoſed a maſter. In his firſt viſit to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the repreſentative of the emperor; and theſe honours obtained ſome new decorations from the joy and gratitude of pope Adrian the firſt [60]. No ſooner was he informed of the ſudden approach of the monarch, than he diſpatched the magiſtrates and nobles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. At the diſtance of one mile, the Flaminian way was lined with the *ſchools*, or national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.: the Roman youth was under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chaunted the praiſes of their great deliverer. At the aſpect of the holy croſſes, and enſigns of the ſaints,

[59] The papal advocates can ſoften the ſymbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the ſtyle of ad *regnum* dimiſimus, or direximus (Codex Carolin. epiſt. i. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 76.), ſeems to allow of no palliation or eſcape. In the MS. of the Vienna library, they read, inſtead of *regnum*, *rogum*, prayer or requeſt (ſee Ducange); and the royalty of Charles Martel is ſubverted by this important correction (Catalani, in his Critical Prefaces Annali d'Italia, tom. xvii. p. 95—99.).

[60] In the authentic narrative of this reception, the Liber Pontificalis obſerves—obviam illi ejus ſanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id eſt ſigna; ſicut mos eſt ad exarchum, aut patricium ſuſcipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore ſuſcipi fecit (tom. iii. pars i. p. 185.).

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he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy: they embraced, as friends and equals; but in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right-hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed, between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre, of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome [61].

Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to the popes.

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated, as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the exarchate was the first fruits of the conquests of Pepin [62]. Astolphus with a sigh relinquished his prey; the keys and the hostages of the principal cities

[61] Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, describes Rome as his subject city—vestræ civitates (ad Pompeium Festum), suis addidit sceptris (de Metensis Ecclesiæ Episcopis). Some Carlovingian medals, struck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial, dissertation on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors (Amsterdam, 1692, in 4to).

[62] Mosheim (Institution Hist. Eccles. p. 263.) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the Liber Pontificalis represents (p. 171.), and the Codex Carolinus supposes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, since it has been preserved, not in the papal, but the Imperial, library.

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were delivered to the French ambaſſador; and, in his maſter's name, he preſented them before the tomb of St. Peter. The ample meaſure of the Exarchate[63] might compriſe all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its ſtrict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara: its inſeparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which ſtretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennine. In this tranſaction, the ambition and avarice of the popes has been ſeverely condemned. Perhaps the humility of a Chriſtian prieſt ſhould have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not eaſy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profeſſion. Perhaps a faithful ſubject, or even a generous enemy, would have been leſs impatient to divide the ſpoils of the Barbarian; and if the emperor had entruſted Stephen to ſolicit in his name the reſtitution of the Exarchate, I will not abſolve the pope from the reproach of treachery and falſehood. But in the rigid interpretation of the laws, every one may accept, without injury, whatever his benefactor can beſtow without injuſtice. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the ſword of Aſtolphus was broken by the ſtronger ſword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cauſe of the Iconoclaſt that Pepin had expoſed his perſon and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps: he poſſeſſed, and might lawfully alienate, his conqueſts; and to the importunities of the Greeks, he piouſly replied, that no human conſideration ſhould tempt him to reſume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remiſſion of his ſins and the ſalvation of his ſoul. The ſplendid donation was granted in ſupreme and abſolute

[63] Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow conceſſions, of intereſt and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitat. tom. i. p. 63—68.) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the Diſſertatio Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. x. p. 160—180.

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dominion, and the world beheld for the firſt time a Chriſtian biſhop inveſted with the prerogatives of a temporal prince; the choice of magiſtrates, the exerciſe of juſtice, the impoſition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the diſſolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the dutchy of Spoleto [64] ſought a refuge from the ſtorm, ſhaved their heads after the Roman faſhion, declared themſelves the ſervants and ſubjects of St. Peter, and completed, by this voluntary ſurrender, the preſent circle of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. That myſterious circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent, by the verbal or written donation of Charlemagne [65], who, in the firſt tranſports of his victory, deſpoiled himſelf and the Greek emperor of the cities and iſlands which had formerly been annexed to the Exarchate. But, in the cooler moments of abſence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealouſy and envy, the recent greatneſs of his eccleſiaſtical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promiſes was reſpectfully eluded: the king of the Franks and Lombards aſſerted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna [66], as well as Rome, was numbered in the liſt of his metropolitan cities. The ſovereignty of the Exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes: they found in the archbiſhops of Ravenna a dangerous and domeſtic rival [67]: the nobles

[64] Spoletini deprecati ſunt, ut eos in ſervitio B. Petri reciperet et more Romanorum tonſurari faceret (Anaſtaſius, p. 185.). Yet it may be a queſtion whether they gave their own perſons or their country.

[65] The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc (Abregé, tom. i. p. 390—408.), who has well ſtudied the Codex Carolinus. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The moſt ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant, is that of the emperor Lewis the Pious (Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opera, tom. ii. p. 267—270.). Its authenticity, or at leaſt its integrity, are much queſtioned (Pagi, A. D. 817, N° 7, &c. Muratori, Annali, tom. vi. p. 432, &c. Diſſertat. Chorographica, p. 33, 34.); but I ſee no reaſonable objection to theſe princes ſo freely diſpoſing of what was not their own.

[66] Charlemagne ſolicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I. the moſaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle (Cod. Carolin. epiſt. 67. p. 223.).

[67] The popes often complain of the uſurpations of Leo of Ravenna (Codex Carolin. epiſt.

nobles and people diſdained the yoke of a prieſt; and, in the diſorders of the times, they could only retain the memory of an ancient claim, which, in a more proſperous age, they have revived and realized.

Forgery of the donation of Conſtantine.

Fraud is the reſource of weakneſs and cunning; and the ſtrong, though ignorant, Barbarian was often entangled in the net of ſacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arſenal and manufacture, which, according to the occaſion, have produced or concealed a various collection of falſe or genuine, of corrupt or ſuſpicious, acts, as they tended to promote the intereſt of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, ſome apoſtolical ſcribe, perhaps the notorious Iſidore, compoſed the decretals, and the donation of Conſtantine, the two magic pillars of the ſpiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epiſtle of Adrian the firſt, who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name, of the great Conſtantine[68]. According to the legend, the firſt of the Chriſtian emperors was healed of the leproſy, and purified in the waters of baptiſm, by St. Silveſter, the Roman biſhop; and never was phyſician more glorioufly recompenſed. His royal proſelyte withdrew from the ſeat and patrimony of St. Peter: declared his reſolution of founding a new capital in the Eaſt; and reſigned to the popes the free and perpetual ſovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the Weſt[69]. This fiction was productive of the moſt bene-

epiſt. 51, 52, 53. p. 200—205.). Si corpus St. Andreæ fratris germani St. Petri hîc humaſſet, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices ſic ſubjugaſſent (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 107.).

[68] Piiſſimo Conſtantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Eccleſia elevata et exaltata eſt, et poteſtatem in his Heſperiæ partibus largiri dignatus eſt.... Quia ecce novus Conſtantinus his temporibus, &c. (Codex Carolin. epiſt. 49. in tom. iii. part ii. p. 195.). Pagi (Critica, A. D. 324, N° 16.) aſcribes them to an impoſtor of the viii^th century, who borrowed the name of St. Iſidore: his humble title of *Peccator* was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator*; his merchandiſe was indeed profitable, and a few ſheets of paper were ſold for much wealth and power.

[69] Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4—7.) has enumerated the ſeveral editions of this

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beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of uſurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the juſt and irrevocable reſtitution of a ſcanty portion of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The ſovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the ſucceſſors of St. Peter and Conſtantine were inveſted with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæſars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the moſt abſurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is ſtill enrolled among the decrees of the canon law [70]. The emperors, and the Romans, were incapable of diſcerning a forgery, that ſubverted their rights and freedom; and the only oppoſition proceeded from a Sabine monaſtery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, diſputed the truth and validity of the donation of Conſtantine [71]. In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was tranſpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot [72]. His contemporaries

this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the ſpurious Acts of St. Silveſter or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been ſurreptitiouſly tacked.

[70] In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX. cardinal Peter Damianus, &c. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 23, 24.) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, &c. de Donatione Conſtantini. See a Diſſertation of Natalis Alexander, ſeculum iv. diſſ. 25. p. 335—350.

[71] See a large account of the controverſy (A. D. 1105), which aroſe from a private law-ſuit, in the Chronicon Farfenſe (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, &c.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly acceſſible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the firſt volume of the Hiſtoria Monaſtica Italiæ of Quirini. But they are now impriſoned (Muratori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269.) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whiſpers of ambition (Quirini, Comment. pars ii. p. 123—136.).

[72] I have read in the collection of Schardius (de Poteſtate Imperiali Eccleſiaſticâ, p. 734—780.), this animated diſcourſe, which was compoſed by the author, A. D. 1440, ſix years after the flight of pope Eugenius IV. It is a moſt vehement party pamphlet: Valla juſtifies and animates the revolt of the Romans,

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poraries of the fifteenth century were aſtoniſhed at his ſacrilegious boldneſs; yet ſuch is the ſilent and irreſiſtible progreſs of reaſon, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of hiſtorians[73] and poets[74], and the tacit or modeſt cenſure of the advocates of the Roman church[75]. The popes themſelves have indulged a ſmile at the credulity of the vulgar[76]; but a falſe and obſolete title ſtill ſanctifies their reign; and, by the ſame fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has ſubſiſted after the foundations have been undermined.

Reſtoration of images in the Eaſt by the empreſs Irene, A. D. 780, &c.

While the popes eſtabliſhed in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the firſt cauſe of their revolt, were reſtored in the Eaſtern empire[77]. Under the reign of Conſtantine the fifth, the union of civil and eccleſiaſtical power had overthrown the tree, without ex-

mans, and would even approve the uſe of a dagger againſt their ſacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the perſecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran (Bayle, Dictionaire Critique, VALLA; Voſſius, de Hiſtoricis Latinis, p. 580.

[73] See Guicciardini, a ſervant of the popes, in that long and valuable digreſſion, which has reſumed its place in the laſt edition, correctly publiſhed from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775 (Iſtoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385—395.).

[74] The Paladin Aſtolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were loſt upon earth (Orlando Furioſo, xxxiv. 80.).

Di vari fiore ad un grand monte paſſa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte
Queſto era il dono (ſe però dir lece)
Che Coſtantino al buon Silveſtro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

[75] See Baronius, A. D. 324, N° 117—123. A. D. 1191, N° 51, &c. The cardinal wiſhes to ſuppoſe that Rome was offered Conſtantine, and *refuſed* by Silveſter. The act of donation he conſiders, ſtrangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

[76] Baronius n'en dit gueres contre; encore en a-t'il trop dit, et l'on vouloit ſans moi, *(Cardinal du Perron)*, qui l'empechai, cenſurer cette partie de ſon hiſtoire. J'en deviſai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me repondit autre choſe "che volete? i Canonici la lengono," il le diſoit *en riant* (Perroniana, p. 77.).

[77] The remaining hiſtory of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A. D. 780—840), Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. N. T. ſeculum viii. Panoplia adverſus Hæreticos, p. 118—178.), and Dupin (Bibliot. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 136—154.); for the proteſtants, by Spanheim (Hiſt. Imag. p. 305—639.), Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 556—572. tom. ii. p. 1362—1385.), and Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſecul. viii et ix.). The proteſtants, except Moſheim, are ſoured with controverſy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and ſuperſtition of the monks; and even Le Beau (Hiſt. du Bas Empire), a gentleman and a ſcholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

tirpating

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tirpating the root, of ſuperſtition. The idols, for ſuch they were now held, were ſecretly cheriſhed by the order and the ſex moſt prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females, obtained a final victory over the reaſon and authority of man. Leo the fourth maintained with leſs rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philoſophy, of their anceſtors. During the life of her huſband, theſe ſentiments were inflamed by danger and diſſimulation, and ſhe could only labour to protect and promote ſome favourite monks whom ſhe drew from their caverns, and ſeated on the metropolitan thrones of the Eaſt. But as ſoon as ſhe reigned in her own name and that of her ſon, Irene more ſeriouſly undertook the ruin of the Iconoclaſts; and the firſt ſtep of her future perſecution, was a general edict for liberty of conſcience. In the reſtoration of the monks, a thouſand images were expoſed to the public veneration; a thouſand legends were invented of their ſufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the epiſcopal ſeats were judiciouſly filled; the moſt eager competitors for earthly or celeſtial favour, anticipated and flattered the judgment of their ſovereign; and the promotion of her ſecretary Taraſius, gave Irene the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a ſimilar aſſembly[78]; the Iconoclaſts whom ſhe convened, were bold in poſſeſſion, and averſe to debate; and the feeble voice of the biſhops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the ſoldiers and people of Conſtantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the ſeparation of the diſaffected troops, and the

[78] See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the ſecond Council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the viiith volume of the Councils, p. 645—1600. A faithful verſion, with ſome critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a ſigh or a ſmile.

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VIIth general council, II^d of Nice, A. D. 787, Sept. 24—Oct. 23.

choice of Nice for a ſecond orthodox ſynod, removed theſe obſtacles; and the epiſcopal conſcience was again, after the Greek faſhion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the conſummation of this important work: the Iconoclaſts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents; the ſcene was decorated by the legates of pope Adrian and the Eaſtern patriarchs[79], the decrees were framed by the preſident Taraſius, and ratified by the acclamations and ſubſcriptions of three hundred and fifty biſhops. They unanimouſly pronounced, that the worſhip of images is agreeable to ſcripture and reaſon, to the fathers and councils of the church: but they heſitate whether that worſhip be relative or direct; whether the Godhead, and the figure, of Chriſt be entitled to the ſame mode of adoration. Of this ſecond Nicene council, the acts are ſtill extant; a curious monument of ſuperſtition and ignorance, of falſehood and folly. I ſhall only notice the judgment of the biſhops, on the comparative merit of image-worſhip and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with the dæmon of fornication, on condition of interrupting his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His ſcruples prompted him to conſult the abbot. "Rather than abſtain from adoring Chriſt and his Mother in their "holy images, it would be better for you," replied the caſuiſt, "to "enter every brothel, and viſit every proſtitute, in the city[80]."

Final eſtabliſhment of images by

For the honour of orthodoxy, at leaſt the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is ſomewhat unfortunate, that the two princes who

[79] The pope's legates were caſual meſſengers, two prieſts without any ſpecial commiſſion, and who were diſavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were perſuaded by the Catholics to repreſent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites (epiſt. i. 38. in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319.), one of the warmeſt Iconoclaſts of the age.

[80] Συμφερει δε σοι μη καταλιπειν εν τη πολει ταυτη πορνειον εις ὁ μη εισελθης, η ινα αρνηση το προσκυνειν τον κυριον ἡμων και θεον Ιησεν Χριστον μετα της ιδιας αυτυ μητρος εν εικονι. Theſe viſits could not be innocent, ſince the Δαιμων πορνειας (the dæmon of fornication) πολεμει δε αυτον . . . εν μιχ ην ὡς επικειτο αυτῳ σφοδρα, &c. Actio iv. p. 901. Actio v. p. 1031.

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the empreſs Theodora, A. D. 842.

convened the two councils of Nice, are both ſtained with the blood of their ſons. The ſecond of theſe aſſemblies was approved and rigorouſly executed by the deſpotiſm of Irene, and ſhe refuſed her adverſaries the toleration which at firſt ſhe had granted to her friends. During the five ſucceeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the conteſt was maintained, with unabated rage and various ſucceſs, between the worſhippers and the breakers of the images; but I am not inclined to purſue with minute diligence the repetition of the ſame events. Nicephorus allowed a general liberty of ſpeech and practice; and the only virtue of his reign is accuſed by the monks as the cauſe of his temporal and eternal perdition. Superſtition and weakneſs formed the character of Michael the firſt, but the ſaints and images were incapable of ſupporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo the fifth aſſerted the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their ſeditious adherents, were condemned to a ſecond exile. Their applauſe would have ſanctified the murder of an impious tyrant, but his aſſaſſin and ſucceſſor, the ſecond Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian hereſies: he attempted to mediate between the contending parties; and the intractable ſpirit of the Catholics inſenſibly caſt him into the oppoſite ſcale. His moderation was guarded by timidity; but his ſon Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the laſt and moſt cruel of the Iconoclaſts. The enthuſiaſm of the times ran ſtrongly againſt them; and the emperors, who ſtemmed the torrent, were exaſperated and puniſhed by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus, the final victory of the images was atchieved by a ſecond female, his widow Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her meaſures were bold and deciſive. The fiction of a tardy repentance abſolved the ſame and the ſoul of her deceaſed huſband: the ſentence of the Iconoclaſt patriarch was commuted from the loſs of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred laſhes: the biſhops trembled,

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the monks ſhouted, and the feſtival of orthodoxy preſerves the annual memory of the triumph of the images. A ſingle queſtion yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent ſanctity: it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century[81]; and as this opinion has the ſtrongeſt recommendation of abſurdity, I am ſurpriſed that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the Weſt, pope Adrian the firſt accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene aſſembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the ſeventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greateſt part of the Latin Chriſtians were far behind in the race of ſuperſtition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, ſteered a middle courſe between the adoration and the deſtruction of images, which they admitted into their temples, not as objects of worſhip, but as lively and uſeful memorials of faith and hiſtory. An angry book of controverſy was compoſed and publiſhed in the name of Charlemagne[82]; under his authority a ſynod of three hundred biſhops was aſſembled at Frankfort[83]: they blamed the fury of the Iconoclaſts, but they pronounced a more ſevere cenſure againſt the ſuperſtition of the Greeks, and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long deſpiſed by the Barbarians of the Weſt[84]. Among them the worſhip of images advanced

Reluctance of the Franks and of Charlemagne, A. D. 794, &c.

[81] See an account of this controverſy in the Alexius of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 129.) and Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 371, 372.).

[82] The Libri Carolini (Spanheim, p. 443—529.), compoſed in the palace or winter-quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 790; and ſent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who anſwered them by a grandis et verboſa epiſtola (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553.). The Carolines propoſe 120 objections againſt the Nicene ſynod, and ſuch words as theſe are the flowers of their rhetoric—dementiam priſcæ Gentilitatis obſoletum errorem ..... argumenta inſaniſſima et abſurdiſſima .... deriſione dignas nænias, &c. &c.

[83] The aſſemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as eccleſiaſtical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, ſec. viii. p. 53.) who ſat and voted at Franckfort muſt include not only the biſhops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

[84] Qui ſupra ſanctiſſima patres noſtri (epiſcopi et ſacerdotes) *omnimodis* ſervitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempſerunt, atque conſentientes condemnaverunt (Concil. tom.

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vanced with a ſilent and inſenſible progreſs; but a large atonement is made for their heſitation and delay, by the groſs idolatry of the ages which precede the reformation, and of the countries, both in Europe and America, which are ſtill immerſed in the gloom of ſuperſtition.

Final ſeparation of the popes from the Eaſtern empire, A. D. 774—800.

It was after the Nicene ſynod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes conſummated the ſeparation of Rome and Italy, by the tranſlation of the empire to the leſs orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to chuſe between the rival nations: religion was not the ſole motive of their choice; and while they diſſembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and ſuſpicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hoſtile oppoſition of ſeventy years. In that ſchiſm the Romans had taſted of freedom, and the popes of ſovereignty: their ſubmiſſion would have expoſed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had reſtored the images, but they had not reſtored the Calabrian eſtates[85] and the Illyrian dioceſe[86], which the Iconoclaſts had torn away from the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; and pope Adrian threatens them with a ſen-

tom. ix. p. 101. Canon ii. Franckfurd). A polemic muſt be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maimbourg, &c. to elude this unlucky ſentence.

[85] Theophanes (p. 343.) ſpecifies thoſe of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps 7000l. ſterling). Liutprand more pompouſly enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Perſia, Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injuſtice of the Greek emperor (Legat. ad Nicephorum, in Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.).

[86] The great dioceſe of the Eaſtern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 145.): by the confeſſion of the Greeks, the patriarch of Conſtantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Theſſalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ (Luc. Holſten. Geograph. Sacra, p. 22.); and his ſpiritual conqueſts extended to Naples and Amalphi (Giannone, Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 517—524. Pagi, A. D. 730, N° 11.).

tence of excommunication unleſs they ſpeedily abjure this practical hereſy[87]. The Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breath of the reigning monarch: the Franks were now contumacious; but a diſcerning eye might diſcern their approaching converſion from the uſe, to the adoration, of images. The name of Charlemagne was ſtained by the polemic acrimony of his ſcribes; but the conqueror himſelf conformed, with the temper of a ſtateſman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimages or viſits to the Vatican, he embraced the popes in the communion of friendſhip and piety; knelt before the tomb, and conſequently before the image, of the apoſtle; and joined, without ſcruple, in all the prayers and proceſſions of the Roman liturgy. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to aboliſh his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatneſs of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Weſtern empire that they could pay their obligations or ſecure their eſtabliſhment. By this deciſive meaſure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks: from the debaſement of a provincial town, the majeſty of Rome would be reſtored: the Latin Chriſtians would be united, under a ſupreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the Weſt would receive their crown from the ſucceſſors of St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and reſpectable advocate; and, under the ſhadow of the Carlovingian power, the biſhop might exerciſe, with honour and ſafety, the government of the city[88].

Before

[87] In hoc oſtenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reverſis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* (was it the ſame?) permaneant errore .... de dioceſi S. R. E. ſeu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut ſi ea reſtituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujuſmodi errore perſevantiâ decernemus (Epiſt. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598.); to which he adds a reaſon, moſt directly oppoſite to his conduct, that he preferred the ſalvation of ſouls and rule of faith to the goods of this tranſitory world.

[88] Fontanini conſiders the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus

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Coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of Rome and of the Weſt, A. D. 800, Dec. 25.

Before the ruin of paganiſm in Rome, the competition for a wealthy biſhopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodſhed. The people was leſs numerous, but the times were more ſavage, the prize more important, and the chair of St. Peter was fiercely diſputed by the leading eccleſiaſtics who aſpired to the rank of ſovereign. The reign of Adrian the firſt[89] ſurpaſſes the meaſure of paſt or ſucceeding ages[90]; the walls of Rome, the ſacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendſhip of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame: he ſecretly edified the throne of his ſucceſſors, and diſplayed in a narrow ſpace the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a prieſt of the Lateran, Leo the third, was preferred to the nephew and the favourite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the firſt dignities of the church. Their acquieſcence or repentance diſguiſed, above four years, the blackeſt intention of revenge, till the day of a proceſſion, when a furious band of conſpirators diſperſed the unarmed multitude, and aſſaulted with blows and wounds the ſacred perſon of the pope. But their enterpriſe on his life or liberty was diſappointed, perhaps by their own confuſion and remorſe. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the ſwoon, the effect of his loſs of blood, he recovered his ſpeech and ſight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous reſtoration of

vocatus et defenſor S. R. E. See Ducange, Gloſſ. Lat. tom. i. p. 97.). His antagoniſt Muratori reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 264, 265.), they held Rome under the empire as the moſt honourable ſpecies of fief or benefice—premuntur nocte caliginoſâ!

[89] His merits and hopes are ſummed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verſes, of which Charlemagne declares himſelf the author (Concil. tom. viii. p. 520.).

Poſt patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina ſcripſi.
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater....
Nomina jungo ſimul titulis, clariſſime, noſtra
Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be ſupplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the moſt glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

[90] Every new pope is admoniſhed—"Sancte "Pater, non videbis annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole ſeries the average is about eight years—a ſhort hope for an ambitious cardinal.

his

his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the aſſaſſins[91]. From his priſon, he eſcaped to the Vatican; the duke of Spoleto haſtened to his reſcue, Charlemagne ſympathiſed in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Weſtphalia, accepted or ſolicited a viſit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repaſſed the Alps with a commiſſion of counts and biſhops, the guards of his ſafety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without reluctance, that the conqueror of the Saxons delayed till the enſuing year the perſonal diſcharge of this pious office. In his fourth and laſt pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honours of king and patrician: Leo was permitted to purge himſelf by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge: his enemies were ſilenced, and the ſacrilegious attempt againſt his life was puniſhed by the mild and inſufficient penalty of exile. On the feſtival of Chriſtmas, the laſt year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the ſimple dreſs of his country for the habit of a patrician[92]. After the celebration of the holy myſteries, Leo ſuddenly placed a precious crown on his head[93], and the dome reſounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and "victory to Charles, the moſt pious Auguſtus, crowned by God

[91] The aſſurance of Anaſtaſius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 197, 198.) is ſupported by the credulity of ſome French annaliſts; but Eginhard, and other writers of the ſame age, are more natural and ſincere. "Unus ei occu-"lus paullulum eſt læſus," ſays John the deacon of Naples (Vit. Epiſcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars ii. p. 312.). Theodulphus, a contemporary biſhop of Orleans, obſerves with prudence (l. iii. carm. 3.),

Reddita ſunt? mirum eſt: mirum eſt auferre neqûiſſe.
Eſt tamen in dubio, hinc mirer aut inde magis.

[92] Twice, at the requeſt of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard (c. xxiii. p. 109—113.) deſcribes, like Suetonius, the ſimplicity of his dreſs, ſo popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apoſtate (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. iv. p. 109.).

[93] See Anaſtaſius (p. 199.) and Eginhard (c. xxviii. p. 124—128.). The unction is mentioned by Theophanes (p. 399.), the oath by Sigonius (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration, more antiquorum principum, by the Annales Bertiniani (Script. Murator. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 505.).

"the

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"the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head and body of Charlemagne were conſecrated by the royal unction: after the example of the Cæſars, he was ſaluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath repreſents a promiſe to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the firſt fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the ſhrine of the apoſtle. In his familiar converſation, the emperor proteſted his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have diſappointed by his abſence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony muſt have diſcloſed the ſecret; and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation: he had acknowledged that the Imperial title was the object of his ambition, and a Roman ſynod had pronounced, that it was the only adequate reward of his merit and ſervices [94].

Reign and character of Charlemagne, A. D. 768—814.

The appellation of *great* has been often beſtowed and ſometimes deſerved, but CHARLEMAGNE is the only prince in whoſe favour the title has been indiſſolubly blended with the name. That name, with the addition of *ſaint*, is inſerted in the Roman calendar; and the ſaint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praiſes of the hiſtorians and philoſophers of an enlightened age [95]. His *real* merit is doubtleſs enhanced by the barbariſm of the nation and the times from which he emerged: but the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewiſe enlarged by an unequal compariſon; and the ruins of

[94] This great event of the tranſlation or reſtoration of the empire, is related and diſcuſſed by Natalis Alexander, ſecul. ix. (diſſert. i. p. 390—397.), Pagi (tom. iii. p. 418.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339—352.), Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opp. tom. ii. p. 247—251.), Spanheim (de fictâ Tranſlatione Imperii), Giannone (tom. i. p. 395—405.), St. Marc (Abregé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 438—450.), Gaillard (Hiſt. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 386—446.). Almoſt all theſe moderns have ſome religious or national bias.

[95] By Mably (Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France), Voltaire (Hiſtoire Generale), Robertſon (Hiſtory of Charles V.), and Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 18.). In the year 1782, M. Gaillard publiſhed his Hiſtoire de Charlemagne (in 4 vols. in 12mo), which I have freely and profitably uſed. The author is a man of ſenſe and humanity; and his work is laboured with induſtry and elegance. But I have likewiſe examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the vth volume of the Hiſtorians of France.

Palmyra

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Palmyra derive a caſual ſplendour from the nakedneſs of the ſurrounding deſert. Without injuſtice to his fame, I may diſcern ſome blemiſhes in the ſanctity and greatneſs of the reſtorer of the Weſtern empire. Of his moral virtues, chaſtity is not the moſt conſpicuous[96]: but the public happineſs could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more tranſient amours, the multitude of his baſtards whom he beſtowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters[97], whom the father was ſuſpected of loving with too fond a paſſion. I ſhall be ſcarcely permitted to accuſe the ambition of a conqueror; but in a day of equal retribution, the ſons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thouſand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the ſame ſpot, would have ſomething to allege againſt the juſtice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquiſhed Saxons[98] was an abuſe of the right of conqueſt; his laws were not leſs ſanguinary than his arms, and in the diſcuſſion of his motives, whatever is ſubſtracted from bigotry muſt be imputed to temper. The ſedentary reader is amazed by his inceſſant activity of mind and body; and his ſubjects and enemies were not leſs aſtoniſhed at his ſudden preſence, at the moment when they believed him at the moſt

[96] The viſion of Weltin, compoſed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, ſhews him in purgatory, with a vulture, who is perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the reſt of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is ſound and perfect (ſee Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 317—360.).

[97] The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, ſufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *ſuſpicio* that ſullied theſe fair damſels, without excepting his own wife (c. xix. p. 98—100. cum Notis Schmincke). The huſband muſt have been too ſtrong for the hiſtorian.

[98] Beſides the maſſacres and tranſmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced againſt the following crimes: 1. The refuſal of baptiſm. 2. The falſe pretence of baptiſm. 3. A relapſe to idolatry. 4. The murder of a prieſt or biſhop. 5. Human ſacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent. But every crime might be expiated by baptiſm or penance (Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 241—247.): and the Chriſtian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks (Struv. Corpus Hiſt. Germanicæ, p. 133.).

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diſtant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor ſummer nor winter, were a ſeaſon of repoſe; and our fancy cannot eaſily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. But this activity was a national rather than a perſonal virtue; the vagrant life of a Frank was ſpent in the chace, in pilgrimage, in military adventures; and the journies of Charlemagne were diſtinguiſhed only by a more numerous train and a more important purpoſe. His military renown muſt be tried by the ſcrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne, bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and ſuperior armies, he oppreſſed the ſavage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common ſafety: nor did he ever encounter an equal antagoniſt in numbers, in diſcipline, or in arms. The ſcience of war has been loſt and revived with the arts of peace; but his campaigns are not illuſtrated by any ſiege or battle, of ſingular difficulty and ſucceſs; and he might behold, with envy, the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. After his Spaniſh expedition, his rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenæan mountains; and the ſoldiers, whoſe ſituation was irretrievable and whoſe valour was uſeleſs, might accuſe, with their laſt breath, the want of ſkill or caution of their general [99]. I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, ſo highly applauded by a reſpectable judge. They compoſe not a ſyſtem, but a ſeries, of occaſional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuſes, the reformation of manners, the œconomy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the ſale of his eggs. He wiſhed to improve the

[99] In this action the famous Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, was ſlain—cum compluribus aliis. See the truth in Eginhard (c. 9. p. 51—56.), and the fable in an ingenious Supplement of M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 474.). The Spaniards are too proud of a victory, which hiſtory aſcribes to the Gaſcons, and romance to the Saracens.

laws

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laws and the character of the Franks; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deſerving of praiſe: the inveterate evils of the times were ſuſpended or mollified by his government[100]; but in his inſtitutions I can ſeldom diſcover the general views and the immortal ſpirit of a legiſlator, who ſurvives himſelf for the benefit of poſterity. The union and ſtability of his empire depended on the life of a ſingle man: he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his ſons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole conſtitution was left to fluctuate between the diſorders of anarchy and deſpotiſm. His eſteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to entruſt that aſpiring order with temporal dominion and civil juriſdiction; and his ſon Lewis, when he was ſtripped and degraded by the biſhops, might accuſe, in ſome meaſure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the impoſition of tythes, becauſe the dæmons had proclaimed in the air that the default of payment had been the cauſe of the laſt ſcarcity[101]. The literary merits of Charlemagne are atteſted by the foundation of ſchools, the introduction of arts, the works which were publiſhed in his name, and his familiar connection with the ſubjects and ſtrangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. His own ſtudies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he ſpoke Latin, and underſtood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from converſation, rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor ſtrove to acquire the practice of writing, which every pea-

[100] Yet Schmidt, from the beſt authorities, repreſents the interior diſorders and oppreſſion of his reign (Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 45—49.).

[101] Omnis homo ex ſuâ proprietate legitimam decimam ad eccleſiam conferat. Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida fames irrepſit, ebullire vacuas annonas a dæmonibus devoratas, et voces exprobationis auditas. Such is the decree and aſſertion of the great Council of Franckfort (canon xxv. tom. ix. p. 105.). Both Selden (Hiſt. of Tythes; Works, vol. iii. part ii. p. 1146.) and Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 12.) repreſent Charlemagne as the firſt *legal* author of tythes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

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fant now learns in his infancy [102]. The grammar and logic, the muſic and aſtronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of ſuperſtition; but the curioſity of the human mind muſt ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the pureſt and moſt pleaſing luſtre on the character of Charlemagne [103]. The dignity of his perſon [104], the length of his reign, the proſperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of diſtant nations, diſtinguiſh him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new æra from his reſtoration of the Weſtern empire.

Extent of his empire in France,

That empire was not unworthy of its title [105]; and ſome of the faireſt kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conqueſt of a prince, who reigned at the ſame time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary [106]. I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of FRANCE; but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne

[102] Eginhard (c. 25. p. 119.) clearly affirms, tentabat et ſcribere.... ſed parum proſpere ſucceſſit labor præpoſterus et ſero inchoatus. The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious meaning, and the title of M. Gaillard's Diſſertation (tom. iii. p. 247—260.) betrays his partiality.

[103] See Gaillard, tom. iii. p. 138—176. and Schmidt, tom. ii. p. 121—129.

[104] M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 372.) fixes the true ſtature of Charlemagne (ſee a Diſſertation of Marquard Freher ad calcem Eginhart. p. 220, &c.) at five feet nine inches of French, about ſix feet one inch and a fourth Engliſh, meaſure. The romance writers have increaſed it to eight feet, and the giant was endowed with matchleſs ſtrength and appetite: at a ſingle ſtroke of his good ſword *Joyeuſe*, he cut aſunder an horſeman and his horſe; at a ſingle repaſt he devoured a gooſe, two fowls, a quarter of mutton, &c.

[105] See the conciſe, but correct and original, work of d'Anville (Etats formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident, Paris, 1771, in 4to), whoſe map includes the empire of Charlemagne; the different parts are illuſtrated, by Valeſius (Notitia Galliarum) for France, Beretti (Diſſertatio Chorographica) for Italy, De Marca (Marca Hiſpanica) for Spain. For the middle geography of Germany, I confeſs myſelf poor and deſtitute.

[106] After a brief relation of his wars and conqueſts (Vit. Carol. c. 5—14.), Eginhard recapitulates, in a few words (c. 15.), the countries ſubject to his empire. Struvius (Corpus Hiſt. German. p. 118—149.) has inſerted in his Notes the texts of the old Chronicles.

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purſued, and confined, the Britons on the ſhores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whoſe origin and language are ſo different from the French, was chaſtiſed by the impoſition of tribute, hoſtages, and peace. After a long and evaſive conteſt, the rebellion of the dukes of Aquitain was puniſhed by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harſh and rigorous would have been ſuch treatment of ambitious governors, who had too faithfully copied the mayors of the palace. But a recent diſcovery [107] has proved that theſe unhappy princes were the laſt and lawful heirs of the blood and ſceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian houſe. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the dutchy of Gaſcogne, to the counties of Feſenzac and Armagnac, at the foot of the Pyrenees: their race was propagated till the beginning of the ſixteenth century; and, after ſurviving their Carlovingian tyrants, they were reſerved to feel the injuſtice, or the favours, of a third dynaſty. By the re-union of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its preſent boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they ſtill poſſeſſed the greateſt part of SPAIN, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidſt their civil diviſions, an Arabian emir of Saragoſſa implored his protection in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, reſtored the emir, and, without diſtinction of faith, impartially cruſhed the reſiſtance of the Chriſtians, and rewarded the obedience and ſervice of the Mahometans. In his abſence he inſtituted the *Spaniſh march* [108], which

Spain.

[107] Of a charter granted to the monaſtery of Alaon (A. D. 845) by Charles the Bald, which deduces this royal pedigree. I doubt whether ſome ſubſequent links of the ix^th and x^th centuries are equally firm; yet the whole is approved and defended by M. Gaillard (tom. ii. p. 60—81. 203—206.), who affirms, that the family of Monteſquiou (not of the preſident de Monteſquieu) is deſcended, in the female line, from Clotaire and Clovis—an innocent pretenſion!

[108] The governors or counts of the Spaniſh march

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which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona was the reſidence of the French governor: he poſſeſſed the counties of *Rouſillon* and *Catalonia*; and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were ſubject to his juriſdiction. III. As king of the Lombards, and patrician of Rome, he reigned over the greateſt part of ITALY [109], a tract of a thouſand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The dutchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard fief, had ſpread, at the expence of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Arrechis, the reigning duke, refuſed to be included in the ſlavery of his country; aſſumed the independent title of prince; and oppoſed his ſword to the Carlovingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his ſubmiſſion was not inglorious, and the emperor was content with an eaſy tribute, the demolition of his fortreſſes, and the acknowledgment, on his coins, of a ſupreme lord. The artful flattery of his ſon Grimoald added the appellation of father, but he aſſerted his dignity with prudence, and Beneventum inſenſibly eſcaped from the French yoke [110]. IV. Charlemagne was the firſt who united GERMANY under the ſame ſceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preſerved in the the circle of *Franconia*; and the people of *Heſſe* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors, by the conformity of religion and government. The *Alemanni*, ſo formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vaſſals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inſcribed within the modern limits of *Alſace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a ſimilar indulgence of their laws and manners, were leſs patient of a maſter:

Italy,

Germany,

march revolted from Charles the Simple about the year 900; and a poor pittance, the Rouſillon, has been recovered in 1642 by the kings of France (Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 220—222.). Yet the Rouſillon contains 188,900 ſubjects, and annually pays 2,600,000 livres (Necker, Adminiſtration des Finances, tom. i. p. 278, 279.); more people, perhaps, and doubtleſs more money, than the march of Charlemagne.

[109] Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 200, &c.

[110] See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375. and the Annals of Muratori.

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the repeated treaſons of Taſillo juſtified the abolition of their hereditary dukes; and their power was ſhared among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was ſtill hoſtile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Chriſt and of Charlemagne. The idols and their votaries were extirpated: the foundation of eight biſhoprics, of Munſter, Oſnaburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Verden, Hildeſheim, and Halberſtadt, define, on either ſide of the Weſer, the bounds of ancient Saxony; theſe epiſcopal ſeats were the firſt ſchools and cities of that ſavage land; and the religion and humanity of the children atoned, in ſome degree, for the maſſacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Sclavonians, of ſimilar manners and various denominations, overſpread the modern dominions of Pruſſia, Poland, and Bohemia, and ſome tranſient marks of obedience have tempted the French hiſtorian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Viſtula. The conqueſt or converſion of thoſe countries is of a more recent age; but the firſt union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be juſtly aſcribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, the ſame calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their diſtricts and villages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army, that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains and along the plain of the Danube. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the loſs of ſome French generals was avenged by the ſlaughter of the moſt noble Huns: the relics of the nation ſubmitted: the royal reſidence of the chagan was left deſolate and unknown; and the treaſures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches of

Hungary.

Italy

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Italy and Gaul [111]. After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Teyſs and the Save: the provinces of Iſtria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, were an eaſy, though unprofitable, acceſſion; and it was an effect of his moderation, that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal ſovereignty of the Greeks. But theſe diſtant poſſeſſions added more to the reputation than to the power of the Latin emperor; nor did he riſk any eccleſiaſtical foundations to reclaim the Barbarians from their vagrant life and idolatrous worſhip. Some canals of communication between the rivers, the Saône and the Meuſe, the Rhine and the Danube, were faintly attempted [112]. Their execution would have vivified the empire; and more coſt and labour were often waſted in the ſtructure of a cathedral.

His neighbours and enemies.

If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be ſeen that the empire of the Franks extended, between eaſt and weſt, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Viſtula; between the north and ſouth, from the dutchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The perſonal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the diſtreſs and diviſion of the reſt of Europe. The iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland were diſputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottiſh origin; and, after the loſs of Spain, the Chriſtian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonſo the chaſte, was confined to the narrow range of the

[111] Quot prælia in eo geſta! quantum ſanguinis effuſum ſit! Teſtatur vacua omni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita deſertus, ut ne veſtigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decidit, omnis pecunia et congeſti ex longo tempore theſauri direpti ſunt.

[112] The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the ſervice of the Pannonian war (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312—315.). The canal, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which ſome traces are ſtill extant in Swabia, was interrupted by exceſſive rains, military avocations, and ſuperſtitious fears (Schæpflin, Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xviii. p. 256. Molimina fluviorum, &c. jungendorum, p. 59—62.).

Aſturian

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Aſturian mountains. Theſe petty ſovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carlovingian monarch, implored the honour and ſupport of his alliance, and ſtyled him their common parent, the ſole and ſupreme emperor of the Weſt[113]. He maintained a more equal intercourſe with the caliph Harun al Raſhid[114], whoſe dominion ſtretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambaſſadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the holy ſepulchre. It is not eaſy to conceive the private friendſhip of a Frank and an Arab, who were ſtrangers to each other's perſon, and language, and religion: but their public correſpondence was founded on vanity, and their remote ſituation left no room for a competition of intereſt. Two-thirds of the Weſtern empire of Rome were ſubject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply ſupplied by his command of the inacceſſible or invincible nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies, we may be reaſonably ſurpriſed that he ſo often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the ſouth. The three-and-thirty campaigns laboriouſly conſumed in the woods and moraſſes of Germany, would have ſufficed to aſſert the amplitude of his title by the expulſion of the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Spain. The weakneſs of the Greeks would have enſured an eaſy victory: and the holy cruſade againſt the Saracens would have been prompted by glory and revenge, and loudly juſtified by religion and policy. Perhaps, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and the Elbe, he aſpired to ſave his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to diſarm the enemies of civilized ſociety, and to eradicate the ſeed of future emigrations. But it has been wiſely

[113] See Eginhard, c. 16. and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—385. who mentions, with a looſe reference, the intercourſe of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own ſword, and the modeſt anſwer of his Saxon diſciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our Engliſh hiſtories.

[114] The correſpondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and the Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendſhip for the *Chriſtian dog*—a polite appellation, which Harun beſtows on the emperor of the Greeks.

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obſerved, that in a light of precaution, all conqueſt muſt be ineffectual, unleſs it could be univerſal; ſince the encreaſing circle muſt be involved in a larger ſphere of hoſtility[115]. The ſubjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had ſo long concealed the continent or iſlands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fierceſt of the Saxon idolaters eſcaped from the Chriſtian tyrant to their brethren of the north; the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their pyratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a ſigh the deſtructive progreſs of the Normans, who, in leſs than ſeventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

His ſucceſſors. A. D. 814—887 in Italy; 911 in Germany; 987 in France.

Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive conſtitution, the titles of emperor and Auguſtus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life; and his ſucceſſors, on each vacancy, muſt have aſcended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the aſſociation of his ſon Lewis the Pious aſſerts the independent right of monarchy and conqueſt, and the emperor ſeems on this occaſion to have foreſeen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The

A. D. 813.

royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation[116]. The ſame ceremony was repeated, though with leſs energy, in the ſubſequent aſſociations of Lothaire and Lewis the ſecond; the Carlovingian ſceptre was tranſmitted from father to ſon in a lineal deſcent of four generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty honour of

[115] Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—365. 471—476. 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conqueſt, and the judicious diſtinction of his enemies of the firſt and the ſecond *enceinte* (tom. ii. p. 184. 509, &c.).

[116] Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation; and Baronius has honeſtly tranſcribed it (A. D. 813, N° 13, &c. See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506, 507, 508.), howſoever adverſe to the claims of the popes. For the ſeries of the Carlovingians, ſee the hiſtorians of France, Italy, and Germany; Pfeffel, Schmidt, Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whoſe pictures are ſometimes juſt, and always pleaſing.

crowning

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Lewis the Pious, A. D. 814—840.

crowning and anointing theſe hereditary princes who were already inveſted with their power and dominions. The pious Lewis ſurvived his brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his biſhops and his children, quickly diſcerned that this mighty maſs was no longer inſpired by the ſame ſoul; and the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the external ſurface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which conſumed one hundred thouſand Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between his three ſons, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever ſeparated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuſe and the Rhine, were aſſigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his ſhare, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and tranſitory kingdoms, were beſtowed on the younger children; and Lewis the ſecond, his eldeſt ſon, was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and ſufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death without any male iſſue, the vacant throne was diſputed by his uncles and couſins, and the popes moſt dextrouſly ſeized the occaſion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of beſtowing on the moſt obſequious or moſt liberal, the Imperial office of advocate of the Roman church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any ſymptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *ſtammerer*, the *fat*, and the *ſimple*, diſtinguiſhed the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deſerving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches, the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the laſt emperor of his family: his inſanity authoriſed the deſertion of Germany, Italy, and France: he was depoſed in a diet, and ſolicited his daily bread from the rebels, by whoſe contempt his life and liberty had been ſpared. According to the meaſure of their force, the governors, the biſhops, and the lords,

Lothaire I. A. D. 840—856.

Lewis II. A. D. 856—875.

Diviſion of the empire, A. D. 888.

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uſurped the fragments of the falling empire; and ſome preference was ſhewn to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Of the greater part, the title and poſſeſſion were alike doubtful, and the merit was adequate to the contracted ſcale of their dominions. Thoſe who could appear with an army at the gates of Rome were crowned emperors in the Vatican; but their modeſty was more frequently ſatisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy: and the whole term of ſeventy-four years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the eſtabliſhment of Otho the firſt.

Otho king of Germany reſtores and appropriates the the Weſtern empire, A. D. 962.

Otho[117] was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; and if he truly deſcended from Witikind, the adverſary and proſelyte of Charlemagne, the poſterity of a vanquiſhed people was exalted to reign over their conquerors. His father Henry the Fowler was elected, by the ſuffrage of the nation, to ſave and inſtitute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits[118] were enlarged on every ſide by his ſon, the firſt and greateſt of the Othos. A portion of Gaul to the weſt of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuſe and the Moſelle, was aſſigned to the Germans, by whoſe blood and language it has been tinged ſince the time of Cæſar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Alps, the ſucceſſors of Otho acquired a vain ſupremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles. In the north, Chriſtianity was propagated by the ſword of Otho, the conqueror and apoſtle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder: the marches of Brandenburg and Sleſwick were

[117] He was the ſon of Otho, the ſon of Ludolph, in whoſe favour the dutchy of Saxony had been inſtituted, A. D. 858. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St. Bruno (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii. p. 679.), gives a ſplendid character of his family. Atavorum atavi uſque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobiliſſimi; nullus in eorum ſtirpe ignotus nullus degener facile reperitur (apud Struvium, Corp. Hiſt. German. p. 216.). Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucupe) is not ſatisfied of his deſcent from Witikind.

[118] See the treatiſe of Conringius (de Finibus Imperii Germanici, Francofurt. 1680, in 4to): he rejects the extravagant and improper ſcale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and diſcuſſes with moderation the rights of Germany, her vaſſals, and her neighbours.

fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confeſſed themſelves his tributary vaſſals. At the head of a victorious army, he paſſed the Alps, ſubdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the Imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra, two maxims of public juriſprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince, who was elected in the German diet, acquired from that inſtant the ſubject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally aſſume the titles of emperor and Auguſtus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff[119].

Tranſactions of the Weſtern and Eaſtern empires.

The Imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to the Eaſt by the alteration of his ſtyle; and inſtead of ſaluting his fathers, the Greek emperors, he preſumed to adopt the more equal and familiar appellation of brother[120]. Perhaps in his connection with Irene he aſpired to the name of huſband: his embaſſy to Conſtantinople ſpoke the language of peace and friendſhip, and might conceal a treaty of marriage with that ambitious princeſs, who had renounced the moſt ſacred duties of a mother. The nature, the duration, the probable conſequences of ſuch an union between two diſtant and diſſonant empires, it is impoſſible to conjecture; but the unanimous ſilence of the Latins may teach us to ſuſpect, that the report was invented by the enemies of Irene, to charge her with the guilt of betraying the church and ſtate to the ſtrangers of the Weſt[121]. The French

[119] The power of cuſtom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I. the Fowler, in the liſt of emperors, a title which was never aſſumed by thoſe kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori for inſtance, are more ſcrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

[120] Invidiam tamen ſuſcepti nominis (C. P. imperatoribus ſuper hoc indignantibus magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam ... mittendo ad eos crebras legationes, et in epiſtolis fratres eos appellando. Eginhard, c. 28. p. 128.). Perhaps it was on their account that, like Auguſtus, he affected ſome reluctance to receive the empire.

[121] Theophanes ſpeaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, Καρολλος (Chronograph. p. 399.), and of his treaty of marriage

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French ambaſſadors were the ſpectators, and had nearly been the victims, of the conſpiracy of Nicephorus, and the national hatred. Conſtantinople was exaſperated by the treaſon and ſacrilege of ancient Rome: a proverb, "That the Franks were good friends and "bad neighbours," was in every one's mouth; but it was dangerous to provoke a neighbour who might be tempted to reiterate, in the church of St. Sophia, the ceremony of his Imperial coronation. After a tedious journey of circuit and delay, the ambaſſadors of Nicephorus found him in his camp, on the banks of the river Sala; and Charlemagne affected to confound their vanity by diſplaying, in a Franconian village, the pomp, or at leaſt the pride, of the Byzantine palace[122]. The Greeks were ſucceſſively led through four halls of audience: in the firſt they were ready to fall proſtrate before a ſplendid perſonage in a chair of ſtate, till he informed them that he was only a ſervant, the conſtable, or maſter of the horſe of the emperor. The ſame miſtake, and the ſame anſwer, were repeated in the apartments of the count palatine, the ſteward, and the chamberlain; and their impatience was gradually heightened, till the doors of the preſence-chamber were thrown open, and they beheld the genuine monarch, on his throne, enriched with the foreign luxury which he deſpiſed, and encircled with the love and reverence of his victorious chiefs. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the two empires, and the limits of the Eaſt and Weſt were defined by the right of preſent poſſeſſion. But the Greeks[123] ſoon

riage with Irene (p. 402.), which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his tranſactions with the Greek empire (tom. ii. p. 446—468.).

[122] Gaillard very properly obſerves, that this pageant was a farce ſuitable to children only; but that it was indeed repreſented in the preſence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

[123] Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi (tom. iii. A. D. 812, N° 7. A. D. 824, N° 10, &c.), the contraſt of Charlemagne and his ſon: to the former the ambaſſadors of Michael (who were indeed diſavowed) more ſuo, id eſt linguâ Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλεα appellantes; to the latter, *Vocato* imperatori *Francorum*, &c.

forgot

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forgot this humiliating equality, or remembered it only to hate the Barbarians by whom it was extorted. During the ſhort union of virtue and power, they reſpectfully ſaluted the *auguſt* Charlemagne with the acclamations of *baſileus*, and emperor of the Romans. As ſoon as theſe qualities were ſeparated in the perſon of his pious ſon, the Byzantine letters were inſcribed, "To the king, or, as he ſtyles "himſelf, the emperor of the Franks and Lombards." When both power and virtue were extinct, they deſpoiled Lewis the ſecond of his hereditary title, and, with the barbarous appellation of rex or *rega*, degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes. His reply [124] is expreſſive of his weakneſs: he proves, with ſome learning, that, both in ſacred and profane hiſtory, the name of king is ſynonymous with the Greek word *baſileus*: if, at Conſtantinople, it were aſſumed in a more excluſive and imperial ſenſe, he claims from his anceſtors, and from the pope, a juſt participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The ſame controverſy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their ambaſſador deſcribes, in lively colours, the inſolence of the Byzantine court [125]. The Greeks affected to deſpiſe the poverty and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and in their laſt decline, refuſed to proſtitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

Theſe emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exerciſe the powers which had been aſſumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes; and the importance of this prerogative encreaſed with the

Authority of the emperors in the elections of the popes,

[124] See the epiſtle, in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 243—254. c. 93—107.), whom Baronius (A. D. 871, N° 51—71.) miſtook for Erchempert, when he tranſcribed it in his Annals.

[125] Ipſe enim vos, non *imperatorem*, id eſt Βασιλεα ſuâ lingua, ſed ob indignationem Ρηγα, id eſt *regem* noſtrâ vocabat (Liutprand, in Legat. in Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 479.). The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of the *Greeks*, to make peace with Otho, the auguſt emperor of the *Romans*—quæ inſcriptio ſecundum Græcos peccatria et temeraria.... imperatorem inquiunt, *univerſalem*, *Romanorum*, *Auguſtum*, *magnum*, *ſolum*, Nicephorum (p. 486.).

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A. D. 800—1060.

temporal eſtate and ſpiritual juriſdiction of the Roman church. In the Chriſtian ariſtocracy, the principal members of the clergy ſtill formed a ſenate to aſſiſt the adminiſtration, and to ſupply the vacancy, of the biſhop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight pariſhes, and each pariſh was governed by a cardinal-prieſt, or preſbyter, a title which, however common and modeſt in its origin, has aſpired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the aſſociation of the ſeven deacons of the moſt conſiderable hoſpitals, the ſeven palatine judges of the Lateran, and ſome dignitaries of the church. This eccleſiaſtical ſenate was directed by the ſeven cardinal-biſhops of the Roman province, who were leſs occupied in the ſuburb dioceſes of Oſtia, Porto, Velitræ, Tuſculum, Prænеſte, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly ſervice in the Lateran, and their ſuperior ſhare in the honours and authority of the apoſtolic ſee. On the death of the pope, theſe biſhops recommended a ſucceſſor to the ſuffrage of the college of cardinals[126], and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applauſe or clamour of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally conſecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had graciouſly ſignified his approbation and conſent. The royal commiſſioner examined, on the ſpot, the form and freedom of the proceedings; nor was it, till after a previous ſcrutiny into the qualifications of the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed the donations which had ſucceſſively enriched the patrimony of St. Peter. In the frequent ſchiſms, the rival claims were ſubmitted to the ſentence of the emperor; and in a ſynod of biſhops he preſumed to judge, to condemn, and to puniſh, the crimes of a

[126] The origin and progreſs of the title of cardinal may be found in Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1261—1298.), Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. vi. diſſert. lxi. p. 159—182.), and Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 345—347.), who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardinal-biſhops, ſo highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are ſunk to a level with the reſt of the ſacred college.

guilty

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guilty pontiff. Otho the firſt impoſed a treaty on the ſenate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate moſt acceptable to his majeſty [127]: his ſucceſſors anticipated or prevented their choice: they beſtowed the Roman benefice, like the biſhoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name ſufficiently atteſts the interpoſition of foreign power. Theſe acts of prerogative were moſt ſpeciouſly excuſed by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals, appealed to the paſſions or avarice of the multitude: the Vatican an the Lateran were ſtained with blood; and the moſt powerful ſenators, the marquiſſes of Tuſcany and the counts of Tuſculum, held the apoſtolic ſee in a long and diſgraceful ſervitude. The Roman pontiffs, of the ninth and tenth centuries, were inſulted, impriſoned, and murdered, by their tyrants; and ſuch was their indigence after the loſs and uſurpation of the eccleſiaſtical patrimonies, that they could neither ſupport the ſtate of a prince nor exerciſe the charity of a prieſt [128]. The influence of two ſiſter proſtitutes, Marozia, and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues: the moſt ſtrenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre, and their reign [129] may have ſuggeſted to the darker ages

Diſorders.

[127] Firmiter jurantes, nunquam ſe papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter conſenſum et electionem Othonis et filii ſui (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6. p. 472.). This important conceſſion may either ſupply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, ſo fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori (A. D. 964), and ſo well defended and explained by St. Marc (Abregé, tom. ii. p. 808—816. tom. iv. p. 1167—1185.). Conſult that hiſtorical critic, and the Annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

[128] The oppreſſion and vices of the Roman church in the xth century are ſtrongly painted in the hiſtory and legation of Liutprand (ſee p. 440. 450. 471—476. 479, &c.); and it is whimſical enough to obſerve Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius againſt the popes. But theſe popes had been choſen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

[129] The time of pope Joan *(papiſſa Joanna)* is placed ſomewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inſerted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contem-

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ages[130] the fable[131] of a female pope[132]. The baſtard ſon, the grandſon and the great-grandſon of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were ſeated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the ſecond of theſe became the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a ſuitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear teſtimony to the charges that were urged againſt him in a Roman ſynod, and in the preſence of Otho the great. As John XII. had renounced the dreſs and decencies of his profeſſion, the *ſoldier* may not perhaps be diſhonoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he ſpilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious purſuits of gaming and hunting. His open ſimony might be the conſequence of diſtreſs: and his blaſphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not poſſibly be ſerious. But we read with ſome ſurpriſe, that the worthy grandſon of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome; that the Lateran

contemporary Anaſtaſius indiſſolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict (illico, mox, p. 247.); and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events to the year 857.

[130] The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witneſſes, or rather echoes, of the xiv^th^, xv^th^, and xvi^th^ centuries. They bear teſtimony againſt themſelves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that ſo curious a ſtory *muſt* have been repeated by writers of every deſcription to whom it was known. On thoſe of the ix^th^ and x^th^ centuries, the recent event would have flaſhed with a double force. Would Photius have ſpared ſuch a reproach? Could Liutprand have miſſed ſuch ſcandal? It is ſcarcely worth while to diſcuſs the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scotus; but a moſt palpable forgery is the paſſage of pope Joan, which has been foiſted into ſome MSS. and editions of the Roman Anaſtaſius:

[131] As *falſe*, it deſerves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppoſe a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, inſtead of the army: *her* merit or fortune *might* have raiſed her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the ſtreets unlucky, but not improbable.

[132] Till the reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence; and Joan's female ſtatue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 624—626.). She has been annihilated by two learned proteſtants, Blondel and Bayle (Dictionaire Critique, PAPESSE, POLONUS, BLONDEL); but their brethren were ſcandaliſed by this equitable and generous criticiſm. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to ſave this poor engine of controverſy; and even Moſheim condeſcends to cheriſh ſome doubt and ſuſpicion (p. 289.).

palace

palace was turned into a ſchool for proſtitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from viſiting the tomb of St. Peter, leſt, in the devout act, they ſhould be violated by his ſucceſſor[133]. The proteſtants have dwelt with malicious pleaſure on theſe characters of anti-chriſt; but to a philoſophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far leſs dangerous than their virtues. After a long ſeries of ſcandal, the apoſtolic ſee was reformed and exalted by the auſterity and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to aboliſh the right or uſurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To beſtow and reſume the Weſtern empire as a fief or benefice[134] of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a conteſt of fifty years, the firſt of theſe deſigns was accompliſhed by the firm ſupport of the eccleſiaſtical order, whoſe liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the ſecond attempt, though it was crowned with ſome partial and apparent ſucceſs, has been vigorouſly reſiſted by the ſecular power, and finally extinguiſhed by the improvement of human reaſon.

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Reformation and claims of the church, A. D. 1073, &c.

In the revival of the empire of Rome, neither the biſhop nor the people could beſtow on Charlemagne or Otho, the provinces which were loſt, as they had been won, by the chance of arms. But the

Authority of the emperors in Rome.

[133] Lateranenſe palatium.... proſtibulum meretricum..... Teſtis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, abſentia mulierum, quæ ſanctorum apoſtolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent viſere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppreſſiſſe (Liutprand, Hiſt. l. vi. c. 6. p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471—476.).

[134] A new example of the miſchief of equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, &c.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I. ſince the Latin word may ſignify either a legal fief, or a ſimple favour, an obligation (we want the word *bienfait*). See Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393—408. Pfeffel, Abregé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229. 296. 317. 324. 420. 430. 500. 505. 509, &c.).

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Romans were free to chuſe a maſter for themſelves; and the powers which had been delegated to the patrician, were irrevocably granted to the French and Saxon emperors of the Weſt. The broken records of the times[135] preſerve ſome remembrance of their palace, their mint, their tribunal, their edicts, and the ſword of juſtice, which, as late as the thirteenth century, was derived from Cæſar to the præfect of the city[136]. Between the arts of the popes and the violence of the people, this ſupremacy was cruſhed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Auguſtus, the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne neglected to aſſert this local juriſdiction. In the hour of proſperity, their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and diviſion of the empire, they were oppreſſed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidſt the ruins of Italy, the famous Marozia invited one of the uſurpers to aſſume the character of her third huſband; and Hugh, king of Burgundy, was introduced by her faction into the mole of Hadrian or caſtle of St. Angelo, which commands the principal bridge and entrance of Rome. Her ſon by the firſt marriage, Alberic, was compelled to attend at the nuptial banquet; but his reluctant and ungraceful ſervice was chaſtiſed with a blow by his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution. "Romans," exclaimed the youth, "once you were the maſters of the world, and theſe Burgundians "the moſt abject of your ſlaves. They now reign, theſe voracious "and brutal ſavages, and my injury is the commencement of your "ſervitude[137]." The alarum-bell rung to arms in every quarter of the

Revolt of Alberic, A. D. 932.

[135] For the hiſtory of the emperors in Rome and Italy, ſee Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ; Opp. tom. ii. with the Notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more diſtinctly to the authors of his great collection.

[136] See the Diſſertation of Le Blanc at the end of his Treatiſe des Monnoyes de France, in which he produces ſome Roman coins of the French emperors.

[137] Romanorum aliquando ſervi, ſcilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? .... Romanæ

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the city: the Burgundians retreated with haſte and ſhame; Marozia was impriſoned by her victorious ſon; and his brother, pope John XI. was reduced to the exerciſe of his ſpiritual functions. With the title of prince, Alberic poſſeſſed above twenty years the government of Rome, and he is ſaid to have gratified the popular prejudice, by reſtoring the office, or at leaſt the title, of conſuls and tribunes. His ſon and heir Octavian aſſumed, with the pontificate, the name of John XII.; like his predeceſſor, he was provoked by the Lombard princes to ſeek a deliverer for the church and republic; and the ſervices of Otho were rewarded with the Imperial dignity. But the Saxon was imperious, the Romans were impatient, the feſtival of the coronation was diſturbed by the ſecret conflict of prerogative and freedom, and Otho commanded his ſword-bearer not to ſtir from his perſon, leſt he ſhould be aſſaulted and murdered at the foot of the altar[138]. Before he repaſſed the Alps, the emperor chaſtiſed the revolt of the people and the ingratitude of John XII. The pope was degraded in a ſynod; the præfect was mounted on an aſs, whipped through the city and caſt into a dungeon; thirteen of the moſt guilty were hanged, others were mutilated or baniſhed; and this ſevere proceſs was juſtified by the ancient laws of Theodoſius and Juſtinian. The voice of fame has accuſed the ſecond Otho of a perfidious and bloody act, the maſſacre of the ſenators, whom he had invited to his table under the fair ſemblance of hoſpitality and friendſhip[139]. In the minority of his ſon Otho the third, Rome made

Of pope John XII. A. D. 967.

manæ urbis dignitas ad tantam eſt ſtultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperio pareat? (Liutprand, l. iii. c. 12. p. 450.) Sigonius (l. vi. p. 400.) poſitively affirms the renovation of the conſulſhip; but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently ſtyled princeps Romanorum.

[138] Ditmar, p. 354. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 439.

[139] This bloody feaſt is deſcribed in Leonine verſe, in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 436, 437.), who flouriſhed towards the end of the xiith century (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ

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Of the conſul Creſcentius, A. D. 998.

made a bold attempt to ſhake off the Saxon yoke, and the conſul Creſcentius was the Brutus of the republic. From the condition of a ſubject and an exile, he twice roſe to the command of the city, oppreſſed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conſpiracy for reſtoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortreſs of St. Angelo, he maintained an obſtinate ſiege, till the unfortunate conſul was betrayed by a promiſe of ſafety: his body was ſuſpended on a gibbet, and his head was expoſed on the battlements of the caſtle. By a reverſe of fortune, Otho, after ſeparating his troops, was beſieged three days, without food, in his palace; and a diſgraceful eſcape ſaved him from the juſtice or fury of the Romans. The ſenator Ptolemy was the leader of the people, and the widow of Creſcentius enjoyed the pleaſure or the fame of revenging her huſband, by a poiſon which ſhe adminiſtered to her Imperial lover. It was the deſign of Otho the third to abandon the ruder countries of the north, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the inſtitutions of the Roman monarchy. But his ſucceſſors only once in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tyber, to receive their crown in the Vatican [140]. Their abſence was contemptible, their preſence odious and formidable. They deſcended from the Alps, at the head of their Barbarians, who were ſtrangers and enemies to the country; and their tranſient viſit was a ſcene of tumult and bloodſhed [141]. A faint remembrance of their anceſtors ſtill tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the ſucceſſion of Saxons, Franks,

infimi Ævi, tom. iii. p. 69. edit. Manſi); but his evidence, which impoſed on Sigonius, is reaſonably ſuſpected by Muratori (Annali, tom. viii. p. 177.).

[140] The coronation of the emperor, and ſome original ceremonies of the xth century, are preſerved in the Panegyric on Berengarius (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 405—414.), illuſtrated by the Notes of Hadrian Valeſius, and Leibnitz. Sigonius has related the whole proceſs of the Roman expedition, in good Latin, but with ſome errors of time and fact (l. vii. p. 441—446.).

[141] In a quarrel at the coronation of Conrad II. Muratori takes leave to obſerve—doveano ben eſſere allora, indiſciplinati, Barbari, e *beſtiali* i Tedeſchi. Annal. tom. viii. p. 368.

Swabians,

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Swabians, and Bohemians, who uſurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæſars.

The kingdom of Italy, A. D. 774—1250.

There is nothing perhaps more adverſe to nature and reaſon than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in oppoſition to their inclination and intereſt. A torrent of Barbarians may paſs over the earth, but an extenſive empire muſt be ſupported by a refined ſyſtem of policy and oppreſſion: in the centre, an abſolute power, prompt in action, and rich in reſources: a ſwift and eaſy communication with the extreme parts: fortifications to check the firſt effort of rebellion: a regular adminiſtration to protect and puniſh; and a well-diſciplined army to inſpire fear, without provoking diſcontent and deſpair. Far different was the ſituation of the German Cæſars, who were ambitious to enſlave the kingdom of Italy. Their patrimonial eſtates were ſtretched along the Rhine, or ſcattered in the provinces; but this ample domain was alienated by the imprudence or diſtreſs of ſucceſſive princes; and their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was ſcarcely ſufficient for the maintenance of their houſehold. Their troops were formed by the legal or voluntary ſervice of their feudal vaſſals, who paſſed the Alps with reluctance, aſſumed the licence of rapine and diſorder, and capriciouſly deſerted before the end of the campaign. Whole armies were ſwept away by the peſtilential influence of the climate; the ſurvivors brought back the bones of their princes and nobles [142], and the effects of their own intemperance were often imputed to the treachery and malice of the Italians, who rejoiced at leaſt in the calamities of the Barbarians. This irregular tyranny might contend on equal terms with the petty tyrants of Italy; nor

[142] After boiling away the bones. The caldrons for that purpoſe were a neceſſary piece of travelling furniture; and a German who was uſing it for his brother, promiſed it to a friend, after it ſhould have been employed for himſelf (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 423, 424.). The ſame author obſerves, that the whole Saxon line was extinguiſhed in Italy (tom. ii. p. 440.).

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can the people, or the reader, be much intereſted in the event of the quarrel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Lombards rekindled the flame of induſtry and freedom; and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuſcany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally aboliſhed; and their firſt privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were deſirous of erecting a plebeian barrier againſt the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progreſs, the daily extenſion of their power and pretenſions, were founded on the numbers and ſpirit of theſe riſing communities [143]. Each city filled the meaſure of her dioceſe or diſtrict: the juriſdiction of the counts and biſhops, of the marquiſſes and counts, was baniſhed from the land; and the proudeſt nobles were perſuaded or compelled to deſert their ſolitary caſtles, and to embrace the more honourable character of freemen and magiſtrates. The legiſlative authority was inherent in the general aſſembly; but the executive powers were entruſted to three conſuls, annually choſen from the three orders of *captains*, *valvaſſors* [144], and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial ſpirit of the Lombards was nouriſhed by the preſence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung, or the ſtandard [145] erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whoſe zeal in their own cauſe was ſoon guided by the uſe and diſcipline of arms. At the foot of

[143] Otho biſhop of Friſingen has left an important paſſage on the Italian cities (l. ii. c. 13. in Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 707—710.); and the riſe, progreſs, and government, of theſe republics are perfectly illuſtrated by Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iv. diſſert. xlv—lii. p. 1—675. Annal. tom. viii, ix, x.).

[144] For theſe titles, ſee Selden (Titles of Honour, vol. iii. part i. p. 488.), Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin. tom. ii. p. 140. tom. vi. p. 776.), and St. Marc (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 719.).

[145] The Lombards invented and uſed the *carocium*, a ſtandard planted on a car or waggon, drawn by a team of oxen (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 194, 195. Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii. diſſ. xxvi. p. 489—493.).

theſe

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theſe popular ramparts, the pride of the Cæſars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greateſt princes of the middle age: the firſt, ſuperior perhaps in military proweſs; the ſecond, who undoubtedly excelled in the ſofter accompliſhments of peace and learning.

Frederic the firſt, A. D. 1152—1190.

Ambitious of reſtoring the ſplendour of the purple, Frederic the firſt invaded the republics of Lombardy, with the arts of a ſtateſman, the valour of a ſoldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent diſcovery of the Pandects had renewed a ſcience moſt favourable to deſpotiſm; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the abſolute maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects. His royal prerogatives, in a leſs odious ſenſe, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver [146], which were multiplied to an indefinite demand, by the rapine of the fiſcal officers. The obſtinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms: his captives were delivered to the executioner, or ſhot from his military engines; and, after the ſiege and ſurrender of Milan, the buildings of that ſtately capital were razed to the ground, three hundred hoſtages were ſent into Germany, and the inhabitants were diſperſed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror [147]. But Milan ſoon roſe from her aſhes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by diſtreſs: their cauſe was eſpouſed by Venice, pope Alexander the third, and the Greek emperor: the fabric of oppreſſion was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Conſtance, Frederic ſubſcribed, with ſome reſervations, the freedom of four-and-twenty cities. His grandſon

[146] Gunther Ligurinus, l. viii. 584, et ſeq. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 399.

[147] Solus imperator faciem ſuam firmavit ut petram (Burcard. de Excidio Mediolani, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 917.). This volume of Muratori contains the originals of the hiſtory of Frederic the firſt, which muſt be compared with due regard to the circumſtances and prejudices of each German or Lombard writer.

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Frederic the second, A. D. 1198—1250.

contended with their vigour and maturity; but Frederic the ſecond[148] was endowed with ſome perſonal and peculiar advantages. His birth and education recommended him to the Italians; and in the implacable diſcord of the two factions, the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs diſplayed the banner of liberty and the church. The court of Rome had ſlumbered, when his father Henry the ſixth was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and from theſe hereditary realms, the ſon derived an ample and ready ſupply of troops and treaſure. Yet Frederic the ſecond was finally oppreſſed by the arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given to a ſtranger, and the laſt of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public ſcaffold. During ſixty years, no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious ſale of the laſt relics of ſovereignty.

Independence of the princes of Germany, A. D. 814—1250, &c.

The Barbarian conquerors of the Weſt were pleaſed to decorate their chief with the title of emperor; but it was not their deſign to inveſt him with the deſpotiſm of Conſtantine and Juſtinian. The perſons of the Germans were free, their conqueſts were their own, and their national character was animated by a ſpirit which ſcorned the ſervile juriſprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impoſe a monarch, on the armed freemen who were impatient of a magiſtrate; on the bold, who refuſed to obey; on the powerful, who aſpired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was diſtributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the ſmaller diſtricts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the

[148] For the hiſtory of Frederic II. and the houſe of Swabia at Naples, ſee Giannone, Iſtoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xiv—xix.

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first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who, for the most part, were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany, were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the third and Henry the fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic œconomy. Whatever had been seized by violence, was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one, could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard, which *he* received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carlovingian and Saxon dynasties, who blindly depended on their moderation and fidelity; and the bishoprics of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of

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the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of beſtowing on every vacancy theſe eccleſiaſtic and ſecular benefices, their cauſe was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But in the quarrel of the inveſtitures, they were deprived of their influence over the epiſcopal chapters; the freedom of election was reſtored, and the ſovereign was reduced, by a ſolemn mockery, to his *firſt prayers*, the recommendation, once in his reign, to a ſingle prebend in each church. The ſecular governors, inſtead of being recalled at the will of a ſuperior, could be degraded only by the ſentence of their peers. In the firſt age of the monarchy, the appointment of the ſon to the dutchy or county of his father, was ſolicited as a favour; it was gradually obtained as a cuſtom, and extorted as a right: the lineal ſucceſſion was often extended to the collateral or female branches; the ſtates of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal, appellation) were divided and alienated by teſtament and ſale; and all idea of a public truſt was loſt in that of a private and perpetual inheritance. The emperor could not even be enriched by the caſualties of forfeiture and extinction: within the term of a year, he was obliged to diſpoſe of the vacant fief, and in the choice of the candidate, it was his duty to conſult either the general or the provincial diet.

The Germanic conſtitution, A. D. 1250.

After the death of Frederic the ſecond, Germany was left a monſter with an hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates diſputed the ruins of the empire: the lords of innumerable caſtles were leſs prone to obey, than to imitate, their ſuperiors; and according to the meaſure of their ſtrength, their inceſſant hoſtilities received the names of conqueſt or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable conſequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were ſhivered into fragments by the violence of the ſame tempeſt. But the Italian cities and the French vaſſals were divided and deſtroyed, while the union of the Germans has produced,

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under the name of an empire, a great ſyſtem of a fœderative republic. In the frequent and at laſt the perpetual inſtitution of diets, a national ſpirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legiſlature are ſtill exerciſed by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the moſt powerful feudataries were permitted to aſſume, with a diſtinguiſhed name and rank, the excluſive privilege of chuſing the Roman emperor; and theſe electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburgh, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbiſhops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themſelves of a promiſcuous multitude: they reduced to four repreſentative votes, the long ſeries of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equeſtrian order, ſixty thouſand of whom, as in the Poliſh diets, had appeared on horſeback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the ſword and the mitre, wiſely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legiſlature, and, in the progreſs of ſociety, they were introduced about the ſame æra into the national aſſemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanſeatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north: the confederates of the Rhine ſecured the peace and intercourſe of the inland country: the influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative ſtill invalidates the acts of the two ſuperior colleges of electors and princes[149].

It

[149] In the immenſe labyrinth of the *jus publicum* of Germany, I muſt either quote one writer or a thouſand; and I had rather truſt to one faithful guide, than tranſcribe, on credit, a multitude of names and paſſages. That guide is M. Pfeffel, the author of the beſt legal and conſtitutional hiſtory that I know of any country (Nouvel Abregé Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne; Paris, 1776, 2 vols. in 4to). His learning and judgment have diſcerned the moſt intereſting facts; his ſimple brevity compriſes them in a narrow ſpace; his chronological order diſtributes them under the proper dates; and an elaborate index collects them under their reſpective heads. To this

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Weakneſs and poverty of the German emperor Charles IV. A. D. 1347—1378.

It is in the fourteenth century, that we may view in the ſtrongeſt light the ſtate and contraſt of the Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a ſingle province of Trajan or Conſtantine. Their unworthy ſucceſſors were the counts of Hapſburgh, of Naſſau, of Luxemburgh, and of Schwartzenburgh: the emperor Henry the ſeventh procured for his ſon the crown of Bohemia, and his grandſon Charles the fourth was born among a people, ſtrange and barbarous in the eſtimation of the Germans themſelves [150]. After the excommunication of Lewis of Bavaria, he received the gift or promiſe of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiffs, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimouſly ſaluted king of the Romans, and future emperor: a title which in the ſame age was proſtituted to the Cæſars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was no more than the elective and impotent magiſtrate of an ariſtocracy of princes, who had not left him a village that he might call his own. His beſt prerogative was the right of preſiding and propoſing in the national ſenate, which was convened at his ſummons; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, leſs opulent than the adjacent city of Nurembergh, was the firmeſt ſeat of his power and the richeſt ſource of his revenue. The army with which he paſſed the Alps, conſiſted of three hundred horſe. In the cathedral of St. Ambroſe, Charles was crowned with the *iron* crown, which tradition aſcribed to the Lom-

A. D. 1355.

this work, in a leſs perfect ſtate, Dr. Robertſon was gratefully indebted for that maſterly ſketch which traces even the modern changes of the Germanic body. The Corpus Hiſtoriæ Germanicæ of Struvius has been likewiſe conſulted, the more uſefully, as that huge compilation is fortified in every page with the original texts.

[150] Yet, *perſonally*, Charles IV. muſt not be conſidered as a Barbarian. After his education at Paris, he recovered the uſe of the Bohemian, his native, idiom; and the emperor converſed and wrote with equal facility in French, Latin, Italian, and German (Struvius, p. 615, 616.). Petrarch always repreſents him as a polite and learned prince.

bard

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bard monarchy; but he was admitted only with a peaceful train; the gates of the city were ſhut upon him; and the king of Italy was held a captive by the arms of the Viſconti, whom he confirmed in the ſovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the *golden* crown of the empire; but, in obedience to a ſecret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without repoſing a ſingle night within the walls of Rome. The eloquent Petrarch [151], whoſe fancy revived the viſionary glories of the Capitol, deplores and upbraids the ignominious flight of the Bohemian; and even his contemporaries could obſerve, that the ſole exerciſe of his authority was in the lucrative ſale of privileges and titles. The gold of Italy ſecured the election of his ſon; but ſuch was the ſhameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his perſon was arreſted by a butcher in the ſtreets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge or hoſtage for the payment of his expences.

His oſtentation. A. D. 1356.

From this humiliating ſcene, let us turn to the apparent majeſty of the ſame Charles in the diets of the empire. The golden bull, which fixes the Germanic conſtitution, is promulgated in the ſtyle of a ſovereign and legiſlator. An hundred princes bowed before his throne, and exalted their own dignity by the voluntary honours which they yielded to their chief or miniſter. At the royal banquet, the hereditary great officers, the ſeven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings, performed their ſolemn and domeſtic ſervice of the palace. The ſeals of the triple kingdom were borne in ſtate by the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual archchancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marſhal, on horſeback, exerciſed his function with a ſilver meaſure of oats, which he

[151] Beſides the German and Italian hiſtorians, the expedition of Charles IV. is painted in lively and original colours in the curious Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 376—430. by the abbé de Sade, whoſe prolixity has never been blamed by any reader of taſte and curioſity.

emptied

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emptied on the ground, and immediately diſmounted to regulate the order of the gueſts. The great ſteward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the diſhes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburgh, preſented, after the repaſt, the golden ewer and baſon, to waſh. The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was repreſented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh and Brabant; and the proceſſion was cloſed by the great huntſmen, who introduced a boar and a ſtag, with a loud chorus of horns and hounds [152]. Nor was the ſupremacy of the emperor confined to Germany alone: the hereditary monarchs of Europe confeſſed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity: he was the firſt of the Chriſtian princes, the temporal head of the great republic of the Weſt [153]: to his perſon the title of majeſty was long appropriated; and he diſputed with the pope the ſublime prerogative of creating kings and aſſembling councils. The oracle of the civil law, the learned Bartolus, was a penſioner of Charles the fourth; and his ſchool reſounded with the doctrine, that the Roman emperor was the rightful ſovereign of the earth, from the riſing to the ſetting ſun. The contrary opinion was condemned, not as an error, but as an hereſy, ſince even the goſpel had pronounced, "And there went forth a "decree from Cæſar Auguſtus, that *all the world* ſhould be "taxed [154]."

Contraſt of the power and modeſty of Auguſtus.

If we annihilate the interval of time and ſpace between Auguſtus and Charles, ſtrong and ſtriking will be the contraſt between the two Cæſars; the Bohemian, who concealed his weakneſs under the maſk of oſtentation, and the Roman, who diſguiſed his ſtrength under the ſemblance of modeſty. At the head of his victorious legions, in his

[152] See the whole ceremony, in Struvius, p. 629.

[153] The republic of Europe, with the pope and emperor at its head, was never repreſented with more dignity than in the council of Conſtance. See Lenfant's Hiſtory of that aſſembly.

[154] Gravina, Origines Juris Civilis, p. 108.

reign

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reign over the ſea and land, from the Nile and Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, Auguſtus profeſſed himſelf the ſervant of the ſtate and the equal of his fellow-citizens. The conqueror of Rome and her provinces aſſumed the popular and legal form of a cenſor, a conſul, and a tribune. His will was the law of mankind, but in the declaration of his laws he borrowed the voice of the ſenate and people; and, from their decrees, their maſter accepted and renewed his temporary commiſſion to adminiſter the republic. In his dreſs, his domeſtics [155], his titles, in all the offices of ſocial life, Auguſtus maintained the character of a private Roman; and his moſt artful flatterers reſpected the ſecret of his abſolute and perpetual monarchy.

[155] Six thouſand urns have been diſcovered of the ſlaves and freedmen of Auguſtus and Livia. So minute was the diviſion of office, that one ſlave was appointed to weigh the wool which was ſpun by the empreſs's maids, another for the care of her lap-dog, &c. (Camere Sepolchrale, &c. by Bianchini. Extract of his work, in the Bibliotheque Italique, tom. iv. p. 175. His Eloge, by Fontenelle, tom. vi. p. 356.). But theſe ſervants were of the ſame rank, and poſſibly not more numerous than thoſe of Pollio or Lentulus. They only prove the general riches of the city.

CHAP. L.

Deſcription of Arabia and its Inhabitants.—Birth, Character, and Doctrine of Mahomet.—He preaches at Mecca.—Flies to Medina.—Propagates his Religion by the Sword.—Voluntary or reluctant Submiſſion of the Arabs.—His Death and Succeſſors.—The Claims and Fortunes of Ali and his Deſcendants.

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AFTER purſuing above ſix hundred years the fleeting Cæſars of Conſtantinople and Germany, I now deſcend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eaſtern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the ſtate was exhauſted by the Perſian war, and the church was diſtracted by the Neſtorian and Monophyſite ſects, Mahomet, with the ſword in one hand and the koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Chriſtianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the ſpirit of his religion, involve the cauſes of the decline and fall of the Eaſtern empire; and our eyes are curiouſly intent on one of the moſt memorable revolutions, which have impreſſed a new and laſting character on the nations of the globe[1].

[1] As in this and the following chapter I ſhall diſplay much Arabic learning, I muſt profeſs my total ignorance of the Oriental tongues, and my gratitude to the learned interpreters, who have transfuſed their ſcience into the Latin, French, and Engliſh languages. Their collections, verſions, and hiſtories, I ſhall occaſionally notice.

In

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Deſcription of Arabia.

In the vacant ſpace between Perſia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia, the Arabian peninſula [2] may be conceived as a triangle of ſpacious but irregular dimenſions. From the northern point of Beles [3] on the Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the ſtreights of Babelmandel and the land of frankincenſe. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth, from eaſt to weſt, from Baſſora to Suez, from the Perſian Gulf to the Red Sea [4]. The ſides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the ſouthern baſis preſents a front of a thouſand miles to the Indian ocean. The entire ſurface of the peninſula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been juſtly ſtigmatiſed with the epithets of the *ſtony* and the *ſandy*. Even the wilds of Tartary are decked, by the hand of nature, with lofty trees

The ſoil and climate.

[2] The geographers of Arabia may be divided into three claſſes: 1. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, whoſe progreſſive knowledge may be traced in Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro, in Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 159—167. l. iii. p. 211—216. edit. Weſſeling), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1112—1114. from Eratoſthenes, p. 1122—1132. from Artemidorus), Dionyſius (Periegeſis, 927—969.), Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. v. 12. vi. 32.), and Ptolemy (Deſcript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudſon, tom. iii.). 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the ſubject with the zeal of patriotiſm or devotion: the extracts of Pocock (Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 125—128.) from the Geography of the Sherif al Edriſſi, render us ſtill more diſſatisfied with the verſion or abridgment (p. 24—27. 44—56. 108, &c. 119, &c.) which the Maronites have publiſhed under the abſurd title of Geographia Nubienſis (Paris, 1619); but the Latin and French tranſlators, Greaves (in Hudſon, tom. iii.) and Galland (Voyage de la Paleſtine par La Roque, p. 265—346.), have opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the moſt copious and correct account of the peninſula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, p. 120. et alibi paſſim. 3. The *European travellers*; among whom Shaw (p. 438—455.) and Niebuhr (Deſcription, 1773. Voyages, tom. i. 1776) deſerve an honourable diſtinction. Buſching (Geographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416—510.) has compiled with judgment; and d'Anville's Maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus, and 1re Partie de l'Aſie) ſhould lie before the reader, with his Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

[3] Abulfed. Deſcript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place, the paradiſe or garden of a ſatrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks firſt paſſed the Euphrates (Anabaſis, l. i. c. 10. p. 29. edit. Wells).

[4] Reland has proved, with much ſuperfluous learning, 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the Ερυθρα θαλασσα of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite ſpace of the Indian ocean. 2. That the ſynonymous words ερυθρος, αιθιοψ, allude to the colour of the blacks or negroes (Diſſert. Miſcell. tom. i. p. 59—117.).

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and luxuriant herbage; and the loneſome traveller derives a ſort of comfort and ſociety from the preſence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waſte of Arabia, a boundleſs level of ſand is interſected by ſharp and naked mountains; and the face of the deſert, without ſhade or ſhelter, is ſcorched by the direct and intenſe rays of a tropical ſun. Inſtead of refreſhing breezes, the winds, particularly from the ſouth-weſt, diffuſe a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of ſand which they alternately raiſe and ſcatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been loſt and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of deſire and conteſt; and ſuch is the ſcarcity of wood, that ſome art is requiſite to preſerve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is deſtitute of navigable rivers, which fertilize the ſoil, and convey its produce to the adjacent regions: the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirſty earth: the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that ſtrike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nouriſhed by the dews of the night: a ſcanty ſupply of rain is collected in ciſterns and aqueducts: the wells and ſprings are the ſecret treaſure of the deſert; and the pilgrim of Mecca[5], after many a dry and ſultry march, is diſguſted by the taſte of the waters, which have rolled over a bed of ſulphur or ſalt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A ſhady grove, a green paſture, a ſtream of freſh water, are ſufficient to attract a colony of ſedentary Arabs to the fortunate ſpots which can afford food and refreſhment to themſelves and their cattle, and which encourage their induſtry in the cultivation of the palm-tree and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperior plenty of

[5] In the thirty days, or ſtations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen deſtitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

wood and water: the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous; the fertility of the ſoil invites and rewards the toil of the huſbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincenſe [6] and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the reſt of the peninſula, this ſequeſtered region may truly deſerve the appellation of the *happy*; and the ſplendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been ſuggeſted by contraſt and countenanced by diſtance. It was for this earthly paradiſe that nature had reſerved her choiceſt favours and her moſt curious workmanſhip: the incompatible bleſſings of luxury and innocence were aſcribed to the natives: the ſoil was impregnated with gold [7] and gems, and both the land and ſea were taught to exhale the odours of aromatic ſweets. This diviſion of the *ſandy*, the *ſtony*, and the *happy*, ſo familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themſelves; and it is ſingular enough, that a country, whoſe language and inhabitants have ever been the ſame, ſhould ſcarcely retain a veſtige of its ancient geography. The maritime diſtricts of *Bahrein* and *Oman* are oppoſite to the realm of Perſia. The kingdom of *Yemen* diſplays the limits, or at leaſt the ſituation, of Arabia Fœlix: the name of *Neged* is extended over the inland ſpace; and the birth of Mahomet has illuſtrated the province of *Hejaz* along the coaſt of the Red Sea [8].

Diviſion of the ſandy, the ſtony, and the happy, Arabia.

The

[6] The aromatics, eſpecially the *thus* or frankincenſe, of Arabia, occupy the xii^th book of Pliny. Our great poet (Paradiſe Loſt, l. iv.) introduces, in a ſimile, the ſpicy odours that are blown by the north-eaſt wind from the Sabæan coaſt:

——Many a league,
Pleas'd with the grateful ſcent, old Ocean ſmiles.

(Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xii. 42.).

[7] Agatharcides affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the ſize of an olive to that of a nut; that iron was twice, and ſilver ten times, the value of gold (de Mari Rubro, p. 60.). Theſe real or imaginary treaſures are vaniſhed; and no gold mines are at preſent known in Arabia (Niebuhr, Deſcription, p. 124.).

[8] Conſult, peruſe, and ſtudy, the Specimen Hiſtoria Arabum of Pocock! (Oxon. 1650, in 4to). The thirty pages of text and verſion are extracted from the Dynaſties of Gregory

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Manners of the Bedoweens, or paſtoral Arabs.

The meaſure of population is regulated by the means of ſubſiſtence; and the inhabitants of this vaſt peninſula might be out-numbered by the ſubjects of a fertile and induſtrious province. Along the ſhores of the Perſian gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Ichthyophagi*[9], or fiſh-eaters, continued to wander in queſt of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject ſtate, which ill deſerves the name of ſociety, the human brute, without arts or laws, almoſt without ſenſe or language, is poorly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in ſilent oblivion, and the helpleſs ſavage was reſtrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and purſuits which confined his exiſtence to the narrow margin of the ſea-coaſt. But in an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this ſcene of miſery; and as the naked wilderneſs could not maintain a people of hunters, they roſe at once to the more ſecure and plentiful condition of the paſtoral life. The ſame life is uniformly purſued by the roving tribes of the deſert, and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens*, we may trace the features of their anceſtors[10], who, in the age of Moſes or Mahomet, dwelt under ſimilar tents, and conducted their horſes, and camels, and ſheep, to the ſame ſprings and the ſame paſtures. Our toil is leſſened, and our wealth is encreaſed, by our dominion over the uſeful animals; and the Arabian ſhep-

Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards tranſlated (Oxon. 1663, in 4to): the three hundred and fifty-eight notes form a claſſic and original work on the Arabian antiquities.

[9] Arrian remarks the Ichthyophagi of the coaſt of Hejaz (Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) and beyond Aden (p. 15.). It ſeems probable that the ſhores of the Red Sea (in the largeſt ſenſe) were occupied by theſe ſavages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the ſavages in the reign of Juſtinian (Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 19.).

[10] See the Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 2. 5. 86, &c. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of Mount Carmel (Voyage de la Paleſtine, Amſterdam, 1718), exhibits a pleaſing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illuſtrated from Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 327—344.) and Volney (tom. i. p. 343—385.), the laſt and moſt judicious of our Syrian travellers.

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herd had acquired the abſolute poſſeſſion of a faithful friend and a laborious ſlave [11]. Arabia, in the opinion of the naturaliſt, is the genuine and original country of the *horſe*; the climate moſt propitious, not indeed to the ſize, but to the ſpirit and ſwiftneſs, of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spaniſh, and the Engliſh breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood [12]: the Bedoweens preſerve, with ſuperſtitious care, the honours and the memory of the pureſt race: the males are ſold at a high price, but the females are ſeldom alienated: and the birth of a noble foal was eſteemed, among the tribes, as a ſubject of joy and mutual congratulation. Theſe horſes are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleneſs and attachment. They are accuſtomed only to walk and to gallop: their ſenſations are not blunted by the inceſſant abuſe of the ſpur and the whip: their powers are reſerved for the moments of flight and purſuit; but no ſooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the ſtirrup, than they dart away with the ſwiftneſs of the wind; and if their friend be diſmounted in the rapid career, they inſtantly ſtop till he has recovered his ſeat. In the ſands of Afric and Arabia, the *camel* is a ſacred and precious gift. That ſtrong and patient beaſt of burthen can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of ſeveral days; and a reſervoir of freſh water is preſerved in a large bag, a fifth ſtomach of the animal, whoſe body is imprinted with the marks of ſervitude: the larger breed is capable of tranſporting a weight of a thouſand pounds; and the dromedary,

The horſe.

The camel.

[11] Read (it is no unpleaſing taſk) the incomparable articles of the *Horſe* and the *Camel*, in the Natural Hiſtory of M. de Buffon.

[12] For the Arabian horſes, ſee d'Arvieux (p. 159—173.) and Niebuhr (p. 142—144.). At the end of the xiiith century, the horſes of Neged were eſteemed ſure-footed, thoſe of Yemen ſtrong and ſerviceable, thoſe of Hejaz moſt noble. The horſes of Europe, the tenth and laſt claſs, were generally deſpiſed; as having too much body and too little ſpirit (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 339.): their ſtrength was requiſite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

of

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of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man: her milk is plentiful and nutritious: the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal[13]: a valuable salt is extracted from the urine: the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents, of the Bedoweens. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert: during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous licence of visiting the banks of the Nile, and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury than the proudest emir, who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Cities of Arabia:

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hords of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedoweens derived from their useful intercourse, some supply of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia[14], enumerated

[13] Qui carnibus camelorum vesci solent odii tenaces sunt, was the opinion of an Arabian physician (Pocock, Specimen, p. 88.). Mahomet himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404.).

[14] Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16. in tom. i. Hudson, Minor Geograph.) reckons

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merated by Abulfeda, the moſt ancient and populous were ſituate in the *happy* Yemen: the towers of Saana [15], and the marvellous reſervoir of Merab [16], were conſtructed by the kings of the Homerites; but their profane luſtre was eclipſed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA [17] and MECCA [18], near the Red Sea, and at the diſtance from each other of two hundred and ſeventy miles. The laſt of theſe holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expreſſive of its greatneſs, which has not indeed, in the moſt flouriſhing period, exceeded the ſize and populouſneſs of Marſeilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of ſuperſtition, muſt have impelled the founders, in the choice of a moſt unpromiſing ſituation. They erected their habitations of mud or ſtone, in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains: the ſoil is a rock; the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackiſh; the paſtures are remote

Mecca;

reckons one hundred and ſixty-four towns in Arabia Fœlix. The ſize of the towns might be ſmall—the faith of the writer might be large.

[15] It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudſon, tom. iii. p. 54) to Damaſcus, and is ſtill the reſidence of the Imam of Yemen (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 331—342.). Saana is twenty-four paraſangs from Dafar (Abulfeda, p. 51.), and ſixty-eight from Aden (p. 53.).

[16] Pocock, Specimen, p. 57. Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, ſix miles in circumference, was deſtroyed by the legions of Auguſtus (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 32.), and had not revived in the xiv[th] century (Abulfed. Deſcript. Arab. p. 58.).

[17] The name of *city*, *Medina*, was appropriated, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, to Yatreb (the Iatrippa of the Greeks), the ſeat of the prophet. The diſtances from Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in ſtations, or days journey of a caravan (p. 15.): to Bahrein, xv; to Baſſora, xviii; to Cufah, xx; to Damaſcus or Paleſtine, xx; to Cairo, xxv; to Mecca, x; from Mecca to Saana (p. 52.) or Aden, xxx; to Cairo, xxxi days, or 412 hours (Shaw's Travels, p. 477.); which, according to the eſtimate of d'Anville (Meſures Itineraires, p. 99.), allows about twenty-five Engliſh miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincenſe (Hadramaut, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartaſch) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xii. 32.) computes lxv manſions of camels. Theſe meaſures may aſſiſt fancy and elucidate facts.

[18] Our notions of Mecca muſt be drawn from the Arabians (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 368—371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125—128. Abulfeda, p. 11—40.). As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are ſilent; and the ſhort hints of Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part i. p. 490.) are taken from the ſuſpicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Perſians counted 6000 houſes (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167.).

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from the city; and grapes are tranſported above ſeventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and ſpirit of the Koreiſhites, who reigned in Mecca, were conſpicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful ſoil refuſed the labours of agriculture, and their poſition was favourable to the enterpriſes of trade. By the ſea-port of Gedda, at the diſtance only of forty miles, they maintained an eaſy correſpondence with Abyſſinia; and that Chriſtian kingdom afforded the firſt refuge to the diſciples of Mahomet. The treaſures of Africa were conveyed over the peninſula to Gerrha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is ſaid, of rock-ſalt, by the Chaldean exiles [19]: and from thence, with the native pearls of the Perſian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almoſt at an equal diſtance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the ſummer, ſtation of her caravans; and their ſeaſonable arrival relieved the ſhips of India from the tedious and troubleſome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Saana and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreiſhites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a ſupply of corn and manufactures was purchaſed in the fairs of Boſtra and Damaſcus; the lucrative exchange diffuſed plenty and riches in the ſtreets of Mecca; and the nobleſt of her ſons united the love of arms with the profeſſion of merchandiſe [20].

her trade.

National independence of the Arabs.

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praiſe among ſtrangers and natives; and the arts of controverſy transform this ſingular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in fa-

[19] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110. See one of theſe ſalt houſes near Baſſora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6.

[20] Mirum dictû ex innumeris populis pars æqua in *commerciis* aut in latrociniis degit (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 32.). See Sale's Koran. Sural cvi. p. 503. Pocock, Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72. 120. 126, &c.

vour

vour of the poſterity of Iſmael[21]. Some exceptions, that can neither be diſſembled nor eluded, render this mode of reaſoning as indiſcreet as it is ſuperfluous: the kingdom of Yemen has been ſucceſſively ſubdued by the Abyſſinians, the Perſians, the ſultans of Egypt[22], and the Turks[23]: the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia[24] embraced the peculiar wilderneſs in which Iſmael and his ſons muſt have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet theſe exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation has eſcaped the yoke of the moſt powerful monarchies: the arms of Seſoſtris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never atchieve the conqueſt of Arabia; the preſent ſovereign of the Turks[25] may exerciſe a ſhadow of juriſdiction, but his pride is reduced to ſolicit the friendſhip of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke and fruitleſs to attack. The obvious cauſes of their freedom are inſcribed

[21] A nameleſs doctor (Univerſal Hiſt. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formally *demonſtrated* the truth of Chriſtianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic, beſides the exceptions of fact, might diſpute the meaning of the text (Geneſ. xvi. 12.), the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.

[22] It was ſubdued, A. D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded a dynaſty of Curds or Ayoubites (Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477.).

[23] By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A. D. 1538) and Selim II. (1568). See Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire, p. 201. 221. The Paſha, who reſided at Saana, commanded twenty-one Beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte (Marſigli, Stato Miſitare dell' Imperio Ottomanno, p. 124.), and the Turks were expelled about the year 1630 (Niebuhr. p. 167, 168.).

[24] Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Paleſtine, the principal cities were Boſtra and Petra, which dated their æra from the year 105, when they were ſubdued by Palma a lieutenant of Trajan (Dion Caſſius, l. lxviii.). Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans; whoſe name is derived from the eldeſt of the ſons of Iſmael (Geneſ. xxv. 12, &c. with the Commentaries of Jerom, Le Clerc, and Calmet). Juſtinian relinquiſhed a palm country of ten days journey to the ſouth of Ælah (Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 19.), and the Romans maintained a centurion and a cuſtom-houſe (Arrian in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 11. in Hudſon, tom. i.), at a place (λευκη κωμη, Pagus Albus Hawara) in the territory of Medina (d'Anville Memoire ſur l'Egypte, p. 243.). Theſe real poſſeſſions, and ſome naval inroads of Trajan (Peripl. p. 14, 15.), are magnified by hiſtory and medals into the Roman conqueſt of Arabia.

[25] Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 302, 303. 329—331.) affords the moſt recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkiſh empire in Arabia.

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on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mahomet [26], their intrepid valour had been ſeverely felt by their neighbours in offenſive and defenſive war. The patient and active virtues of a ſoldier are inſenſibly nurſed in the habits and diſcipline of a paſtoral life. The care of the ſheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; but the martial youth under the banner of the emir, is ever on horeſeback, and in the field, to practiſe the exerciſe of the bow, the javelin, and the ſcymetar. The long memory of their independence is the firmeſt pledge of its perpetuity, and ſucceeding generations are animated to prove their deſcent and to maintain their inheritance. Their domeſtic feuds are ſuſpended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their laſt hoſtilities againſt the Turks, the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourſcore thouſand of the confederates. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the aſſurance of a retreat. Their horſes and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, diſappear before the conqueror; the ſecret waters of the deſert elude his ſearch; and his victorious troops are conſumed with thirſt, hunger, and fatigue, in the purſuit of an inviſible foe, who ſcorns his efforts, and ſafely repoſes in the heart of the burning ſolitude. The arms and deſerts of the Bedoweens are not only the ſafeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers alſo of the happy Arabia, whoſe inhabitants, remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the ſoil and climate. The legions of Auguſtus melted away in diſeaſe and laſſitude [27]; and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been

[26] Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. l. xix. p. 390—393. edit. Weſſeling) has clearly expoſed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who reſiſted the arms of Antigonus and his ſon.

[27] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1127—1129. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. vi. 32. Ælius Gallus landed near Medina, and marched near a thouſand miles into the part of Yemen between Mareb and the Ocean. The non ante devictis Sabeæ regibus (Od. i. 29.), and the intacti Arabum theſauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, atteſt the virgin purity of Arabia.

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fucceſsfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy ſtandard[28], that kingdom was a province of the Perſian empire; yet ſeven princes of the Homerites ſtill reigned in the mountains; and the vice-gerent of Choſroes was tempted to forget his diſtant country and his unfortunate maſter. The hiſtorians of the age of Juſtinian repreſent the ſtate of the independent Arabs, who were divided by intereſt or affection in the long quarrel of the Eaſt: the tribe of *Gaſſan* was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory: the princes of *Hira* were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the ſouthward of the ruins of Babylon. Their ſervice in the field was ſpeedy and vigorous; but their friendſhip was venal, their faith inconſtant, their enmity capricious: it was an eaſier taſk to excite than to diſarm theſe roving Barbarians; and, in the familiar intercourſe of war, they learned to ſee, and to deſpiſe, the ſplendid weakneſs both of Rome and of Perſia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes[29] were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of SARACENS[30], a name which every Chriſtian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

Their domeſtic freedom and character.

The ſlaves of domeſtic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is perſonally free; and he enjoys, in

[28] See the imperfect hiſtory of Yemen in Pocock, Specimen, p. 55—66. of Hira, p. 66—74. of Gaſſan, p. 75—78. as far as it could be known or preſerved in the time of ignorance.

[29] The Σαρακηνικα φυλα, μυριαδες ταυτα, και το πλειστον αυτων ερημοτοροι, και αδεσποτοι, are deſcribed by Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 149.), Procopius (de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 17. 19. l. ii. c. 10.); and, in the moſt lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xiv. c. 4.), who had ſpoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

[30] The name which, uſed by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, ſenſe, has been derived, ridiculouſly, from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obſcurely from the village of *Saraka* (μετα Ναβαταιους. Stephan. de Urbibus), more plauſibly from the Arabic words, which ſignify a *thieviſh* character, or *Oriental* ſituation, (Holtinger, Hiſt. Oriental. l. i. c. i. p. 7, 8. Pocock, Specimen, p. 33—35. Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567.). Yet the laſt and moſt popular of theſe etymologies, is refuted by Ptolemy (Arabia, p. 2. 18. in Hudſon, tom. iv.), who expreſsly remarks the weſtern and ſouthern poſition of the Saracens, then an obſcure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore allude to any *national* character; and, ſince it was impoſed by ſtrangers, it muſt be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language.

ſome

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ſome degree, the benefits of ſociety, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe, ſuperſtition, or gratitude, or fortune, has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of ſheich and emir invariably deſcend in this choſen race; but the order of ſucceſſion is looſe and precarious; and the moſt worthy or aged of the noble kinſmen are preferred to the ſimple, though important, office of compoſing diſputes by their advice, and guiding valour by their example. Even a female of ſenſe and ſpirit has been permitted to command the countrymen of Zenobia [31]. The momentary junction of ſeveral tribes produces an army: their more laſting union conſtitutes a nation; and the ſupreme chief, the emir of emirs, whoſe banner is diſplayed at their head, may deſerve, in the eyes of ſtrangers, the honours of the kingly name. If the Arabian princes abuſe their power, they are quickly puniſhed by the deſertion of their ſubjects, who had been accuſtomed to a mild and parental juriſdiction. Their ſpirit is free, their ſteps are unconfined, the deſert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The ſofter natives of Yemen ſupported the pomp and majeſty of a monarch; but if he could not leave his palace without endangering his life [32], the active powers of government muſt have been devolved on his nobles and magiſtrates. The cities of Mecca and Medina preſent, in the heart of Aſia, the form, or rather the ſubſtance, of a commonwealth. The grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal anceſtors, appear in foreign and domeſtic tranſactions as the princes of their country; but they reigned,

[31] Saraceni .... mulieres aiunt in eos regnare (Expoſitio totius Mundi, p. 3. in Hudſon, tom. iii.). The reign of Mavia is famous in eccleſiaſtical ſtory. Pocock, Specimen, p. 69. 83.

[32] Μη εξιεναι εκ των βασιλειων, is the report of Agatharades de Mari Rubro, p. 63, 64. in Hudſon, tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom, i. l. iii. c. 47. p. 215.), and Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1124.). But I much ſuſpect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers ſo often tranſforms into a fact, a cuſtom, and a law.

like

like Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wiſdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the ſceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreiſh. On ſolemn occaſions they convened the aſſembly of the people; and, ſince mankind muſt be either compelled or perſuaded to obey, the uſe and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the cleareſt evidence of public freedom [33]. But their ſimple freedom was of a very different caſt from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member poſſeſſed an undivided ſhare of the civil and political rights of the community. In the more ſimple ſtate of the Arabs, the nation is free, becauſe each of her ſons diſdains a baſe ſubmiſſion to the will of a maſter. His breaſt is fortified with the auſtere virtues of courage, patience, and ſobriety: the love of independence prompts him to exerciſe the habits of ſelf-command; and the fear of diſhonour guards him from the meanner apprehenſion of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity and firmneſs of the mind is conſpicuous in his outward demeanor: his ſpeech is ſlow, weighty, and conciſe, he is ſeldom provoked to laughter, his only geſture is that of ſtroking his beard, the venerable ſymbol of manhood; and the ſenſe of his own importance teaches him to accoſt his equals without levity, and his ſuperiors without awe [34]. The liberty of the Saracens ſurvived their conqueſts: the firſt caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their ſubjects: they

[33] Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, niſi gladio, hoſpite, et *eloquentiâ* (Sephadius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.). This gift of ſpeech they ſhared only with the Perſians; and the ſententious Arabs would probably have diſdained the ſimple and ſublime logic of Demoſthenes.

[34] I muſt remind the reader that d'Arvieux, d'Herbelot, and Niebuhr, repreſent, in the moſt lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which are illuſtrated by many incidental paſſages in the life of Mahomet.

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aſcended the pulpit to perſuade and edify the congregation; nor was it before the ſeat of empire was removed to the Tigris, that the Abbaſſides adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Perſian and Byzantine courts.

Civil wars and private revenge.

In the ſtudy of nations and men, we may obſerve the cauſes that render them hoſtile or friendly to each other, that tend to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exaſperate, the ſocial character. The ſeparation of the Arabs from the reſt of mankind, has accuſtomed them to confound the ideas of ſtranger and enemy; and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of juriſprudence, which they believe and practiſe to the preſent hour. They pretend, that in the diviſion of the earth the rich and fertile climates were aſſigned to the other branches of the human family; and that the poſterity of the outlaw Iſmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjuſtly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandiſe: the caravans that traverſe the deſert are ranſomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, ſince the remote times of Job and Seſoſtris[35], have been the victims of their rapacious ſpirit. If a Bedoween diſcovers from afar a ſolitary traveller, he rides furiouſly againſt him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undreſs thyſelf, thy aunt (*my "wife*) is without a garment." A ready ſubmiſſion entitles him to mercy; reſiſtance will provoke the aggreſſor, and his own blood muſt expiate the blood which he preſumes to ſhed in legitimate defence. A ſingle robber, or a few aſſociates, are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band aſſume the character of lawful and honourable war. The temper of a

[35] Obſerve the firſt chapter of Job, and the long wall of 1500 ſtadia, which Seſoſtris built from Peluſium to Heliopolis (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 67.). Under the name of *Hycſos*, the ſhepherd-kings, they had formerly ſubdued Egypt (Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 98—163, &c.).

people,

people, thus armed againſt mankind, was doubly inflamed by the domeſtic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge. In the conſtitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a ſmall, and the actual exerciſe to a much ſmaller, liſt of reſpectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin againſt the life of his countryman. The union of the nation conſiſted only in a vague reſemblance of language and manners; and in each community, the juriſdiction of the magiſtrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded Mahomet, ſeventeen hundred battles [36] are recorded by tradition: hoſtility was embittered with the rancour of civil faction; and the recital, in proſe or verſe, of an obſolete feud was ſufficient to rekindle the ſame paſſions among the deſcendents of the hoſtile tribes. In private life, every man, at leaſt every family, was the judge and avenger of its own cauſe. The nice ſenſibility of honour, which weighs the inſult rather than the injury, ſheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs: the honour of their women, and of their *beards*, is moſt eaſily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and ſuch is their patient inveteracy, that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or compenſation for murder is familiar to the Barbarians of every age: but in Arabia the kinſmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement, or to exerciſe with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuſes even the head of the murderer, ſubſtitutes an innocent to the guilty perſon, and transfers the penalty to the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he falls by their hands, they are expoſed in their turn to the danger of repriſals, the

[36] Or, according to another account, 1200 (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 75.): the two hiſtorians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the ix^th^ and x^th^ century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah was occaſioned by two horſes, laſted forty years, and ended in a proverb (Pocock, Specimen, p. 48.).

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intereſt and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and ſuſpicion, and fifty years may ſometimes elapſe before the account of vengeance be finally ſettled [37]. This ſanguinary ſpirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveneſs, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter ſome decent equality of age and ſtrength, of numbers and weapons. An annual feſtival of two, perhaps of four, months, was obſerved by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their ſwords were religiouſly ſheathed both in foreign and domeſtic hoſtility; and this partial truce is more ſtrongly expreſſive of the habits of anarchy and warfare [38].

Annual truce.

Their ſocial qualifications and virtues.

But the ſpirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The ſolitary peninſula is encompaſſed by the moſt civilized nations of the ancient world: the merchant is the friend of mankind; and the annual caravans imported the firſt ſeeds of knowledge and politeneſs into the cities, and even the camps of the deſert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the ſame original ſtock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldæan tongues; the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects [39]; but each, after their own, allowed a juſt preference to the pure and perſpicuous

[37] The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder, are deſcribed by Niebuhr (Deſcription, p. 26—31.). The harſher features of antiquity may be traced in the Koran, c. 2. p. 20. c. 17. p. 230. with Sale's Obſervations.

[38] Procopius (de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 16.) places the *two* holy months about the ſummer ſolſtice. The Arabians conſecrate *four* months of the year—the firſt, ſeventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend, that in a long ſeries of ages the truce was infringed only four or ſix times (Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 147—150. and Notes on the ix[th] chapter of the Koran, p. 154, &c. Caſiri, Bibliot. Hiſpano-Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.).

[39] Arrian, in the ſecond century, remarks (in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) the partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and letters are copiouſly treated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 150—154.), Caſiri (Bibliot. Hiſpano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 1. 83. 292. tom. ii. p. 25, &c.), and Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 72—86.). I paſs ſlightly; I am not fond of repeating words like a parrot.

idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outſtripped the refinement of manners; and her ſpeech could diverſify the fourſcore names of honey, the two hundred of a ſerpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thouſand of a ſword, at a time when this copious dictionary was entruſted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Homerites were inſcribed with an obſolete and myſterious character; but the Cufic letters, the ground-work of the preſent alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a ſtranger who ſettled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was ſharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit ſtrong and ſententious[40], and their more elaborate compoſitions were addreſſed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers. The genius and merit of a riſing poet was celebrated by the applauſe of his own and the kindred tribes. A ſolemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, ſtriking their tymbals, and diſplaying the pomp of their nuptials, ſung in the preſence of their ſons and huſbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raiſed his voice to immortaliſe their renown. The diſtant or hoſtile tribes reſorted to an annual fair which was aboliſhed by the fanaticiſm of the firſt Moſlems; a national aſſembly that muſt have contributed to refine and harmoniſe the Barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The

Love of poetry.

[40] A familiar tale in Voltaire's Zadig (le Chien et le Cheval) is related, to prove the natural ſagacity of the Arabs (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 120, 121. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 37—46.); but d'Arvieux, or rather La Roque (Voyage de Paleſtine, p. 92.), denies the boaſted ſuperiority of the Bedoweens. The one hundred and ſixty-nine ſentences of Ali (tranſlated by Ockley, London, 1718) afford a juſt and favourable ſpecimen of Arabian wit.

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prize was diſputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the victorious performance was depoſited in the archives of princes and emirs; and we may read in our own language, the ſeven original poems which were inſcribed in letters of gold, and ſuſpended in the temple of Mecca [41]. The Arabian poets were the hiſtorians and moraliſts of the age; and if they ſympathiſed with the prejudices, they inſpired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indiſſoluble union of generoſity and valour was the darling theme of their ſong; and when they pointed their keeneſt ſatire againſt a deſpicable race, they affirmed, in the bitterneſs of reproach, that the men knew not how to give, nor the women to deny [42]. The ſame hoſpitality, which was practiſed by Abraham and celebrated by Homer, is ſtill renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Bedoweens, the terror of the deſert, embrace, without enquiry or heſitation, the ſtranger who dares to confide in their honour and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and reſpectful: he ſhares the wealth or the poverty of his hoſt; and, after a needful repoſe, he is diſmiſſed on his way, with thanks, with bleſſings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; but the heroic acts that could deſerve the public applauſe, muſt have ſurpaſſed the narrow meaſure of diſcretion and experience. A diſpute had ariſen, who, among the citizens of Mecca, was entitled to the prize of generoſity; and a ſucceſſive application was made to the three who were deemed moſt worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the ſon of Abbas, had undertaken a diſtant journey, and his foot was in the ſtirrup when he heard the voice of a

Examples of generoſity.

[41] Pocock (Specimen, p. 158—161.) and Caſiri (Bibliot. Hiſpano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48. 84, &c. 119. tom. ii. p. 17, &c.) ſpeak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet: the ſeven poems of the Caaba have been publiſhed in Engliſh by Sir William Jones; but his honourable miſſion to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more intereſting than the obſcure and obſolete text.

[42] Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 29, 30.

ſuppliant,

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ſuppliant, "O ſon of the uncle of the apoſtle of God, I am a tra- "veller and in diſtreſs." He inſtantly diſmounted to preſent the pilgrim with his camel, her rich capariſon, and a purſe of four thouſand pieces of gold, excepting only the ſword, either for its intrinſic value, or as the gift of a honoured kinſman. The ſervant of Kais informed the ſecond ſuppliant that his maſter was aſleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purſe of ſeven thouſand pieces of gold "(it is all we have in the houſe), and here is an order, that will en- "title you to a camel and a ſlave;" the maſter, as ſoon as he awoke, praiſed and enfranchiſed his faithful ſteward, with a gentle reproof, that by reſpecting his ſlumbers he had ſtinted his bounty. The third of theſe heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer, was ſupporting his ſteps on the ſhoulders of two ſlaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but theſe you may ſell; if you refuſe, I "renounce them." At theſe words, puſhing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his ſtaff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue[43]; he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet and a ſucceſsful robber: forty camels were roaſted at his hoſpitable feaſts; and at the prayer of a ſuppliant enemy, he reſtored both the captives and the ſpoil. The freedom of his countrymen diſdained the laws of juſtice: they proudly indulged the ſpontaneous impulſe of pity and benevolence.

Ancient idolatry.

The religion of the Arabs[44], as well as of the Indians, conſiſted in the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, and the fixed ſtars, a primitive and ſpecious mode of ſuperſtition. The bright luminaries of the

[43] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 118. Caab and Heſnus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43. 46. 48.) were likewiſe conſpicuous for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praiſed by an Arabian poet: "Videbis eum cum ac- "ceſſeris exultantem, ac ſi dares illi quod ab "illo petis."

[44] Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians, may be found in Pocock (Specimen, p. 89—136. 163, 164.). His profound erudition is more clearly and conciſely interpreted by Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 14—24.); and Aſſemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580—590.) has added ſome valuable remarks.

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ſky diſplay the viſible image of a Deity: their number and diſtance convey to a philoſophic, or even a vulgar, eye, the idea of boundleſs ſpace: the character of eternity is marked on theſe ſolid globes, that ſeem incapable of corruption or decay: the regularity of their motions may be aſcribed to a principle of reaſon or inſtinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their peculiar care. The ſcience of aſtronomy was cultivated at Babylon; but the ſchool of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches, they ſteered by the guidance of the ſtars: their names, and order, and daily ſtation, were familiar to the curioſity and devotion of the Bedoween; and he was taught by experience to divide in twenty-eight parts, the zodiac of the moon, and to bleſs the conſtellations who refreſhed, with ſalutary rains, the thirſt of the deſert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended beyond the viſible ſphere; and ſome metaphyſical powers were neceſſary to ſuſtain the tranſmigration of ſouls and the reſurrection of bodies: a camel was left to periſh on the grave, that he might ſerve his maſter in another life; and the invocation of departed ſpirits implies that they were ſtill endowed with conſciouſneſs and power. I am ignorant, and I am careleſs, of the blind mythology of the Barbarians; of the local deities, of the ſtars, the air, and the earth, of their ſex or titles, their attributes or ſubordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his fantaſtic worſhip; but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the CAABA aſcends beyond the Chriſtian æra: in deſcribing the coaſt of the Red Sea, the Greek hiſtorian Diodorus[45] has

The Caaba, or temple of Mecca.

[45] Ιερον αγιωτατον ιδρυται τιμωμενον ὑπο παντων Αραβων περιττοτερον (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 211.). The character and poſition are ſo correctly appoſite, that I am ſurpriſed how this curious paſſage ſhould have been read without notice or application. Yet this famous

has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple, whoſe ſuperior ſanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians: the linen or ſilken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkiſh emperor, was firſt offered by a pious king of the Homerites, who reigned ſeven hundred years before the time of Mahomet [46]. A tent or a cavern might ſuffice for the worſhip of the ſavages, but an edifice of ſtone and clay has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the Eaſt have been confined to the ſimplicity of the original model [47]. A ſpacious portico incloſes the quadrangle of the Caaba; a ſquare chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-ſeven high: a door and a window admit the light; the double roof is ſupported by three pillars of wood; a ſpout (now of gold) diſcharges the rain-water, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. The tribe of Koreiſh, by fraud or force, had acquired the cuſtody of the Caaba: the ſacerdotal office devolved through four lineal deſcents to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Haſhemites, from whence he ſprung, was the moſt reſpectable and ſacred in the eyes of their country [48]. The precincts of Mecca enjoyed the rights of

mous temple had been overlooked by Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro, p. 58. in Hudſon, tom. i.), whom Diodorus copies in the reſt of the deſcription. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of their reſpective hiſtories? (Dodwell, in Diſſert. ad tom. i. Hudſon, p. 72. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 770.)

[46] Pocock, Specimen, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we aſcend to 68, from his birth to 129, years, before the Chriſtian æra. The veil or curtain, which is now of ſilk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egyptian linen (Abulfeda, in Vit. Mohammed. c. 6. p. 14.).

[47] The original plan of the Caaba (which is ſervilely copied in Sale, the Univerſal Hiſtory, &c.) was a Turkiſh draught, which Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 113—123.) has corrected and explained from the beſt authorities. For the deſcription and legend of the Caaba, conſult Pocock (Specimen, p. 115—122.), the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot (*Caaba*, *Hagier*, *Zemzem*, &c.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 114—122.).

[48] Coſa, the fifth anceſtor of Mahomet, muſt have uſurped the Caaba A. D. 440; but the ſtory is differently told by Jannabi (Gagnier,

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of ſanctuary; and, in the laſt month of each year, the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who preſented their vows and offerings in the houſe of God. The ſame rites, which are now accompliſhed by the faithful Muſulman, were invented and practiſed by the ſuperſtition of the idolaters. At an awful diſtance they caſt away their garments: ſeven times, with haſty ſteps, they encircled the Caaba, and kiſſed the black ſtone: ſeven times they viſited and adored the adjacent mountains: ſeven times they threw ſtones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was atchieved, as at the preſent hour, by a ſacrifice of ſheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the conſecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domeſtic worſhip: the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and ſixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and moſt conſpicuous was the ſtatue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand ſeven arrows, without heads or feathers, the inſtruments and ſymbols of profane divination. But this ſtatue was a monument of Syrian arts: the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet; and the rocks of the deſert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black ſtone[49] of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin. From Japan to Peru, the uſe of ſacrifice has univerſally prevailed; and the votary has expreſſed his gratitude, or fear, by deſtroying or conſuming, in honour of the gods, the deareſt and moſt precious of their gifts. The life of a

Sacrifices and rites.

nier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 65—69.) and by Abulfeda (in Vit. Moham. c. 6. p. 13.).

[49] In the ſecond century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worſhip of a ſtone—Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν, οντινα δε ουκ οιδα, το δε αγαλμα ειδον; λιθος ην τετραγωνος (diſſert. viii. tom. i. p. 142. edit. Reiſke); and the reproach is furiouſly re-echoed by the Chriſtians (Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 40. Arnobius contra Gentes, l. vi. p. 246.). Yet theſe ſtones were no other than the βαιτυλα of Syria and Greece, ſo renowned in ſacred and profane antiquity (Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. l. i. p. 37. Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 54—56.).

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man[50] is the moſt precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity: the altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore: the cruel practice was long preſerved among the Arabs; in the third century, a boy was annually ſacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatians[51]; and a royal captive was piouſly ſlaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and ſoldier of the emperor Juſtinian[52]. A parent who drags his ſon to the altar, exhibits the moſt painful and ſublime effort of fanaticiſm: the deed, or the intention, was ſanctified by the example of ſaints and heroes; and the father of Mahomet himſelf was devoted by a raſh vow, and hardly ranſomed for the equivalent of an hundred camels. In the time of ignorance, the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abſtained from the taſte of ſwine's fleſh[53]; they circumciſed[54] their children at the age of puberty: the ſame cuſtoms, without the cenſure or the precept of the Koran, have been ſilently tranſmitted to their poſterity and proſelytes. It has been ſagaciouſly con-

[50] The two horrid ſubjects of Ανθρωθυσια and Παιδοθυσια, are accurately diſcuſſed by the learned Sir John Marſham (Canon. Chron. p. 76—78. 301—304.). Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician ſacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

[51] Κατ' ετος εκαστον παιδα θυον, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewiſe imputes to the Roman the ſame barbarous cuſtom, which, A. U. C. 657, had been finally aboliſhed. Dumætha, Daumat al Gendal, is noticed by Ptolemy (Tabul. p. 37. Arabia, p. 9.—29.) and Abulfeda (p. 57.); and may be found in d'Anville's maps, in the mid-deſert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

[52] Procopius (de Bell. Perſico, l. i. c. 28.), Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21.), and Pocock (Specimen, p. 72. 86.), atteſt the human ſacrifices of the Arabs in the vi[th] century. The danger and eſcape of Abdallah, is a tradition rather than a fact (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82—84.).

[53] Suillis carnibus abſtinent, ſays Solinus (Polyhiſtor. c. 33.), who copies Pliny (l. viii. c. 68.) in the ſtrange ſuppoſition, that hogs cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and ſuperſtitious horror for that unclean beaſt (Marſham, Canon, p. 205.). The old Arabians likewiſe practiſed, *poſt coitum*, the rite of ablution (Herodot. l. i. c. 80.), which is ſanctified by the Mahometan law (Reland, p. 75, &c. Chardin, or rather the *Mollah* of Shaw Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, &c.).

[54] The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the ſubject; yet they hold circumciſion neceſſary to ſalvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculouſly born without a foreſkin (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320. Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 106, 107.).

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jectured, that the artful legiſlator indulged the ſtubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more ſimple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreſeeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca, might become uſeleſs or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Introduction of the Sabians.

Arabia was free: the adjacent kingdoms were ſhaken by the ſtorms of conqueſt and tyranny, and the perſecuted ſects fled to the happy land where they might profeſs what they thought, and practiſe what they profeſſed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Chriſtians, were diſſeminated from the Perſian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period of antiquity, Sabianiſm was diffuſed over Aſia by the ſcience of the Chaldæans[55] and the arms of the Aſſyrians. From the obſervations of two thouſand years, the prieſts and aſtronomers of Babylon[56] deduced the eternal laws of nature and providence. They adored the ſeven gods or angels who directed the courſe of the ſeven planets, and ſhed their irreſiſtible influence on the earth. The attributes of the ſeven planets, with the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, and the twenty-four conſtellations of the northern and ſouthern hemiſphere, were repreſented by images and taliſmans; the ſeven days of the week were dedicated to their reſpective deities; the Sabians prayed thrice each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage[57]. But the flexible genius of their faith was

[55] Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 142—145.) has caſt on their religion the curious but ſuperficial glance of a Greek. Their aſtronomy would be far more valuable: they had looked through the teleſcope of reaſon, ſince they could doubt whether the ſun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed ſtars.

[56] Simplicius (who quotes Porphyry), de Cœlo, l. ii. com. xlvi. p. 123. lin. 18. apud Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 474. who doubts the fact, becauſe it is adverſe to his ſyſtems. The earlieſt date of the Chaldean obſervations is the year 2234 before Chriſt. After the conqueſt of Babylon by Alexander, they were communicated, at the requeſt of Ariſtotle, to the aſtronomer Hipparchus. What a moment in the annals of ſcience!

[57] Pocock (Specimen, p. 138—146.), Hottinger (Hiſt. Oriental. p. 162—203.), Hyde (de

was always ready either to teach or to learn: in the tradition of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs, they held a ſingular agreement with their Jewiſh captives; they appealed to the ſecret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a ſlight infuſion of the goſpel has transformed the laſt remnant of the Polytheiſts into the Chriſtians of St. John, in the territory of Baſſora[58]. The altars of Babylon were overturned by the Magians; but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the ſword of Alexander; Perſia groaned above five hundred years under a foreign yoke; and the pureſt diſciples of Zoroaſter eſcaped from the contagion of idolatry, and breathed with their adverſaries the freedom of the deſert[59]. Seven hundred years before the death of Mahomet, the Jews were ſettled in Arabia: and a far greater multitude was expelled from the holy land in the wars of Titus and Hadrian. The induſtrious exiles aſpired to liberty and power: they erected ſynagogues in the cities and caſtles in the wilderneſs, and their Gentile converts were confounded with the children of Iſrael, whom they reſembled in the outward mark of circumciſion. The Chriſtian miſſionaries were ſtill more active and ſucceſsful: the Catholics aſſerted their univerſal reign; the ſects whom they oppreſſed ſucceſſively retired beyond the limits of the Roman empire; the Marcionites and Manichæans diſperſed their *phantaſtic* opinions and apocryphal goſpels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hira and Gaſſan, were inſtructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Neſtorian biſhops[60]. The liberty of choice was preſented

The Magians.

The Jews.

The Chriſtians.

(de Religione Vet. Perſarum, p. 124. 128, &c.), d'Herbelot (*Sabi*, p. 725, 726.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 14, 15.), rather excite than gratify our curioſity; and the laſt of theſe writers confounds Sabianiſm with the primitive religion of the Arabs.

[58] D'Anville (l'Euphrate de le Tigre, p. 130—147.) will fix the poſition of theſe ambiguous Chriſtians; Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iv. p. 607—614.) may explain their tenets. But it is a ſlippery taſk to aſcertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and aſhamed to diſcloſe their ſecret traditions.

[59] The Magi were fixed in the province of Bahrein (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 114.), and mingled with the old Arabians (Pocock, Specimen, p. 146—150.).

[60] The ſtate of the Jews and Chriſtians in Arabia,

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preſented to the tribes: each Arab was free to elect or to compoſe his private religion: and the rude ſuperſtition of his houſe was mingled with the ſublime theology of ſaints and philoſophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the conſent of the learned ſtrangers; the exiſtence of one ſupreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himſelf to mankind by the miniſtry of his angels and prophets, and whoſe grace or juſtice has interrupted, by ſeaſonable miracles, the order of nature. The moſt rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worſhip [61]; and it was habit rather than conviction that ſtill attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Chriſtians were the people of the *book*; the bible was already tranſlated into the Arabic language [62], and the volume of the old teſtament was accepted by the concord of theſe implacable enemies. In the ſtory of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleaſed to diſcover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promiſes of Iſmael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the firſt man, and imbibed with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewiſh rabbis.

Arabia, is deſcribed by Pocock from Shareſtani, &c. (Specimen, p. 60. 134, &c.), Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 212—238), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 474—476.), Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 185. tom. viii. p. 280.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 22, &c. 33, &c.).

[61] In their offerings it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable patron (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109.).

[62] Our verſions now extant, whether Jewiſh or Chriſtian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the exiſtence of a prior tranſlation may be fairly inferred, 1. From the perpetual practice of the ſynagogue, of expounding the Hebrew leſſon by a paraphraſe in the vulgar tongue of the country. 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Perſian, Æthiopic verſions, expreſsly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who aſſert that the Scriptures were tranſlated into *all* the Barbaric languages (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p. 34. 93—97. Simon, Hiſt. Critique du V. et du N. Teſtament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282—286. 293. 305, 306. tom. iv. p. 206.).

The

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Birth and education of Mahomet, A. D. 569—609.

The baſe and plebeian origin of Mahomet is an unſkilful calumny of the Chriſtians[63], who exalt inſtead of degrading the merit of their adverſary. His deſcent from Iſmael was a national privilege or fable; but if the firſt ſteps of the pedigree[64] are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he ſprung from the tribe of Koreiſh and the family of Haſhem, the moſt illuſtrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motalleb, the ſon of Haſhem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the diſtreſs of famine with the ſupplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was ſaved by the courage of the ſon. The kingdom of Yemen was ſubject to the Chriſtian princes of Abyſſinia; their vaſſal Abrahah was provoked by an inſult to avenge the honour of the croſs; and the holy city was inveſted by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was propoſed; and in the firſt audience, the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the reſtitution of his cattle. "And why," ſaid Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my cle-
"mency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to
"deſtroy?" "Becauſe," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is
"my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and *they* will defend
"their houſe from injury and ſacrilege." The want of proviſions, or the valour of the Koreiſh, compelled the Abyſſinians to a diſgraceful retreat; their diſcomfiture has been adorned with a mira-

[63] In eo conveniunt omnes, ut plebeio vilique genere ortum, &c. (Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 136.). Yet Theophanes, the moſt ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confeſſes that Mahomet was of the race of Iſmael, εκ μιας γενικωτατης φυλης (Chronograph. p. 277.).

[64] Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25—97.) deſcribe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not diſpute its authenticity; at Lauſanne, I will venture to obſerve, 1. *That* from Iſmael to Mahomet, a period of 2500 years, they reckon thirty, inſtead of ſeventy-five, generations. 2. *That* the modern Bedoweens are ignorant of their hiſtory and careleſs of their pedigree (Voyage de d'Arvieux, p. 100. 103.).

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Deliverance of Mecca.

culous flight of birds, who ſhowered down ſtones on the heads of the infidels; and the deliverance was long commemorated by the æra of the elephant [65]. The glory of Abdol Motalleb was crowned with domeſtic happineſs, his life was prolonged to the age of one hundred and ten years, and he became the father of ſix daughters and thirteen ſons. His beſt beloved Abdallah was the moſt beautiful and modeſt of the Arabian youth; and in the firſt night, when he conſummated his marriage with Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred virgins are ſaid to have expired of jealouſy and deſpair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the only ſon of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Juſtinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyſſinians [66], whoſe victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religion of the Chriſtians. In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were ſtrong and numerous; and in the diviſion of the inheritance, the orphan's ſhare was reduced to five camels and an Æthiopian maid-ſervant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the moſt reſpectable of his

[65] The ſeed of this hiſtory, or fable, is contained in the cv[th] chapter of the Koran; and Gagnier (in Præfat. ad Vit. Moham. p. 18, &c.) has tranſlated the hiſtorical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illuſtrated from d'Herbelot. (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12.), and Pocock (Specimen, p. 64.). Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 48.) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale (Koran, p. 501—503.), who is half a Muſulman, attacks the inconſiſtent faith of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part ii. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 823.) aſcribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mahometans the confeſſion, that God would not have defended againſt the Chriſtians the idols of the Caaba.

[66] The ſafeſt æras of Abulfeda (in Vit. c. i. p. 2.), of Alexander, or the Greeks, 882, of Bocht Naſer, or Nabonaſſer, 1316, equally lead us to the year 569. The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to ſupport the Benedictines (Art de verifier les Dates, p. 15.), who from the day of the month and week deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Chriſt 570, the 10[th] of November. Yet this date would agree with the year 882 of the Greeks, which is aſſigned by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 5.) and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 101. and Errata Pocock's verſion). While we refine our chronology, it is poſſible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age.

uncles,

uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the ſervice of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who ſoon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage-contract, in the ſimple ſtyle of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah; deſcribes him as the moſt accompliſhed of the tribe of Koreiſh; and ſtipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was ſupplied by the liberality of his uncle[67]. By this alliance, the ſon of Abdallah was reſtored to the ſtation of his anceſtors; and the judicious matron was content with his domeſtic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age[68], he aſſumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

Qualifications of the prophet.

According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet[69] was diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of his perſon, an outward gift which is ſeldom deſpiſed, except by thoſe to whom it has been refuſed. Before he ſpoke, the orator engaged on his ſide the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding preſence, his majeſtic aſpect, his piercing eye, his gracious ſmile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every ſenſation of the ſoul, and his geſtures that enforced each expreſſion of the tongue.

[67] I copy the honourable teſtimony of Abu Taleb to his family and nephew. Laus Dei, qui nos a ſtirpe Abrahami et ſemine Iſmaelis conſtituit, et nobis regionem ſacram dedit, et nos judices hominibus ſtatuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei *(nepos meus)* quo cum ex æquo librabitur e Koraiſhidis quiſpiam cui non præponderaturus eſt, bonitate et excellantiâ, et intellectû et gloria et acumine etſi opum inops fuerit (et certe opes umbra tranſiens ſunt et depoſitum quod reddi debet), deſiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa viciſſim ipſius, quicquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me ſuſcipiam (Pocock, Specimen, e ſeptimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni).

[68] The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his miſſion, is preſerved by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 3—7.), and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 204—211.), Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—14.), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 97—134.).

[69] Abulfeda, in Vit. c. lxv, lxvi. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 272—289.; the beſt traditions of the perſon and converſation of the prophet are derived from Ayeſha, Ali and Abu Horaira (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 267. Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 149.), ſurnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira.

In

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In the familiar offices of life he ſcrupulouſly adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeneſs of his country: his reſpectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condeſcenſion and affability to the pooreſt citizens of Mecca: the frankneſs of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courteſy were imputed to perſonal friendſhip or univerſal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit eaſy and ſocial, his imagination ſublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and deciſive. He poſſeſſed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his deſigns might gradually expand with his ſucceſs, the firſt idea which he entertained of his divine miſſion bears the ſtamp of an original and ſuperior genius. The ſon of Abdallah was educated in the boſom of the nobleſt race, in the uſe of the pureſt dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his ſpeech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of diſcreet and ſeaſonable ſilence. With theſe powers of eloquence, Mahomet was an illiterate Barbarian: his youth had never been inſtructed in the arts of reading and writing [70]; the common ignorance exempted him from ſhame or reproach, but he was reduced to a narrow circle of exiſtence, and deprived of thoſe faithful mirrors, which reflect to our mind the minds of ſages and heroes. Yet the book of nature and of man was open to his view; and

[70] Thoſe who believe that Mahomet could read or write, are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Surats, or chapters of the Koran vii. xxix. xcvi. Theſe texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted, without doubt, by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. vii.), Gagnier (Not. ad Abulfed. p. 15.), Pocock (Specimen, p. 151.), Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 236.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 42). Mr. White, almoſt alone, denies the ignorance, to accuſe the impoſture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from ſatisfactory. Two ſhort trading journies to the fairs of Syria, were ſurely not ſufficient to infuſe a ſcience ſo rare among the citizens of Mecca: it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty, that Mahomet would have dropt the maſk; nor can any concluſion be drawn from the words of diſeaſe and delirium. The *lettered* youth, before he aſpired to the prophetic character, muſt have often exerciſed, in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his firſt converts, of his own family, would have been the firſt to detect and upbraid his ſcandalous hypocriſy (White's Sermons, p. 203. 204. Notes, p. xxxvi—xxxviii.).

ſome

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ſome fancy has been indulged in the political and philoſophical obſervations which are aſcribed to the Arabian *traveller*[71]. He compares the nations and the religions of the earth; diſcovers the weakneſs of the Perſian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and reſolves to unite, under one God and one king, the invincible ſpirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate enquiry will ſuggeſt, that inſtead of viſiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the Eaſt, the two journies of Mahomet into Syria were confined to the fairs of Boſtra and Damaſcus: that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the caravan of his uncle, and that his duty compelled him to return as ſoon as he had diſpoſed of the merchandiſe of Cadijah. In theſe haſty and ſuperficial excurſions, the eye of genius might diſcern ſome objects inviſible to his groſſer companions; ſome ſeeds of knowledge might be caſt upon a fruitful ſoil; but his ignorance of the Syriac language muſt have checked his curioſity; and I cannot perceive, in the life or writings of Mahomet, that his proſpect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that ſolitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca were annually aſſembled, by the calls of devotion and commerce: in the free concourſe of multitudes, a ſimple citizen, in his native tongue, might ſtudy the political ſtate and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and Chriſtians. Some uſeful ſtrangers might be tempted, or forced, to implore the rights of hoſpitality; and the enemies of Mahomet have named the Jew, the Perſian, and the Syrian monk, whom they accuſe of lending their ſecret aid to the compoſition of the Koran[72]. Converſation enriches the underſtanding,

[71] The Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 202—228.) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the Cyrus of Ramſay. His journey to the court of Perſia is probably a fiction; nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs ſont pourtant des hommes." The two Syrian journies are expreſſed by almoſt all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Chriſtians (Gagnier ad Abulfed. p. 10.).

[72] I am not at leiſure to purſue the fables or conjectures which name the ſtrangers accuſed

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ſtanding, but ſolitude is the ſchool of genius; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a ſingle artiſt. From his earlieſt youth, Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation: each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world, and from the arms of Cadijah: in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca[73], he conſulted the ſpirit of fraud or enthuſiaſm, whoſe abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the name of *Iſlam*, he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a neceſſary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

One God.

It is the boaſt of the Jewiſh apologiſts, that while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded by the fables of polytheiſm, their ſimple anceſtors of Paleſtine preſerved the knowledge and worſhip of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah may not eaſily be reconciled with the ſtandard of *human* virtue: his metaphyſical qualities are darkly expreſſed; but each page of the Pentateuch and the Prophets is an evidence of his power: the unity of his name is inſcribed on the firſt table of the law; and his ſanctuary was never defiled by any viſible image of the inviſible eſſence. After the ruin of the temple, the faith of the Hebrew exiles was purified, fixed, and enlightened, by the ſpiritual devotion of the ſynagogue; and the authority of Mahomet will not juſtify his perpetual reproach, that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as the ſon of God[74].

cuſed or ſuſpected by the infidels of Mecca (Koran, c. 16. p. 223. c. 35. p. 297. with Sale's Remarks. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22—27. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11. 74. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400.). Even Prideaux has obſerved, that the tranſaction muſt have been ſecret, and that the ſcene lay in the heart of Arabia.

[73] Abulfeda in Vit. c. 7. p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133. 135. The ſituation of mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda (Geograph. Arab. p. 4.). Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave of Egeria, ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ, of the Idæan mount, where Minos converſed with Jove, &c.

[74] Koran, c. 9. p. 153. Al Beidawi, and the other commentators quoted by Sale, adhere to the charge; but I do not underſtand that it is coloured by the moſt obſcure or abſurd tradition of the Talmudiſts.

But

But the children of Iſrael had ceaſed to be a people; and the religions of the world were guilty, at leaſt in the eyes of the prophet, of giving ſons, or daughters, or companions, to the ſupreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs, the crime is manifeſt and audacious: the Sabians are poorly excuſed by the pre-eminence of the firſt planet, or intelligence, in their cœleſtial hierarchy; and in the Magian ſyſtem the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Chriſtians of the ſeventh century had inſenſibly relapſed into a ſemblance of paganiſm: their public and private vows were addreſſed to the relics and images that diſgraced the temples of the Eaſt: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and ſaints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flouriſhed in the fruitful ſoil of Arabia, inveſted the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddeſs[75]. The myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation *appear* to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious ſenſe, they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jeſus into the ſubſtance of the ſon of God[76]: an orthodox commentary will ſatisfy only a believing mind: intemperate curioſity and zeal had torn the veil of the ſanctuary; and each of the Oriental ſects was eager to confeſs that all, except themſelves, deſerved the reproach of idolatry and polytheiſm. The creed of Mahomet is free

[75] Holtinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 225—228. The Collyridian hereſy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by ſome women, and the name was borrowed from the κολλυρις, or cake, which they offered to the goddeſs. This example, that of Beryllus biſhop of Boſtra (Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. vi. c. 33.), and ſeveral others, may excuſe the reproach, Arabia hæreſeωn ferax.

[76] The three gods in the Koran, c. 4. p. 81. c. 5. p. 92.) are obviouſly directed againſt our Catholic myſtery: but the Arabic commentators underſtand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical Trinity, maintained, as it is ſaid, by ſome Barbarians at the council of Nice (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440.). But the exiſtence of the *Marianites* is denied by the candid Beauſobre (Hiſt. de Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 532.): and he derives the miſtake from the word *Rouah*, the Holy Ghoſt, which in ſome Oriental tongues is of the feminine gender, and is figuratively ſtyled the mother of Chriſt in the goſpel of the Nazarenes.

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from ſuſpicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious teſtimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worſhip of idols and men, of ſtars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever riſes muſt ſet, that whatever is born muſt die, that whatever is corruptible muſt decay and periſh[77]. In the Author of the univerſe, his rational enthuſiaſm confeſſed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without iſſue or ſimilitude, preſent to our moſt ſecret thoughts, exiſting by the neceſſity of his own nature, and deriving from himſelf all moral and intellectual perfection. Theſe ſublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet[78], are firmly held by his diſciples, and defined with metaphyſical preciſion by the interpreters of the Koran. A philoſophic theiſt might ſubſcribe the popular creed of the Mahometans[79]; a creed too ſublime perhaps for our preſent faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the underſtanding, when we have abſtracted from the unknown ſubſtance all ideas of time and ſpace, of motion and matter, of ſenſation and reflection? The firſt principle of reaſon and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet: his proſelytes, from India to Morocco, are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Unitarians*; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and abſolute predeſtination is ſtrictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they ſtruggle with the common difficulties, *how* to reconcile the pre-

[77] This train of thought is philoſophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who oppoſed in Chaldæa the firſt introduction of idolatry (Koran, c. 6. p. 106. d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 13.).

[78] See the Koran, particularly the ſecond (p. 30.), the fifty-ſeventh (p. 437.), the fifty-eighth (p. 441.) chapter, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

[79] The moſt orthodox creeds are tranſlated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 274, 284—292.), Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. lxxxii—xcv.), Reland (de Religion. Moham. l. i. p. 7—13.), and Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 4—28.). The great truth, that God is without ſimilitude, is fooliſhly criticiſed by Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part iii. p. 87—94.), becauſe he made man after his own image.

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science of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; *how* to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

Mahomet, the apostle of God, and the last of the prophets.

The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age: the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran[80]. During that period, some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; three hundred and thirteen apostles were sent with a special commission to recal their country from idolatry and vice; one hundred and four volumes have been dictated by the holy spirit; and six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets, is numbered with the infidels. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians[81]: the conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children; the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proselytes of

Moses.

[80] Reland, de Relig. Moham. l. i. p. 17—47. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 73—76. Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 28—37. and 37—47. for the Persian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the precise number of prophets is not an article of faith.

[81] For the apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T. p. 27—29.; of Seth, p. 154—157.; of Enoch, p. 160—219. But the book of Enoch is consecrated, in some measure, by the quotation of the apostle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger.

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the ſynagogue[82]; and the memory of Abraham was obſcurely revered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldæa: of the myriads of prophets, Moſes and Chriſt alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inſpired writings was compriſed in the books of the Old and the New Teſtament. The miraculous ſtory of Moſes is conſecrated and embelliſhed in the Koran[83]; and the captive Jews enjoy the ſecret revenge of impoſing their own belief on the nations whoſe recent creeds they deride. For the author of Chriſtianity, the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to entertain an high and myſterious reverence[84]. "Verily, Chriſt Jeſus, "the ſon of Mary, is the apoſtle of God, and his word, which "he conveyed unto Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from him: "honourable in this world, and in the world to come; and "one of thoſe who approach near to the preſence of God[85]." The wonders of the genuine and apocryphal goſpels[86] are profuſely heaped on his head; and the Latin church has not diſdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception[87] of his virgin mother. Yet Jeſus was a mere mortal; and, at the day of judgment, his teſtimony will ſerve to condemn both the Jews, who reject

Jeſus.

[82] The ſeven precepts of Noah are explained by Marſham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 154—180.), who adopts, on this occaſion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

[83] The articles of *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, &c. in the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, who have built on the ground-work of Scripture and the Talmud.

[84] Koran, c. 7. p. 128, &c. c. 10. p. 173, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 647, &c.

[85] Koran, c. 3. p. 40. c. 4. p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 399, &c.

[86] See the goſpel of St. Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, who collects the various teſtimonies concerning it (p. 128—158.). It was publiſhed in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our preſent copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the original about the ſpeech of Chriſt in his cradle, his living birds of clay, &c. (*Sike*, c. 1. p. 168, 169. c. 36. p. 198, 199. c. 46. p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2. p. 160, 161.).

[87] It is darkly hinted in the Koran (c. 3. p. 39.), and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnites (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112.). In the xii[th] century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a preſumptuous novelty (Fra Paolo, Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento, l. ii.).

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him as a prophet, and the Chriſtians, who adore him as the Son of God. The malice of his enemies aſperſed his reputation, and conſpired againſt his life; but their intention only was guilty, a phantom or a criminal was ſubſtituted on the croſs, and the innocent ſaint was tranſlated to the ſeventh heaven [88]. During ſix hundred years the goſpel was the way of truth and ſalvation; but the Chriſtians inſenſibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder; and Mahomet was inſtructed by the Gnoſtics to accuſe the church, as well as the ſynagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the ſacred text [89]. The piety of Moſes and of Chriſt rejoiced in the aſſurance of a future prophet, more illuſtrious than themſelves: the evangelic promiſe of the *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghoſt, was prefigured in the name, and accompliſhed in the perſon, of Mahomet [90], the greateſt and the laſt of the apoſtles of God.

The Koran.

The communication of ideas requires a ſimilitude of thought and language: the diſcourſe of a philoſopher would vibrate without effect on the ear of a peaſant; yet how minute is the diſtance of *their* underſtandings, if it be compared with the contact of an in-

[88] See the Koran, c. 3. v. 53. and c. 4. v. 156. of Maracci's edition. Deus eſt præſtantiſſimus doloſe agentium (an odd praiſe).... nec crucifixerunt eum, ſed objecta eſt eis ſimilitudo: an expreſſion that may ſuit with the ſyſtem of the Docetes; but the commentators believe (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113—115. 173. Sale, p. 42. 43. 79.), that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeneſs of Jeſus; a fable which they had read in the goſpel of St. Barnabas, and which had been ſtarted as early as the time of Irenæus, by ſome Ebionite heretics (Beauſobre, Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 25. Moſheim de Reb. Chriſt. p. 353.).

[89] This charge is obſcurely urged in the Koran (ç. 3. p. 45.): but neither Mahomet, nor his followers, are ſufficiently verſed in languages and criticiſm to give any weight or colour to their ſuſpicions. Yet the Arians and Neſtorians could relate ſome ſtories, and the illiterate prophet might liſten to the bold aſſertions of the Manichæans. See Beauſobre, tom. i. p. 291—305.

[90] Among the prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Muſulmans, they apply to the prophet the promiſe of the *Paraclete*, or Comforter, which had been already uſurped by the Montaniſts and Manichæans (Beauſobre, Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 263, &c.); and the eaſy change of letters, περικλυτος for παρακλητος, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed (Maracci, tom. i. part i. p. 15—28.).

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finite and a finite mind, with the word of God expreſſed by the tongue or the pen of a mortal? The inſpiration of the Hebrew prophets, of the apoſtles and evangeliſts of Chriſt, might not be incompatible with the exerciſe of their reaſon and memory; and the diverſity of their genius is ſtrongly marked in the ſtyle and compoſition of the books of the Old and New Teſtament. But Mahomet was content with a character, more humble, yet more ſublime, of a ſimple editor: the ſubſtance of the Koran [91], according to himſelf or his diſciples, is uncreated and eternal; ſubſiſting in the eſſence of the Deity, and inſcribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlaſting decrees. A paper copy in a volume of ſilk and gems, was brought down to the loweſt heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewiſh œconomy, had indeed been diſpatched on the moſt important errands; and this truſty meſſenger ſucceſſively revealed the chapters and verſes to the Arabian prophet. Inſtead of a perpetual and perfect meaſure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the diſcretion of Mahomet; each revelation is ſuited to the emergencies of his policy or paſſion; and all contradiction is removed by the ſaving maxim, that any text of ſcripture is abrogated or modified by any ſubſequent paſſage. The word of God, and of the apoſtle, was diligently recorded by his diſciples on palm-leaves and the ſhoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were caſt into a domeſtic cheſt in the cuſtody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the ſacred volume was collected and publiſhed by his friend and ſucceſſor Abubeker: the work was reviſed by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran aſſert the ſame miraculous privilege of an uniform and incorruptible text. In the ſpirit

[91] For the Koran, ſee d'Herbelot, p. 85—88. Maracci, tom. i. in Vit. Mohammed. p. 32—45. Sale, Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 56—70.

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of enthuſiaſm or vanity, the prophet reſts the truth of his miſſion on the merit of his book, audaciouſly challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a ſingle page, and preſumes to aſſert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance[92]. This argument is moſt powerfully addreſſed to a devout Arabian, whoſe mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whoſe ear is delighted by the muſic of ſounds, and whoſe ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius[93]. The harmony and copiouſneſs of ſtyle will not reach, in a verſion, the European infidel: he will peruſe with impatience the endleſs incoherent rhapſody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which ſeldom excites a ſentiment or an idea, which ſometimes crawls in the duſt, and is ſometimes loſt in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian miſſionary; but his loftieſt ſtrains muſt yield to the ſublime ſimplicity of the book of Job, compoſed in a remote age, in the ſame country and in the ſame language[94]. If the compoſition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what ſuperior intelligence ſhould we aſcribe the Iliad of Homer or the Philippics of Demoſthenes? In all religions, the life of the founder ſupplies the ſilence of his written revelation: the ſayings of Mahomet were ſo many leſſons of truth; his actions ſo many examples of virtue; and the public and private memorials were preſerved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the *Sonna* or oral law was fixed and

[92] Koran, c. 17. v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

[93] Yet a ſect of Arabians was perſuaded, that it might be equalled or ſurpaſſed by an human pen (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, &c.); and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the tranſlator) derides the rhyming affectation of the moſt applauded paſſage (tom. i. part ii. p. 69—75.).

[94] Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in media Arabia atque ab Arabibus habita (Lowth, de Poeſi Hebræorum Prælect. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv. with his German editor Michaelis, Epimetron iv.). Yet Michaelis (p. 671—673.) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiaſis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, &c. The language is ambiguouſly ſtyled, *Arabico-Hebræa*. The reſemblance of the ſiſter dialects was much more viſible in their childhood than in their mature age (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job).

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conſecrated by the labours of Al Bochari, who diſcriminated ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five genuine traditions, from a maſs of three hundred thouſand reports, of a more doubtful or ſpurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem: the pages were ſucceſſively depoſited on the pulpit, and the ſepulchre of the apoſtle; and the work has been approved by the four orthodox ſects of the Sonnites [95].

Miracles.

The miſſion of the ancient prophets, of Moſes and of Jeſus, had been confirmed by many ſplendid prodigies; and Mahomet was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to produce a ſimilar evidence of his divine legation; to call down from heaven the angel or the volume of his revelation, to create a garden in the deſert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbelieving city. As often as he is preſſed by the demands of the Koreiſh, he involves himſelf in the obſcure boaſt of viſion and prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and ſhields himſelf behind the providence of God, who refuſes thoſe ſigns and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith and aggravate the guilt of infidelity. But the modeſt or angry tone of his apologies betrays his weakneſs and vexation; and theſe paſſages of ſcandal eſtabliſh, beyond ſuſpicion, the integrity of the Koran [96]. The votaries of Mahomet are more aſſured than himſelf of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credulity encreaſe as they are farther removed from the time and place of his ſpiritual exploits. They believe or affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was ſaluted by ſtones; that water guſhed from

[95] Al Bochari died A. H. 224. See d'Herbelot, p. 208. 416. 827. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19. p. 33.

[96] See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12. 13. 17. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 18, 19.) has confounded the impoſtor. Maracci, with a more learned apparatus, has ſhewn that the paſſages which deny his miracles are clear and poſitive (Alcoran, tom. i. part ii. p. 7—12.), and thoſe which ſeem to aſſert them, are ambiguous and inſufficient (p. 12—22.).

his

his fingers; that he fed the hungry, cured the ſick, and raiſed the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; that a ſhoulder of mutton informed him of its being poiſoned; and that both animate and inanimate nature were equally ſubject to the apoſtle of God [97]. His dream of a nocturnal journey is ſeriouſly deſcribed as a real and corporeal tranſaction. A myſterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jeruſalem: with his companion Gabriel, he ſucceſſively aſcended the ſeven heavens, and received and repaid the ſalutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their reſpective manſions. Beyond the ſeventh heaven, Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he paſſed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-ſhots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his ſhoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar though important converſation, he again deſcended to Jeruſalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thouſand years [98]. According to another legend, the apoſtle confounded in a national aſſembly the malicious challenge of the Koreiſh. His reſiſtleſs word ſplit aſunder the orb of the moon: the obedient planet ſtooped from her ſtation in the ſky, accompliſhed the ſeven revolutions round the

[97] See the Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17. the notes of Pocock, p. 187—190. D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 76, 77. Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 200—203. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. p. 22—64.) has moſt laborioufly collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to ſome writers, amount to three thouſand.

[98] The nocturnal journey is circumſtantially related by Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 19. p. 33.), who wiſhes to think it a viſion; by Prideaux (p. 31—40.), who aggravates the abſurdities; and by Gagnier (tom. i. p. 252—343.), who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey, is to diſbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven, or Jeruſalem, or Mecca, has only dropt a myſterious hint: Laus illi qui tranſtulit ſervum ſuum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotiſſimum (Koran, c. 17. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407.; for Sale's verſion is more licentious). A ſlender baſis for the aërial ſtructure of tradition.

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Caaba, ſaluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and ſuddenly contracting her dimenſions, entered at the collar, and iſſued forth through the ſleeve, of his ſhirt[99]. The vulgar are amuſed with theſe marvellous tales; but the graveſt of the Muſulman doctors imitate the modeſty of their maſter, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation[100]. They might ſpeciouſly allege, that in preaching the religion, it was needleſs to violate the harmony, of nature; that a creed unclouded with myſtery may be excuſed from miracles; and that the ſword of Mahomet was not leſs potent than the rod of Moſes.

Precepts of Mahomet—prayer, faſting, alms.

The polytheiſt is oppreſſed and diſtracted by the variety of ſuperſtition: a thouſand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the eſſence of the Moſaic law; and the ſpirit of the goſpel had evaporated in the pageantry of the church. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotiſm, to ſanctify the rites of the Arabians, and the cuſtom of viſiting the holy ſtone of the Caaba. But the precepts of Mahomet himſelf inculcate a more ſimple and rational piety: prayer, faſting, and alms, are the religious duties of a Muſulman; and he is encouraged to hope, that prayer will carry him half way to God, faſting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admittance[101]. I. According

[99] In the prophetic ſtyle, which uſes the preſent or paſt for the future, Mahomet had ſaid: Appropinquavit hora et ſciſſa eſt luna (Koran, c. 54. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 688.). This figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is ſaid to be atteſted by the moſt reſpectable eye-witneſſes (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690.). The feſtival is ſtill celebrated by the Perſians (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201.); and the legend is tediouſly ſpun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom: i. p. 183—234.) on the faith, as it ſhould ſeem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witneſs (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187.); the beſt interpreters are content with the ſimple ſenſe of the Koran (Al Beidawi, apud Holtinger, Hiſt. Orient. l. ii. p. 302.); and the ſilence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philoſopher.

[100] Abulpharagius, in Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 17.; and his ſcepticiſm is juſtified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190—194. from the pureſt authorities.

[101] The moſt authentic account of theſe precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, faſting, alms, and

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cording to the tradition of the nocturnal journey, the apoſtle, in his perſonal conference with the Deity, was commanded to impoſe on his diſciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moſes, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burthen; the number was gradually reduced to five; without any diſpenſation of buſineſs or pleaſure, or time or place: the devotion of the faithful is repeated at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the firſt watch of the night; and, in the preſent decay of religious fervour, our travellers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Perſians. Cleanlineſs is the key of prayer: the frequent luſtration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practiſed of old by the Arabs, is ſolemnly enjoined by the Koran; and a permiſſion is formally granted to ſupply with ſand the ſcarcity of water. The words and attitudes of ſupplication, as it is performed either ſitting, or ſtanding, or proſtrate on the ground, are preſcribed by cuſtom or authority, but the prayer is poured forth in ſhort and fervent ejaculations; the meaſure of zeal is not exhauſted by a tedious liturgy; and each Muſulman, for his own perſon, is inveſted with the character of a prieſt. Among the theiſts, who reject the uſe of images, it has been found neceſſary to reſtrain the wanderings of the fancy, by directing the eye and the thought towards a *kebla*, or viſible point of the horizon. The prophet was at firſt inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jeruſalem; but he ſoon returned to a more natural partiality; and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Aſtracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are de-

and ablutions, is extracted from the Perſian and Arabian theologians by Maracci (Prodrom. part iv. p. 9—24.). Reland (in his excellent treatiſe de Religione Mohammedicâ, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67—123.); and Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 47—195.). Maracci is a partial accuſer; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philoſopher; and Reland, a judicious ſtudent, had travelled over the Eaſt in his cloſet at Utrecht. The xiv^th^ letter of Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 325—360. in octavo) deſcribes what he had ſeen of the religion of the Turks.

voutly

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voutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every ſpot for the ſervice of God is equally pure: the Mahometans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the ſtreet. As a diſtinction from the Jews and Chriſtians, the Friday in each week is ſet apart for the uſeful inſtitution of public worſhip: the people is aſſembled in the moſch and the imam: ſome reſpectable elder aſcends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the ſermon. But the Mahometan religion is deſtitute of prieſthood or ſacrifice; and the independent ſpirit of fanaticiſm looks down with contempt on the miniſters and the ſlaves of ſuperſtition. II. The voluntary [102] penance of the aſcetics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to a prophet who cenſured in his companions a raſh vow of abſtaining from fleſh, and women, and ſleep; and firmly declared, that he would ſuffer no monks in his religion [103]. Yet he inſtituted, in each year, a faſt of thirty days; and ſtrenuouſly recommended the obſervance, as a diſcipline which purifies the ſoul and ſubdues the body, as a ſalutary exerciſe of obedience to the will of God and his apoſtle. During the month of Ramadan, from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, the Muſulman abſtains from eating, and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes; from all nouriſhment that can reſtore his ſtrength, from all pleaſure that can gratify his ſenſes. In the revolution of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides by turns with the winter cold and the ſummer heat; and the patient martyr, without aſſuaging his thirſt with a drop of water, muſt expect the cloſe of a tedious and ſultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to ſome

[102] Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9. p. 153.) reproaches the Chriſtians with taking their prieſts and monks for their lords, beſides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part iii. p. 69, 70.) excuſes the worſhip, eſpecially of the pope, and quotes, from the Koran itſelf, the caſe of Eblis, or Satan, who was caſt from heaven for refuſing to adore Adam.

[103] Koran, c. 5. p. 94. and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares, that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuſe*; and that the firſt ſwarms of fakirs, derviſes, &c. did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292. 718.).

orders

orders of prieſts or hermits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a poſitive and general law [104]; and a conſiderable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the uſe of that ſalutary, though dangerous, liquor. Theſe painful reſtraints are, doubtleſs, infringed by the libertine and eluded by the hypocrite; but the legiſlator, by whom they are enacted, cannot ſurely be accuſed of alluring his proſelytes by the indulgence of their ſenſual appetites. III. The charity of the Mahometans deſcends to the animal creation; and the Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a ſtrict and indiſpenſable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mahomet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the preciſe meaſure of charity: the ſtandard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it conſiſts either in money, in corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandiſe; but the Muſulman does not accompliſh the law, unleſs he beſtows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conſcience accuſes him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of reſtitution, is enlarged to a *fifth* [105]. Benevolence is the foundation of juſtice, ſince we are forbid to injure thoſe whom we are bound to aſſiſt. A prophet may reveal the ſecrets of heaven and of futurity; but in his moral precepts he can only repeat the leſſons of our own hearts.

Reſurrection.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties of Iſlam, are guarded by rewards and puniſhments; and the faith of the Muſulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and the laſt day. The prophet has not preſumed to determine the moment of

[104] See the double prohibition (Koran, c. 2. p. 25. c. 5. p 94.); the one in the ſtyle of a legiſlator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private motives of Mahomet are inveſtigated by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 62—64.); and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 124.).

[105] The jealouſy of Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 33.) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hoſpitals are open to many thouſand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are annually portioned, fifty-ſix charity ſchools are founded for both ſexes, one hundred and twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, &c. The benevolence of London is ſtill more extenſive; but I am afraid that much more is to be aſcribed to the humanity, than to the religion, of the people.

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that awful cataſtrophe, though he darkly announces the ſigns, both in heaven and earth, which will precede the univerſal diſſolution, when life ſhall be deſtroyed, and the order of creation ſhall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blaſt of the trumpet, new worlds will ſtart into being; angels, genii, and men, will ariſe from the dead, and the human ſoul will again be united to the body. The doctrine of the reſurrection was firſt entertained by the Egyptians[106]; and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were conſtructed, to preſerve the ancient manſion of the ſoul, during a period of three thouſand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philoſophic ſpirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whoſe word can reanimate the breathleſs clay, and collect the innumerable atoms, that no longer retain their form or ſubſtance[107]. The intermediate ſtate of the ſoul it is hard to decide; and thoſe who moſt firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loſs to underſtand how ſhe can think or act without the agency of the organs of ſenſe.

Hell and paradiſe.

The re-union of the ſoul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind; and, in his copy of the Magian picture, the prophet has too faithfully repreſented the forms of proceeding, and even the ſlow and ſucceſſive operations of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adverſaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themſelves, the hope of ſalvation, for aſſerting the blackeſt hereſy, that every man who believes in God, and accompliſhes good works, may expect in the laſt day a favourable ſentence. Such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic; nor is

[106] See Herodotus (l. ii. c. 123.) and our learned countryman Sir John Marſham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46.). The Ἅιδης of the ſame writer (p. 254—274.) is an elaborate ſketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philoſophers of antiquity.

[107] The Koran (c. 2. p. 259, &c.; of Sale, p. 32.; of Maracci, p. 97.) relates an ingenious miracle, which ſatisfied the curioſity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

it probable that a meſſenger from heaven ſhould depreciate the value and neceſſity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran [108], the belief of God is inſeparable from that of Mahomet: the good works are thoſe which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profeſſion of Iſlam, to which all nations and all ſects are equally invited. Their ſpiritual blindneſs, though excuſed by ignorance and crowned with virtue, will be ſcourged with everlaſting torments; and the tears which Mahomet ſhed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, diſplay a ſtriking contraſt of humanity and enthuſiaſm [109]. The doom of the infidels is common: the meaſure of their guilt and puniſhment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained: the eternal manſions of the Chriſtians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are ſunk below each other in the abyſs; and the loweſt hell is reſerved for the faithleſs hypocrites who have aſſumed the maſk of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Muſulman will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a ſingular mode of compenſation will be allowed for the payment of injuries: the aggreſſor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions, for the benefit of the perſon whom he has wronged; and if he ſhould be deſtitute of any moral property, the weight of his ſins will be loaded with an adequate ſhare of the demerits of the ſufferer. According

[108] The candid Reland has demonſtrated, that Mahomet damns all unbelievers (de Religion. Moham. p. 128—142.), that devils will not be finally ſaved (p. 196—199.); that paradiſe will not *ſolely* conſiſt of corporeal delights (p. 199—205.); and that women's ſouls are immortal (p. 205—209.).

[109] Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9. p. 164. The refuſal to pray for an unbelieving kindred, is juſtified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, and the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of God. Yet Abraham (he adds, c. 9. v. 116. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317.) fuit ſane pius, mitis.

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as the ſhares of guilt or virtue ſhall preponderate, the ſentence will be pronounced, and all, without diſtinction, will paſs over the ſharp and perilous bridge of the abyſs; but the innocent, treading in the footſteps of Mahomet, will glorioufly enter the gates of paradiſe, while the guilty will fall into the firſt and mildeſt of the ſeven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to ſeven thouſand years; but the prophet has judicioufly promiſed, that *all* his diſciples, whatever may be their ſins, ſhall be ſaved, by their own faith and his interceſſion, from eternal damnation. It is not ſurpriſing that ſuperſtition ſhould act moſt powerfully on the fears of her votaries, ſince the human fancy can paint with more energy the miſery than the bliſs of a future life. With the two ſimple elements of darkneſs and fire, we create a ſenſation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endleſs duration. But the ſame idea operates with an oppoſite effect on the continuity of pleaſure; and too much of our preſent enjoyments is obtained from the relief or the compariſon of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet ſhould dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers, of paradiſe; but inſtead of inſpiring the bleſſed inhabitants with a liberal taſte for harmony and ſcience, converſation and friendſhip, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of ſilk, palaces of marble, diſhes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of ſenſual and coſtly luxury, which becomes inſipid to the owner, even in the ſhort period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls, of reſplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquiſite ſenſibility, will be created for the uſe of the meaneſt believer; a moment of pleaſure will be prolonged to a thouſand years, and his faculties will be encreaſed an hundred fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithſtanding a vulgar prejudice,

dice, the gates of heaven will be open to both ſexes; but Mahomet has not ſpecified the male companions of the female elect, leſt he ſhould either alarm the jealouſy of their former huſbands, or diſturb their felicity, by the ſuſpicion of an everlaſting marriage. This image of a carnal paradiſe has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy, of the monks: they declaim againſt the impure religion of Mahomet; and his modeſt apologiſts are driven to the poor excuſe of figures and allegories. But the ſounder and more conſiſtent party adhere, without ſhame, to the literal interpretation of the Koran: uſeleſs would be the reſurrection of the body, unleſs it were reſtored to the poſſeſſion and exerciſe of its worthieſt faculties; and the union of ſenſual and intellectual enjoyment is requiſite to complete the happineſs of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradiſe will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expreſsly declared, that all meaner happineſs will be forgotten and deſpiſed by the ſaints and martyrs, who ſhall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine viſion [110].

Mahomet preaches at Mecca, A. D. 609.

The firſt and moſt arduous conqueſts of Mahomet [111] were thoſe of

[110] For the day of judgment, hell, paradiſe, &c. conſult the Koran (c. 2. v. 25. c. 56. 78, &c.); with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation (in his notes, and in the Prodromus, part iv. p. 78. 120. 122, &c.); d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 368. 375. Reland, p. 47—61.); and Sale (p. 76—103.). The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologiſt Dr. Hyde (Hiſt. Religionis Perſarum, c. 33. p. 402—412. Oxon. 1760). In the article of Mahomet, Bayle has ſhewn how indifferently wit and philoſophy ſupply the abſence of genuine information.

[111] Before I enter on the hiſtory of the prophet, it is incumbent on me to produce my evidence. The Latin, French, and Engliſh verſions of the Koran, are preceded by hiſtorical diſcourſes, and the three tranſlators, Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—32.), Savary (tom. i. p. 1—248.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 33—56.), had accurately ſtudied the language and character of their author. Two profeſſed lives of Mahomet have been compoſed by Dr. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, ſeventh edition, London, 1718, in octavo) and the count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, Londres, 1730, in octavo); but the adverſe wiſh of finding an impoſtor or an hero, has too often corrupted the learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count. The article in d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598—603.), is chiefly drawn from Novairi and Mircond; but the beſt and moſt authentic of our guides is M. Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and profeſſor at Oxford of the Oriental

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of his wife, his ſervant, his pupil, and his friend [111]; ſince he preſented himſelf as a prophet to thoſe who were moſt converſant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and cheriſhed the glory, of her huſband; the obſequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the proſpect of freedom; the illuſtrious Ali, the ſon of Abu Taleb, embraced the ſentiments of his couſin with the ſpirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abubeker, confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was deſtined to ſucceed. By his perſuaſion, ten of the moſt reſpectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private leſſons of Iſlam; they yielded to the voice of reaſon and enthuſiaſm; they repeated the fundamental creed; "there is but one God, and Mahomet is "the apoſtle of God;" and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were ſilently employed in the converſion of fourteen proſelytes, the firſt fruits of his miſſion; but in the fourth year he aſſumed the prophetic office, and reſolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is ſaid, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty gueſts of the race of Haſhem. "Friends and "kinſmen," ſaid Mahomet to the aſſembly, "I offer you, and

Oriental tongues. In two elaborate works (Iſmael Abulfeda de Vita et Rebus geſtis Mohammedis, &c. Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illuſtravit Johannes Gagnier, Oxon. 1723, in folio. La Vie de Mahomet traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes; Amſterdam, 1748, 3 vols. in 12mo) he has interpreted, illuſtrated, and ſupplied the Arabic text of Abulfeda and Al Jannabi; the firſt, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hamah, in Syria, A. D. 1310—1332 (ſee Gagnier Præfat. ad Abulfed.); the ſecond, a credulous doctor, who viſited Mecca A. D. 1556 (d'Herbelot, p. 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.). Theſe are my general vouchers, and the inquiſitive reader may follow the order of time, and the diviſion of chapters. Yet I muſt obſerve, that both Abulfeda and Al Jannabi are modern hiſtorians, and that they cannot appeal to any writers of the firſt century of the Hegira.

[111] After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8.) diſcloſes the ſecret doubts of the wife of Mahomet. As if he had been a privy counſellor of the prophet, Boulainvilliers (p. 272, &c.) unfolds the ſublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the firſt diſciples.

"I alone

"I alone can offer, the moſt precious of gifts, the treaſures of "this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me "to call you to his ſervice. Who among you will ſupport my "burthen? Who among you will be my companion and my "vizir [113]?" No anſwer was returned, till the ſilence of aſtoniſhment, and doubt, and contempt, was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man: whoſoever riſes againſt thee, I will "daſh out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his "belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with tranſport, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to reſpect the ſuperior dignity of his ſon. In a more ſerious tone, the father of Ali adviſed his nephew to relinquiſh his impracticable deſign. "Spare your remonſtrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they ſhould place the ſun "on my right-hand and the moon on my left, they ſhould not "divert me from my courſe." He perſevered ten years in the exerciſe of his miſſion; and the religion which has overſpread the Eaſt and the Weſt, advanced with a ſlow and painful progreſs within the walls of Mecca. Yet Mahomet enjoyed the ſatisfaction of beholding the encreaſe of his infant congregation of Unitarians, who revered him as a prophet, and to whom he ſeaſonably diſpenſed the ſpiritual nouriſhment of the Koran. The number of proſelytes may be eſteemed by the abſence of eighty-three men and eighteen women, who retired to Æthiopia in the ſeventh year of his miſſion: and his party was fortified by the timely converſion of his uncle Hamza, and of the fierce and inflexible Omar, who ſignaliſed in the cauſe of

[113] *Vezirus, portitor, bajulus, onus ferens*; and this plebeian name was transferred by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the ſtate (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 19.). I endeavour to preſerve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myſelf, in a Latin or French tranſlation.

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Iſlam the ſame zeal which he had exerted for its deſtruction. Nor was the charity of Mahomet confined to the tribe of Koreiſh or the precincts of Mecca: on ſolemn feſtivals, in the days of pilgrimage, he frequented the Caaba, accoſted the ſtrangers of every tribe, and urged, both in private converſe and public diſcourſe, the belief and worſhip of a ſole Deity. Conſcious of his reaſon and of his weakneſs, he aſſerted the liberty of conſcience, and diſclaimed the uſe of religious violence[114]: but he called the Arabs to repentance, and conjured them to remember the ancient idolaters of Ad and Thamud, whom the divine juſtice had ſwept away from the face of the earth[115].

Is oppoſed by the Koreiſh, A. D. 613—622.

The people of Mecca was hardened in their unbelief by ſuperſtition and envy. The elders of the city, the uncles of the prophet, affected to deſpiſe the preſumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country: the pious orations of Mahomet in the Caaba were anſwered by the clamours of Abu Taleb. "Citizens and pilgrims, liſten "not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties. Stand "faſt in the worſhip of Al Lâta and Al Uzzah." Yet the ſon of Abdallah was ever dear to the aged chief; and he protected the fame and perſon of his nephew againſt the aſſaults of the Koreiſhites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Haſhem. Their malice was coloured with the pretence of religion: in the age of Job, the crime of impiety was puniſhed by the Arabian magiſtrate;

[114] The paſſages of the Koran in behalf of toleration, are ſtrong and numerous: c. 2. v. 257. c. 16. 129. c. 17. 54. c. 45. 15. c. 50. 39. c. 88. 21, &c. with the notes of Maracci and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the doubts of the learned, whether a chapter was revealed at Mecca or Medina.

[115] See the Koran (paſſim, and eſpecially c. 7. p. 123, 124, &c.), and the tradition of the Arabs (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35—37.). The caverns of the tribe of Thamud, fit for men of the ordinary ſtature, were ſhewn in the midway between Medina and Damaſcus (Abulfed. Arabiæ Deſcript. p. 43, 44.), and may be probably aſcribed to the Troglodytes of the primitive world (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poeſi Hebræor. p. 131—134. Recherches ſur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, &c.).

magiſtrate [116]; and Mahomet was guilty of deſerting and denying the national deities. But ſo looſe was the policy of Mecca, that the leaders of the Koreiſh, inſtead of accuſing a criminal, were compelled to employ the meaſures of perſuaſion or violence. They repeatedly addreſſed Abu Taleb in the ſtyle of reproach and menace. "Thy "nephew reviles our religion; he accuſes our wiſe forefathers of "ignorance and folly; ſilence him quickly, leſt he kindle tumult and "diſcord in the city. If he perſevere, we ſhall draw our ſwords "againſt him and his adherents, and thou wilt be reſponſible for "the blood of thy fellow-citizens." The weight and moderation of Abu Taleb eluded the violence of religious faction; the moſt helpleſs or timid of the diſciples retired to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himſelf to various places of ſtrength in the town and country. As he was ſtill ſupported by his family, the reſt of the tribe of Koreiſh engaged themſelves to renounce all intercourſe with the children of Haſhem, neither to buy nor ſell, neither to marry nor to give in marriage, but to purſue them with implacable enmity, till they ſhould deliver the perſon of Mahomet to the juſtice of the gods. The decree was ſuſpended in the Caaba before the eyes of the nation; the meſſengers of the Koreiſh purſued the Muſulman exiles in the heart of Africa: they beſieged the prophet and his moſt faithful followers, intercepted their water, and inflamed their mutual animoſity by the retaliation of injuries and inſults. A doubtful truce reſtored the appearances of concord; till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domeſtic comforts by the loſs of his faithful and generous Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of

[116] In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was puniſhed by the Arabian magiſtrate (c. 31. v. 26, 27, 28.). I bluſh for a reſpectable prelate (de Poeſi Hebræorum, p. 650, 651. edit. Michaelis; and letter of a late profeſſor in the univerſity of Oxford, p. 15—53.), who juſtifies and applauds this patriarchal inquiſition.

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the branch of Ommiyah, ſucceeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Haſhem, he convened an aſſembly of the Koreiſhites and their allies, to decide the fate of the apoſtle. His impriſonment might provoke the deſpair of his enthuſiaſm; and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic would diffuſe the miſchief through the provinces of Arabia. His death was reſolved; and they agreed that a ſword from each tribe ſhould be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood and baffle the vengeance of the Haſhemites. An angel or a ſpy revealed their conſpiracy; and flight was the only reſource of Mahomet [117]. At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he ſilently eſcaped from his houſe: the aſſaſſins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who repoſed on the bed, and was covered with the green veſtment of the apoſtle. The Koreiſh reſpected the piety of the heroic youth; but ſome verſes of Ali, which are ſtill extant, exhibit an intereſting picture of his anxiety, his tenderneſs, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the diſtance of a league from Mecca; and in the cloſe of each evening, they received from the ſon and daughter of Abubeker, a ſecret ſupply of intelligence and food. The diligence of the Koreiſh explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city, they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential deceit of a ſpider's web and a pigeon's neſt, is ſuppoſed to convince them that the place was ſolitary and inviolate. "We "are only two," ſaid the trembling Abubeker. "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himſelf." No ſooner was the purſuit abated, than the two fugitives iſſued from the rock, and mounted their camels: on the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the

and driven from Mecca, A.D. 622.

[117] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 445. He quotes a particular hiſtory of the flight of Mahomet.

emiſſaries

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emiſſaries of the Koreiſh; they redeemed themſelves with prayers and promiſes from their hands. In this eventful moment, the lance of an Arab might have changed the hiſtory of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable æra of the *Hegira*[118], which, at the end of twelve centuries, ſtill diſcriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations[119].

Received as prince of Medina, A. D. 622.

The religion of the Koran might have periſhed in its cradle, had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcaſts of Mecca. Medina, or the *city*, known under the name of Yathreb, before it was ſanctified by the throne of the prophet, was divided between the tribes of the Charegites and the Awſites, whoſe hereditary feud was rekindled by the ſlighteſt provocations: two colonies of Jews, who boaſted a ſacerdotal race, were their humble allies, and without converting the Arabs, they introduced the taſte of ſcience and religion, which diſtinguiſhed Medina as the city of the book. Some of her nobleſt citizens, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return they diffuſed the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two ſecret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the ſuburbs of Mecca. In the firſt, ten Charegites and two Awſites united in faith and love, proteſted in the name of their wives, their children, and their abſent brethren, that they would for ever profeſs the creed, and obſerve the precepts, of the Koran. The ſecond was a political aſſociation, the firſt vital ſpark of the

[118] The *Hegira* was inſtituted by Omar, the ſecond caliph, in imitation of the æra of the martyrs of the Chriſtians (d'Herbelot, p. 444.); and properly commenced ſixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the firſt of Moharren, or firſt day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday July 16th, A. D. 622 (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23. p. 45—50.; and Greaves's edition of Ullug Beig's Epochæ Arabum, &c. c. 1. p. 8. 10, &c.).

[119] Mahomet's life, from his miſſion to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfeda (p. 14—45.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 134—251. 342—383.). The legend from p. 187—234. is vouched by Al Jannabi, and diſdained by Abulfeda.

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empire of the Saracens[120]. Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a ſolemn conference with Mahomet, his kinſmen, and his diſciples; and pledged themſelves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promiſed in the name of the city, that if he ſhould be baniſhed, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the laſt extremity, like their wives and children. "But if you are recalled by your country," they aſked with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your "new allies?" "All things," replied Mahomet with a ſmile, "are "now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin "as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour "and intereſt. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But if we are killed in your ſervice, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?" "PARADISE," replied the prophet. "Stretch forth thy hand." He ſtretched it forth, and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimouſly embraced the profeſſion of Iſlam; they rejoiced in the exile of the apoſtle, but they trembled for his ſafety, and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey along the ſea-coaſt, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry into Medina, ſixteen days after his flight from Mecca. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him; he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion; Mahomet was mounted on a ſhe-camel, an umbrella ſhaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him to ſupply the deficiency of a ſtandard. His braveſt diſciples, who had been ſcattered by the ſtorm, aſſembled round his perſon: and the equal, though various, merit of the Moſlems was diſtinguiſhed by the

[120] The triple inauguration of Mahomet is deſcribed by Abulfeda (p. 30. 33. 40. 86.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 342, &c. 349, &c. tom. ii. p. 223, &c.).

names

names of *Mohagerians* and *Anſars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the ſeeds of jealouſy, Mahomet judiciouſly coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren, and when Ali found himſelf without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared, that *he* would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with ſucceſs; the holy fraternity was reſpected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was ſlightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel; a patriot of Medina arraigned the inſolence of the ſtrangers, but the hint of their expulſion was heard with abhorrence, and his own ſon moſt eagerly offered to lay at the apoſtle's feet the head of his father.

His regal dignity, A. D. 622—632.

From his eſtabliſhment at Medina, Mahomet aſſumed the exerciſe of the regal and ſacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge whoſe decrees were inſpired by the divine wiſdom. A ſmall portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchaſe[121]; on that choſen ſpot, he built an houſe and a moſch more venerable in their rude ſimplicity than the palaces and temples of the Aſſyrian caliphs. His ſeal of gold, or ſilver, was inſcribed with the apoſtolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly aſſembly, he leaned againſt the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himſelf in the uſe of a chair or pulpit of rough timber[122]. After a reign of ſix years, fifteen hundred Moſlems,

[121] Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 44.) reviles the wickedneſs of the impoſtor, who deſpoiled two poor orphans, the ſons of a carpenter; a reproach which he drew from the Diſputatio contra Saracenos, compoſed in Arabic before the year 1130; but the honeſt Gagnier (ad Abulfed. p. 53.) has ſhewn that they were deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which ſignifies, in this place, not an obſcure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The deſolate ſtate of the ground is deſcribed by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved, from Al Bochari, the offer of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchaſe; and from Ahmed Ben Joſeph, the payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On theſe grounds the prophet muſt be honourably acquitted.

[122] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 246.

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Moſlems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the aſſurance of protection till the death of the laſt member, or the final diſſolution of the party. It was in the ſame camp that the deputy of Mecca was aſtoniſhed by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet, by the eagerneſs with which they collected his ſpittle, an hair that dropt on the ground, the refuſe water of his luſtrations, as if they participated in ſome degree of the prophetic virtue. "I have ſeen," ſaid he, "the Choſroes of Perſia and the Cæſar of Rome, but never "did I behold a king among his ſubjects like Mahomet among his "companions." The devout fervour of enthuſiaſm acts with more energy and truth than the cold and formal ſervility of courts.

He declares war againſt the infidels.

In the ſtate of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his perſon and his poſſeſſions; to repel, or even to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hoſtilities to a reaſonable meaſure of ſatisfaction and retaliation. In the free ſociety of the Arabs, the duties of ſubject and citizen impoſed a feeble reſtraint; and Mahomet, in the exerciſe of a peaceful and benevolent miſſion, had been deſpoiled and baniſhed by the injuſtice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a ſovereign; and he was inveſted with the juſt prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offenſive or defenſive war. The imperfection of human rights was ſupplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: the prophet of Medina aſſumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more ſanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakneſs[123]: the means of perſuaſion had been tried,

p. 246. 324.) deſcribes the ſeal and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apoſtle of God; and the portrait of his court is taken from Abulfeda (c. 44. p. 85.).

[123] The viiith and ixth chapters of the Koran are the loudeſt and moſt vehement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 59—64.) has inveighed with more juſtice than diſcretion againſt the double-dealing of the impoſtor.

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the ſeaſon of forbearance was elapſed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the ſword, to deſtroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the ſanctity of days or months, to purſue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The ſame bloody precepts, ſo repeatedly inculcated in the Koran, are aſcribed by the author to the Pentateuch and the Goſpel. But the mild tenor of the evangelic ſtyle may explain an ambiguous text, that Jeſus did not bring peace on the earth, but a ſword: his patient and humble virtues ſhould not be confounded with the intolerant zeal of princes and biſhops, who have diſgraced the name of his diſciples. In the proſecution of religious war, Mahomet might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moſes, of the judges and the kings of Iſrael. The military laws of the Hebrews are ſtill more rigid than thoſe of the Arabian legiſlator[124]. The Lord of hoſts marched in perſon before the Jews: if a city reſiſted their ſummons, the males, without diſtinction, were put to the ſword: the ſeven nations of Canaan were devoted to deſtruction; and neither repentance nor converſion could ſhield them from the inevitable doom, that no creature within their precincts ſhould be left alive. The fair option of friendſhip, or ſubmiſſion, or battle, was propoſed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they profeſſed the creed of Iſlam, they were admitted to all the temporal and ſpiritual benefits of his primitive diſciples, and marched under the ſame banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his intereſt, yet he ſeldom trampled on a proſtrate enemy; and he ſeems to promiſe, that, on the payment of a tribute, the leaſt guilty of his unbelieving ſubjects might be indulged in their worſhip, or

[124] The xth and xx^th chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical comments of Joſhua, David, &c. are read with more awe than ſatisfaction by the pious Chriſtians of the preſent age. But the biſhops, as well as the rabbis of former times, have beat the drum-eccleſiaſtic with pleaſure and ſucceſs (Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 142, 143.).

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at leaſt in their imperfect faith. In the firſt months of his reign, he practiſed the leſſons of holy warfare, and diſplayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: the martial apoſtle fought in perſon at nine battles or ſieges [125]; and fifty enterpriſes of war were atchieved in ten years by himſelf or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the profeſſions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excurſions for the defence or the attack of a caravan inſenſibly prepared his troops for the conqueſt of Arabia. The diſtribution of the ſpoil was regulated by a divine law [126]: the whole was faithfully collected in one common maſs: a fifth of the gold and ſilver, the priſoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables, was reſerved by the prophet for pious and charitable uſes; the remainder was ſhared in adequate portions by the ſoldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp: the rewards of the ſlain devolved to their widows and orphans; and the encreaſe of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double ſhare to the horſe and to the man. From all ſides the roving Arabs were allured to the ſtandard of religion and plunder: the apoſtle ſanctified the licence of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradiſe prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The ſword," ſays Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood ſhed in the "cauſe of God, a night ſpent in arms, is of more avail than two "months of faſting or prayer: whoſoever falls in battle, his ſins are "forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds ſhall be reſplendent

[125] Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arſenal of the apoſtle conſiſted of nine ſwords, three lances, ſeven pikes or half-pikes, a quiver and three bows, ſeven cuiraſſes, three ſhields, and two helmets (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 328—334.), with a large white ſtandard, a black banner (p. 335.), twenty horſes (p. 322.), &c. Two of his martial ſayings are recorded by tradition (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 88. 337.).

[126] The whole ſubject de jure belli Mohammedanorum, is exhauſted in a ſeparate diſſertation by the learned Reland (Diſſertationes Miſcellaneæ, tom. iii. Diſſert. x. p. 3—53.).

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"as vermillion and odoriferous as muſk; and the loſs of his limbs "ſhall be ſupplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid ſouls of the Arabs were fired with enthuſiaſm: the picture of the inviſible world was ſtrongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always deſpiſed became an object of hope and deſire. The Koran inculcates, in the moſt abſolute ſenſe, the tenets of fate and predeſtination, which would extinguiſh both induſtry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his ſpeculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The firſt companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearleſs confidence: there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to periſh in their beds; or they were ſafe and invulnerable amidſt the darts of the enemy [127].

His defenſive wars againſt the Koreiſh of Mecca.

Perhaps the Koreiſh would have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy, who could intercept their Syrian trade as it paſſed and repaſſed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sophian himſelf, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a wealthy caravan of a thouſand camels: the fortune or dexterity of his march eſcaped the vigilance of Mahomet; but the chief of the Koreiſh was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambuſh to await his return. He diſpatched a meſſenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were rouſed, by the fear of loſing their merchandiſe and their proviſions, unleſs they haſtened to his relief with the military force of the city. The ſacred band of Mahomet was formed of three

[127] The doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, on which few religions can reproach each other, is ſternly expoſed in the Koran (c. 3. p. 52, 53. c. 4. p. 70, &c. with the notes of Sale, and c. 17. p. 413. with thoſe of Maracci). Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. p. 61—64.) and Sale (Prelim. Diſcourſe, p. 103.) repreſent the opinions of the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of the Turks.

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hundred and thirteen Moſlems, of whom ſeventy-ſeven were fugitives, and the reſt auxiliaries: they mounted by turns a train of ſeventy camels (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war); but ſuch was the poverty of his firſt diſciples, that only two could appear on horſeback in the field [128]. In the fertile and famous vale of Beder [129], three ſtations from Medina, he was informed by his ſcouts of the caravan that approached on one ſide; of the Koreiſh, one hundred horſe, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a ſhort debate, he ſacrificed the proſpect of wealth to the purſuit of glory and revenge; and a ſlight intrenchment was formed, to cover his troops, and a ſtream of freſh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed as the numbers of the Koreiſh deſcended from the hills, "O God, if theſe are de-
"ſtroyed, by whom wilt thou be worſhipped on the earth?—Cou-
"rage, my children, cloſe your ranks; diſcharge your arrows, and
"the day is your own." At theſe words he placed himſelf, with Abubeker, on a throne or pulpit [130], and inſtantly demanded the ſuccour of Gabriel and three thouſand angels. His eye was fixed on

Battle of Beder, A. D. 623.

[128] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9.) allows him ſeventy or eighty horſe; and on two other occaſions prior to the battle of Ohud, he enliſts a body of thirty (p. 10.), and of 500 (p. 66.) troopers. Yet the Muſulmans, in the field of Ohud, had no more than two horſes, according to the better ſenſe of Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohamm. p. xxxi. p. 65.). In the *ſtony* province, the camels were numerous; but the horſe appears to have been leſs common than in the *Happy* or the *Deſert* Arabia.

[129] Bedder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina, and forty from Mecca, is on the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorate the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, &c. Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

[130] The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is ſtyled by Gagnier (in Abulfeda, c. 27. p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30. 33.), *Umbraculum, une loge de bois avec une porte.* The ſame Arabic word is rendered by Reiſke (Annales Moſlemici Abulfedæ, p. 23.) by *Solium, Suggeſtus editior*; and the difference is of the utmoſt moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I am ſorry to obſerve the pride and acrimony with which Reiſke chaſtiſes his fellow-labourer. Sæpe ſic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant niſi unâ liturâ corrigi: Arabice non ſatis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiſke, Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 228. ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipſiæ, 1766, in 4to.

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the field of battle: the Muſulmans fainted and were preſſed: in that deciſive moment the prophet ſtarted from his throne, mounted his horſe, and caſt a handful of ſand into the air; "Let their faces "be covered with confuſion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice: their fancy beheld the angelic warriors [131]: the Koreiſh trembled and fled: ſeventy of the braveſt were ſlain; and ſeventy captives adorned the firſt victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Koreiſh were deſpoiled and inſulted: two of the moſt obnoxious priſoners were puniſhed with death; and the ranſom of the others, four thouſand drams of ſilver, compenſated in ſome degree the eſcape of the caravan. But it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the deſert and along the Euphrates: they were overtaken by the diligence of the Muſulmans; and wealthy muſt have been the prize, if twenty thouſand drams could be ſet apart for the fifth of the apoſtle. The reſentment of the public and private loſs ſtimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of three thouſand men, ſeven hundred of whom were armed with cuiraſſes, and two hundred were mounted on horſeback: three thouſand camels attended his march; and his wife Henda, with fifteen matrons of Mecca, inceſſantly ſounded their timbrels to animate the troops, and to magnify the greatneſs of Hobal, the moſt popular deity of the Caaba. The ſtandard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers: the diſproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder; and their preſumption of victory prevailed againſt the divine and human ſenſe of the apoſtle. The ſecond battle was fought on mount Ohud,

of Ohud, A. D. 623.

[131] The looſe expreſſions of the Koran (c. 3. p. 124, 125. c. 8. p. 9.) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 1000, 3000, or 9000 angels; and the ſmalleſt of theſe might ſuffice for the ſlaughter of ſeventy of the Koreiſh (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131.). Yet the ſame ſcholiaſts confeſs, that this angelic band was not viſible to any mortal eye (Maracci, p. 297.). They refine on the words (c. 8. 16.), "not "thou, but God, &c." (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 600, 601.).

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ſix miles to the north of Medina [132]: the Koreiſh advanced in the form of a creſcent; and the right wing of cavalry was led by Caled, the fierceſt and moſt ſucceſsful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were ſkilfully poſted on the declivity of the hill; and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the purſuit they loſt the advantage of their ground: the archers deſerted their ſtation: the Muſulmans were tempted by the ſpoil, diſobeyed their general, and diſordered their ranks. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mahomet was ſlain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin: two of his teeth were ſhattered with a ſtone; yet, in the midſt of tumult and diſmay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and bleſſed the friendly hand that ſtaunched his blood, and conveyed him to a place of ſafety. Seventy martyrs died for the ſins of the people: they fell, ſaid the apoſtle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeleſs companion [133]: their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Abu Sophian taſted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They might applaud their ſuperſtition and ſatiate their fury; but the Muſulmans ſoon rallied in the field, and the Koreiſh wanted ſtrength or courage to undertake the ſiege of Medina. It was attacked the enſuing year by an army of ten thouſand enemies; and this third expedition is variouſly named from the *nations*, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thouſand Muſulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement: the valour of Ali was ſignalized in ſingle combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final ſeparation

The nations, or the ditch, A. D. 625.

[132] Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 47.

[133] In the iii[d] chapter of the Koran (p. 50—53. with Sale's notes), the prophet alleges ſome poor excuſes for the defeat of Ohud.

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of the confederates. A tempeſt of wind, rain, and hail, overturned their tents: their private quarrels were fomented by an inſidious adverſary; and the Koreiſh, deſerted by their allies, no longer hoped to ſubvert the throne, or to check the conqueſts, of their invincible exile [134].

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Mahomet ſubdues the Jews of Arabia, A. D. 623—627.

The choice of Jeruſalem for the firſt kebla of prayer, diſcovers the early propenſity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal intereſt, had they recogniſed, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Iſrael and the promiſed Meſſiah. Their obſtinacy converted his friendſhip into implacable hatred, with which he purſued that unfortunate people to the laſt moment of his life: and in the double character of an apoſtle and a conqueror, his perſecution was extended to both worlds [135]. The Kainoka dwelt at Medina under the protection of the city; he ſeized the occaſion of an accidental tumult, and ſummoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas," replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the uſe of arms, but we "perſevere in the faith and worſhip of our fathers; why wilt thou "reduce us to the neceſſity of a juſt defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies, and conſented to ſpare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiſcated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Muſulmans; and a wretched colony of ſeven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria.

[134] For the detail of the three Koreiſh wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruſe Abulfeda (p. 56—61. 64—69. 73—77.), Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 23—45. 70—96. 120—139.), with the proper articles of d'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 6, 7.) and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 102.).

[135] The wars of Mahomet againſt the Jewiſh tribes, of Kainoka, the Nadhirites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda (p. 61. 71. 77. 87, &c.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 61—65. 107—112. 139—148. 268—294.).

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The Nadhirites were more guilty, ſince they conſpired in a friendly interview to aſſaſſinate the prophet. He beſieged their caſtle three miles from Medina, but their reſolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; and the garriſon, ſounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Koreiſh: no ſooner had the *nations* retired from the *ditch*, than Mahomet, without laying aſide his armour, marched on the ſame day to extirpate the hoſtile race of the children of Koraidha. After a reſiſtance of twenty-five days, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. They truſted to the interceſſion of their old allies of Medina: they could not be ignorant that fanaticiſm obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whoſe judgment they appealed, pronounced the ſentence of their death: ſeven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city: they deſcended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apoſtle beheld with an inflexible eye the ſlaughter of his helpleſs enemies. Their ſheep and camels were inherited by the Muſulmans: three hundred cuiraſſes, five hundred pikes, a thouſand lances, compoſed the moſt uſeful portion of the ſpoil. Six days journey to the north-eaſt of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the ſeat of the Jewiſh power in Arabia; the territory, a fertile ſpot in the deſert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight caſtles, ſome of which were eſteemed of impregnable ſtrength. The forces of Mahomet conſiſted of two hundred horſe and fourteen hundred foot: in the ſucceſſion of eight regular and painful ſieges they were expoſed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the moſt undaunted chiefs deſpaired of the event. The apoſtle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he beſtowed the ſurname of the Lion of God: perhaps we may believe that an Hebrew champion of gigantic ſtature was cloven to the cheſt by his

his irreſiſtible ſcymetar; but we cannot praiſe the modeſty of romance, which repreſents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortreſs, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left-hand [136]. After the reduction of the caſtles, the town of Chaibar ſubmitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured, in the preſence of Mahomet, to force a confeſſion of his hidden treaſure: the induſtry of the ſhepherds and huſbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: they were permitted, ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal ſhares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were tranſplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying maſter, that one and the true religion ſhould be profeſſed in his native land of Arabia [137].

Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca [138], and he was urged by the moſt ſacred and powerful motives to reviſit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was preſent to his waking and ſleeping fancy: an idle dream was tranſlated into viſion and prophecy; he unfurled the holy banner; and a raſh promiſe of ſucceſs too haſtily dropped from the lips of the apoſtle. His march from Medina to Mecca, diſplayed the peaceful and ſolemn pomp of a pilgrimage: ſeventy camels choſen and bedecked for ſacrifice, preceded the van; the ſacred territory was reſpected, and the cap-

Submiſſion of Mecca, A. D. 629.

[136] Abu Raſe, the ſervant of Mahomet, is ſaid to affirm, that he himſelf, and ſeven other men, afterwards tried, without ſucceſs, to move the ſame gate from the ground (Abulfeda, p. 90.). Abu Raſe was an eye-witneſs, but who will witneſs for Abu Raſe?

[137] The baniſhment of the Jews is atteſted by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 9.) and the great Al Zabari (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285.). Yet Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 324.) believes, that the Jewiſh religion, and Kareite ſect, are ſtill profeſſed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans, the diſciples of Moſes are the confederates of thoſe of Mahomet.

[138] The ſucceſſive ſteps of the reduction of Mecca are related by Abulfeda (p. 84—87. 97—100. 102—111.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 209—245. 309—322. tom. iii. p. 1—58.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 8, 9, 10.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 103.).

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tives were diſmiſſed without ranſom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no ſooner did Mahomet deſcend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, "they have "clothed themſelves with the ſkins of tygers;" the numbers and reſolution of the Koreiſh oppoſed his progreſs; and the roving Arabs of the deſert might deſert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of ſpoil. The intrepid fanatic ſunk into a cool and cautious politician: he waved in the treaty his title of apoſtle of God, concluded with the Koreiſh and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to reſtore the fugitives of Mecca who ſhould embrace his religion, and ſtipulated only, for the enſuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and of remaining three days to accompliſh the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of ſhame and ſorrow hung on the retreat of the Muſulmans, and their diſappointment might juſtly accuſe the failure of a prophet who had ſo often appealed to the evidence of ſucceſs. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the proſpect of Mecca: their ſwords were ſheathed; ſeven times in the footſteps of the apoſtle they encompaſſed the Caaba: the Koreiſh had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the cuſtomary ſacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was edified by his devotion; the hoſtile chiefs were awed or divided, or ſeduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, moſt ſeaſonably deſerted the ſinking cauſe of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was encreaſed by the ſubmiſſion of the Arabian tribes; ten thouſand ſoldiers were aſſembled for the conqueſt of Mecca, and the idolaters, the weaker party, were eaſily convicted of violating the truce. Enthuſiaſm and diſcipline impelled the march and preſerved the ſecret, till the blaze of ten thouſand fires proclaimed to the aſtoniſhed Koreiſh, the deſign, the approach, and the irreſiſtible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian preſented the keys of the city,

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admired the variety of arms and enſigns that paſſed before him in review; obſerved that the ſon of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confeſſed, under the ſcymetar of Omar, that he was the apoſtle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was ſtained with the blood of the Romans: the revenge of Mahomet was ſtimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a maſſacre. Inſtead of indulging their paſſions and his own[139], the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions, of Mecca. His troops, in three diviſions, marched into the city: eight and twenty of the inhabitants were ſlain by the ſword of Caled; eleven men and ſix women were proſcribed by the ſentence of Mahomet; but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant; and ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreiſh were proſtrate at his feet. "What mercy can you ex-" pect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confide in " the generoſity of our kinſman." "And you ſhall not confide in " vain: begone! you are ſafe, you are free." The people of Mecca deſerved their pardon by the profeſſion of Iſlam; and after an exile of ſeven years, the fugitive miſſionary was inthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country[140]. But the three hundred and ſixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiouſly broken: the houſe of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times,

[139] After the conqueſt of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the moſt horrid crimes. The poet confeſſes, that he is not ſupported by the truth of hiſtory, and can only allege, que celui qui fait la guerre à ſa patrie au nom de Dieu, eſt capable de tout (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282.). The maxim is neither charitable nor philoſophic; and ſome reverence is ſurely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkiſh ambaſſador at Paris was much ſcandalized at the repreſentation of this tragedy.

[140] The Mahometan doctors ſtill diſpute, whether Mecca was reduced by force or conſent (Abulfeda, p. 107, et Gagnier ad locum); and this verbal controverſy is of as much moment, as our own about William the the *Conqueror*.

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the apoſtle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever ſhould dare to ſet his foot on the territory of the holy city[141].

Conqueſt of Arabia, A. D. 629—632.

The conqueſt of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes[142]; who, according to the viciſſitudes of fortune, had obeyed or diſregarded the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Indifference for rites and opinions ſtill marks the character of the Bedoweens; and they might accept, as looſely as they hold, the doctrine of the Koran. Yet an obſtinate remnant ſtill adhered to the religion and liberty of their anceſtors, and the war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the *idols*, whom Mahomet had vowed to deſtroy, and whom the confederates of Tayef had ſworn to defend[143]. Four thouſand pagans advanced with ſecrecy and ſpeed to ſurpriſe the conqueror; they pitied and deſpiſed the ſupine negligence of the Koreiſh, but they depended on the wiſhes, and perhaps the aid, of a people who had ſo lately renounced their gods, and bowed beneath the yoke of their enemy. The banners of Medina and Mecca were diſplayed by the prophet; a crowd of Bedoweens encreaſed the ſtrength or numbers of the army, and twelve thouſand Muſulmans entertained a raſh and ſinful preſumption of their invincible ſtrength. They deſcended without precaution into the valley of Honain: the heights had been occupied by the archers

[141] In excluding the Chriſtians from the peninſula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 166.) and Reland (Diſſert. Miſcell. tom. iii. p. 51.) are more rigid than the Muſulmans themſelves. The Chriſtians are received without ſcruple into the ports of Mocha, and even of Gedda, and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inacceſſible to the profane (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 308, 309. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 205. 248, &c.).

[142] Abulfeda, p. 112—115. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 67—88. D'Herbelot, MOHAMMED.

[143] The ſiege of Tayef, diviſion of the ſpoil, &c. are related by Abulfeda (p. 117—123.); and Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 88—111.). It is Al Jannabi who mentions the engines and engineers of the tribe of Daws. The fertile ſpot of Tayef was ſuppoſed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

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and ſlingers of the confederates; their numbers were oppreſſed, their diſcipline was confounded, their courage was appalled, and the Koreiſh ſmiled at their impending deſtruction. The prophet, on his white mule, was encompaſſed by the enemies; he attempted to ruſh againſt their ſpears in ſearch of a glorious death: ten of his faithful companions interpoſed their weapons and their breaſts; three of theſe fell dead at his feet: "O my brethren," he repeatedly cried with ſorrow and indignation, "I am the ſon of Abdallah, I am "the apoſtle of truth! O man ſtand faſt in the faith! O God ſend "down thy ſuccour!" His uncle Abbas, who, like the heroes of Homer, excelled in the loudneſs of his voice, made the valley reſound with the recital of the gifts and promiſes of God: the flying Moſlems returned from all ſides to the holy ſtandard; and Mahomet obſerved with pleaſure, that the furnace was again rekindled: his conduct and example reſtored the battle, and he animated his victorious troops to inflict a mercileſs revenge on the authors of their ſhame. From the field of Honain, he marched without delay to the ſiege of Tayef, ſixty miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Mecca, a fortreſs of ſtrength, whoſe fertile lands produce the fruits of Syria in the midſt of the Arabian deſert. A friendly tribe, inſtructed (I know not how) in the art of ſieges, ſupplied him with a train of battering rams and military engines, with a body of five hundred artificers. But it was in vain that he offered freedom to the ſlaves of Tayef; that he violated his own laws by the extirpation of the fruit-trees; that the ground was opened by the miners; that the breach was aſſaulted by the troops. After a ſiege of twenty days, the prophet ſounded a retreat, but he retreated with a ſong of devout triumph, and affected to pray for the repentance and ſafety of the unbelieving city. The ſpoil of this fortunate expedition amounted to ſix thouſand captives, twenty-four thouſand camels, forty thouſand ſheep, and

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four thouſand ounces of ſilver: a tribe who had fought at Honain, redeemed their priſoners by the ſacrifice of their idols; but Mahomet compenſated the loſs, by reſigning to the ſoldiers his fifth of the plunder, and wiſhed for their ſake, that he poſſeſſed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Inſtead of chaſtiſing the diſaffection of the Koreiſh, he endeavoured to cut out their tongues (his own expreſſion), and to ſecure their attachment by a ſuperior meaſure of liberality: Abu Sophian alone was preſented with three hundred camels and twenty ounces of ſilver; and Mecca was ſincerely converted to the profitable religion of the Koran. The *fugitives* and *auxiliaries* complained, that they who had borne the burthen were neglected in the ſeaſon of victory. "Alas," replied their artful leader, "ſuffer me to conciliate theſe recent enemies, "theſe doubtful proſelytes, by the gift of ſome periſhable goods. "To your guard I entruſt my life and fortunes. You are the com-"panions of my exile, of my kingdom, of my paradiſe." He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a ſiege. "Grant us, O apoſtle of God! a truce of three years, with "the toleration of our ancient worſhip." "Not a month, not an "hour." "Excuſe us at leaſt from the obligation of prayer." "Without prayer religion is of no avail." They ſubmitted in ſilence; their temples were demoliſhed, and the ſame ſentence of deſtruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the ſhores of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Gulf of Perſia, were ſaluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambaſſadors who knelt before the throne of Medina, were as numerous (ſays the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree. The nation ſubmitted to the God and the ſceptre of Mahomet: the opprobrious name of tribute was aboliſhed: the ſpontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied

plied to the ſervice of religion: and one hundred and fourteen thouſand Moſlems accompanied the laſt pilgrimage of the apoſtle[144].

First war of the Mahometans againſt the Roman empire, A. D. 629, 630.

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Perſian war, he entertained, at Emeſa, one of the ambaſſadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profeſſion of Iſlam. On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians has ſuppoſed the ſecret converſion of the Chriſtian emperor: the vanity of the Greeks has feigned a perſonal viſit of the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a ſecure retreat, in the province of Syria[145]. But the friendſhip of Heraclius and Mahomet was of ſhort continuance: the new religion had inflamed rather than aſſuaged the rapacious ſpirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for invading, with three thouſand ſoldiers, the territory of Paleſtine, that extends to the eaſtward of the Jordan. The holy banner was entruſted to Zeid; and ſuch was the diſcipline or enthuſiaſm of the riſing ſect, that the nobleſt chiefs ſerved, without reluctance, under the ſlave of the prophet. On the event of his deceaſe, Jaafar and Abdallah were ſucceſſively ſubſtituted to the command; and if the three ſhould periſh in the war, the troops were authoriſed to elect their general. The three leaders were ſlain in the battle of Muta[146], the firſt military action which tried the valour of the Moſlems againſt a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a ſoldier, in the foremoſt ranks: the death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he loſt his right-hand; he ſhifted the ſtandard to his left; the left was ſevered from his body; he embraced the

[144] The laſt conqueſts and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda (p. 121—133.), Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 119—219.), Elmacin (p. 10, 11.), Abulpharagius (p. 103.). The ix[th] of the Hegira was ſtyled the Year of Embaſſies (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.).

[145] Compare the bigotted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 232—255.) with the no leſs bigotted Greeks, Theophanes (p. 276—278.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 86.), and Cedrenus (p. 421.).

[146] For the battle of Muta, and its conſequences, ſee Abulfeda (p. 100—102.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 327—343.). Καλιδὸς (ſays Theophanes) ἐν λεγυσι μαχαιραν τυ Θευ.

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ſtandard with his bleeding ſtumps, till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who ſtepped into the vacant place, "advance with confidence; "either victory or paradiſe is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling ſtandard was reſcued by Caled, the proſelyte of Mecca: nine ſwords were broken in his hand; and his valour withſtood and repulſed the ſuperior numbers of the Chriſtians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was choſen to command: his ſkilful evolutions of the enſuing day ſecured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God*. In the pulpit, Mahomet deſcribed, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the bleſſed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature: he was ſurpriſed as he wept over the daughter of Zeid: "What do I ſee?" ſaid the aſtoniſhed votary. "You ſee," replied the apoſtle, "a friend, who "is deploring the loſs of his moſt faithful friend." After the conqueſt of Mecca the ſovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hoſtile preparations of Heraclius; and ſolemnly proclaimed war againſt the Romans, without attempting to diſguiſe the hardſhips and dangers of the enterpriſe [147]. The Moſlems were diſcouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horſes, or proviſions: the ſeaſon of harveſt, and the intolerable heat of the ſummer: "Hell is much "hotter," ſaid the indignant prophet. He diſdained to compel their ſervice; but on his return he admoniſhed the moſt guilty, by an excommunication of fifty days. Their deſertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted

[147] The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary hiſtorians, Abulfeda (Vit. Moham. p. 123—127.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147—163.); but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran (c. 9. p. 154. 165.), with Sale's learned and rational notes.

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their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet diſplayed his banner at the head of ten thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot. Painful indeed was the diſtreſs of the march: laſſitude and thirſt were aggravated by the ſcorching and peſtilential winds of the deſert: ten men rode by turns on the ſame camel; and they were reduced to the ſhameful neceſſity of drinking the water from the belly of that uſeful animal. In the mid-way, ten days journey from Medina and Damaſcus, they repoſed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place, Mahomet declined the proſecution of the war; he declared himſelf ſatisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the Eaſt. But the active and intrepid Caled ſpread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the ſubmiſſion of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Chriſtian ſubjects, Mahomet readily granted the ſecurity of their perſons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worſhip[148]. The weakneſs of their Arabian brethren had reſtrained them from oppoſing his ambition; the diſciples of Jeſus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the intereſt of a conqueror to propoſe a fair capitulation to the moſt powerful religion of the earth.

Death of Mahomet, A. D. 632, June 7.

Till the age of ſixty-three years, the ſtrength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and ſpiritual fatigues of his miſſion. His epi-

[148] The *Diploma ſecuritatis Ailenſibus*, is atteſted by Ahmed Ben Joſeph, and the author *Libri Splendorum* (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125.); but Abulfeda himſelf, as well as Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 11.), though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Chriſtians (p. 13.), only mention peace and tribute. In the year 1630, Sionita publiſhed at Paris the text and verſion of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Chriſtians; which was admitted and reprobated by the oppoſite taſte of Salmaſius and Grotius (Bayle, Mahomet. Rem. AA.). Hottinger doubts of its authenticity (Hiſt. Orient. p. 237.); Renaudot urges the conſent of the Mahometans (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 169.); but Moſheim (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 244.) ſhews the futility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it ſpurious. Yet Abulpharagius quotes the impoſtor's treaty with the Neſtorian patriarch (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 418.); but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites.

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leptic fits, an abſurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity rather than abhorrence[149]; but he ſeriouſly believed that he was poiſoned at Chaibar by the revenge of a Jewiſh female[150]. During four years, the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities encreaſed; but his mortal diſeaſe was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the uſe of reaſon. As ſoon as he was conſcious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. "If there be any man," ſaid the apoſtle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjuſtly ſcourged, I ſubmit "my own back to the laſh of retaliation. Have I aſperſed the "reputation of a Muſulman? let him proclaim *my* faults in the face "of the congregation. Has any one been deſpoiled of his goods? "the little that I poſſeſs ſhall compenſate the principal and the intereſt "of the debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am "entitled to three drams of ſilver." Mahomet heard the complaint, ſatisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accuſing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmneſs the approach of death; enfranchiſed his ſlaves (ſeventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women); minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he beſtowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer: the choice of Abubeker to ſupply

[149] The epilepſy, or falling-ſickneſs, of Mahomet, is aſſerted by Theophanes, Zonaras, and the reſt of the Greeks; and is greedily ſwallowed by the groſs bigotry of Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 10, 11.), Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 12.), and Maracci (tom. ii.), Alcoran (p. 762, 763.). The titles *(the wrapped-up, the covered)* of two chapters of the Koran (73, 74.), can hardly be ſtrained to ſuch an interpretation; the ſilence, the ignorance of the Mahometan commentators, is more concluſive than the moſt peremptory denial; and the charitable ſide is eſpouſed by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301.), Gagnier (ad Abulfeda, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet. tom. i. p. 118.), and Sale (Koran. p. 469—474.).

[150] This poiſon (more ignominious ſince it was offered as a teſt of his prophetic knowledge) is frankly confeſſed by his zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92.), and Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286—288.).

his place, appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his ſucceſſor in the ſacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the riſk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were viſibly impaired, he called for pen and ink, to write, or, more properly, to dictate, a divine book, the ſum and accompliſhment of all his revelations: a diſpute aroſe in the chamber, whether he ſhould be allowed to ſuperſede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his diſciples. If the ſlighteſt credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the boſom of his family, and to the laſt moments of his life, the dignity of an apoſtle and the faith of an enthuſiaſt; deſcribed the viſits of Gabriel, who bid an everlaſting farewel to the earth, and expreſſed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar diſcourſe he had mentioned his ſpecial prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his ſoul till he had reſpectfully aſked the permiſſion of the prophet. The requeſt was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his diſſolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayeſha, the beſt beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his ſpirits, he raiſed his eyes towards the roof of the houſe, and, with a ſteady look, though a faultering voice, uttered the laſt broken, though articulate, words: "O God!..... pardon my ſins..... Yes,..... "I come,..... among my fellow-citizens on high:" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet ſpread upon the floor. An expedition for the conqueſt of Syria was ſtopped by this mournful event: the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were aſſembled round their dying maſter. The city, more eſpecially the houſe, of the prophet was a ſcene of clamorous ſorrow or ſilent deſpair: fanaticiſm alone

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alone could ſuggeſt a ray of hope and conſolation. "How can he "be dead, our witneſs, our interceſſor, our mediator, with God? "By God he is not dead; like Moſes and Jeſus he is wrapt in a "holy trance, and ſpeedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of ſenſe was diſregarded; and Omar, unſheathing his ſcymetar, threatened to ſtrike off the heads of the infidels, who ſhould dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was appeaſed by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. "Is it "Mahomet," ſaid he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of "Mahomet, whom you worſhip. The God of Mahomet liveth "for ever, but the apoſtle was a mortal like ourſelves, and accord-"ing to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate "of mortality." He was piouſly interred by the hands of his neareſt kinſman, on the ſame ſpot on which he expired [151]; Medina has been ſanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aſide from the way, to bow, in voluntary devotion [152], before the ſimple tomb of the prophet [153].

[151] The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous ſtory, that Mahomet's iron tomb is ſuſpended in the air at *Mecca* (σημα μετεωριζομενον. Laonicus Chalcocondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. iii. p. 66.), by the action of equal and potent loadſtones (Dictionaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE. FF.). Without any philoſophical enquiries, it may ſuffice, that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been viſited by millions, is placed on the ground (Reland de Relig. Moham. l. ii. c. 19. p. 209—211.), Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263—268.).

[152] Al Jannabi enumerates (Vie de Mahomet. tom. iii. p. 372—391.) the multifarious duties of a pilgrim who viſits the tombs of the prophet and his companions; and the learned caſuiſt decides, that this act of devotion is neareſt in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided which, of Mecca or Medina, be the moſt excellent (p. 391—394.).

[153] The laſt ſickneſs, death, and burial of Mahomet, are deſcribed by Abulfeda and Gagnier (Vit. Moham. p. 133—142. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 220—271.). The moſt private and intereſting circumſtances were originally received from Ayeſha, Ali, the ſons of Abbas, &c.; and as they dwelt at Medina, and ſurvived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a ſecond or third generation of pilgrims.

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His character.

At the concluſion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I ſhould balance his faults and virtues, that I ſhould decide whether the title of enthuſiaſt or impoſtor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately converſant with the ſon of Abdallah, the taſk would ſtill be difficult, and the ſucceſs uncertain: at the diſtance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his ſhade through a cloud of religious incenſe; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting reſemblance would not equally apply to the ſolitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative diſpoſition: ſo ſoon as marriage had raiſed him above the preſſure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea moſt congenial to nature and reaſon; and a ſlight converſation with the Jews and Chriſtians would teach him to deſpiſe and deteſt the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of ſalvation, to reſcue his country from the dominion of ſin and error. The energy of a mind inceſſantly bent on the ſame object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm ſuggeſtions of the underſtanding or the fancy, would be felt as the inſpirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and viſion; and the inward ſenſation, the inviſible monitor, would be deſcribed with the form and attributes of an angel of God [154]. From enthuſiaſm to impoſture, the ſtep is perilous and ſlippery:

[154] The Chriſtians, raſhly enough, have aſſigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that ſeemed to deſcend from heaven and whiſper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ), his Arabic tranſlator, the learned Pocock, enquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confeſſed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themſelves. Leſt it ſhould provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is ſuppreſſed in the Arabic verſion; but it has maintained an edifying

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ſlippery: the dæmon of Socrates[155] affords a memorable inſtance, how a wiſe man may deceive himſelf, how a good man may deceive others, how the conſcience may ſlumber in a mixed and middle ſtate between ſelf-illuſion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were thoſe of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human miſſionary is incapable of cheriſhing the obſtinate unbelievers who reject his claims, deſpiſe his arguments, and perſecute his life; he might forgive his perſonal adverſaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the ſtern paſſions of pride and revenge were kindled in the boſom of Mahomet, and he ſighed, like the prophet of Niniveh, for the deſtruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injuſtice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his ſword was conſecrated by the example of the ſaints; and the ſame God who afflicts a ſinful world with peſtilence and earthquakes, might inſpire for their converſion or chaſtiſement the valour of his ſervants. In the exerciſe of political government, he was compelled to abate of the ſtern rigour of fanaticiſm, to comply in ſome meaſure with the prejudices and paſſions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the inſtruments of their ſalvation. The uſe of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injuſtice, were often ſubſervient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the aſſaſſination of the Jews and idolaters who

fying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.).

[155] Εμοι δε τουτο ϛιν εκ παιδος αρξαμενον, φωνη τις γιγνομενη ἡ ὁταν γενηται αει αποτρεπει με τουτου ὁ αν μελλω πραττειν, προτρεπει δε ὑποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121, 122. edit. Fiſcher). The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan), are beyond the reach of human foreſight; and the divine inſpiration (the Δαιμονιον) of the philoſopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the moſt rational Platoniſts are expreſſed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54.) and in the xiv^th^ and xv^th^ Diſſertations of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172. edit. Davis).

had

had eſcaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of ſuch acts, the character of Mahomet muſt have been gradually ſtained; and the influence of ſuch pernicious habits would be poorly compenſated by the practice of the perſonal and ſocial virtues which are neceſſary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his ſectaries and friends. Of his laſt years, ambition was the ruling paſſion; and a politician will ſuſpect, that he ſecretly ſmiled (the victorious impoſtor!) at the enthuſiaſm of his youth and the credulity of his proſelytes[156]. A philoſopher will obſerve, that *their* credulity and *his* ſucceſs, would tend more ſtrongly to fortify the aſſurance of his divine miſſion, that his intereſt and religion were inſeparably connected, and that his conſcience would be ſoothed by the perſuaſion, that he alone was abſolved by the Deity from the obligation of poſitive and moral laws. If he retained any veſtige of his native innocence, the ſins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his ſincerity. In the ſupport of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed leſs criminal; and he would have ſtarted at the foulneſs of the means, had he not been ſatisfied of the importance and juſtice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a prieſt, I can ſurpriſe a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the ſale of captives, the mothers ſhould never be ſeparated from their children, may ſuſpend or moderate the cenſure of the hiſtorian[157].

Private life of Mahomet.

The good ſenſe of Mahomet[158] deſpiſed the pomp of royalty: the apoſtle of God ſubmitted to the menial offices of the family: he

[156] In ſome paſſage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: "qui detache la "chaine de ſon cou pour en donner ſur les "oreilles à ſes confreres."

[157] Gagnier relates, with the ſame impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.).

[158] For the domeſtic life of Mahomet, conſult Gagnier, and the correſponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288.); his children (p. 189. 289.); his wives (p. 290

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he kindled the fire, ſwept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his ſhoes and his woollen garment. Diſdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he obſerved without effort or vanity, the abſtemious diet of an Arab and a ſoldier. On ſolemn occaſions he feaſted his companions with ruſtic and hoſpitable plenty; but in his domeſtic life, many weeks would elapſe without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeaſed with a ſparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taſte of milk and honey: but his ordinary food conſiſted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two ſenſual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid: and Mahomet affirmed, that the fervour of his devotion was encreaſed by theſe innocent pleaſures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity [159]. Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran: their inceſtuous alliances were blamed, the boundleſs licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights, both of bed and of dowry, were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was diſcouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either ſex, was puniſhed with an hundred ſtripes [160]. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legiſlator: but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abuſed the

(p. 290—303.); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160.); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309.); the falſe accuſation of Ayeſha (p. 186—199.). The moſt original evidence of the three laſt tranſactions, is contained in the xxiv^th, xxxiii^d, and lxvi^th chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part iv. p. 49—59.) have maliciouſly exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

[159] Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque ſolvitur ſexus (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4.).

[160] Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c.; and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognize many Jewiſh ordinances.

claims of a prophet. A ſpecial revelation diſpenſed him from the laws which he had impoſed on his nation; the female ſex, without reſerve, was abandoned to his deſires; and this ſingular prerogative excited the envy, rather than the ſcandal, the veneration, rather than the envy, of the devout Muſulmans. If we remember the ſeven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the wiſe Solomon, we ſhall applaud the modeſty of the Arabian who eſpouſed no more than ſeventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their ſeparate apartments round the houſe of the apoſtle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal ſociety. What is ſingular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker. *She* was doubtleſs a virgin, ſince Mahomet conſummated his nuptials (ſuch is the premature ripeneſs of the climate) when ſhe was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the ſpirit of Ayeſha, gave her a ſuperior aſcendant: ſhe was beloved and truſted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. Her behaviour had been ambiguous and indiſcreet: in a nocturnal march, ſhe was accidentally left behind; and in the morning Ayeſha returned to the camp with a man. The temper of Mahomet was inclined to jealouſy; but a divine revelation aſſured him of her innocence: he chaſtiſed her accuſers, and publiſhed a law of domeſtic peace, that no woman ſhould be condemned unleſs four male witneſſes had ſeen her in the act of adultery[161]. In his adventures with Zeineb, the wife of Zeid, and with Mary, an Egyptian captive, the amorous prophet forgot the intereſt of his reputation. At the houſe of Zeid, his freedman and adopted ſon, he beheld, in a looſe undreſs, the beauty of Zeineb, and burſt forth into an ejaculation of devotion and deſire.

His wives.

[161] In a memorable caſe, the caliph Omar decided that all preſumptive evidence was of no avail; and that all the four witneſſes muſt have actually ſeen ſtylum in pyxide (Abulfedæ Annales Moſlemici, p. 71. verſ. Reiſke).

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The ſervile, or grateful, freedman underſtood the hint, and yielded without heſitation to the love of his benefactor. But as the filial relation had excited ſome doubt and ſcandal, the angel Gabriel deſcended from heaven to ratify the deed, to annul the adoption, and gently to reprove the apoſtle for diſtruſting the indulgence of his God. One of his wives, Hafna, the daughter of Omar, ſurpriſed him on her own bed, in the embraces of his Egyptian captive: ſhe promiſed ſecrecy and forgiveneſs: he ſwore that he would renounce the poſſeſſion of Mary. Both parties forgot their engagements; and Gabriel again deſcended with a chapter of the Koran, to abſolve him from his oath, and to exhort him freely to enjoy his captives and concubines, without liſtening to the clamours of his wives. In a ſolitary retreat of thirty days, he laboured, alone with Mary, to fulfil the commands of the angel. When his love and revenge were ſatiated, he ſummoned to his preſence his eleven wives, reproached their diſobedience and indiſcretion, and threatened them with a ſentence of divorce, both in this world and in the next: a dreadful ſentence, ſince thoſe who had aſcended the bed of the prophet were for ever excluded from the hope of a ſecond marriage. Perhaps the incontinence of Mahomet may be palliated by the tradition of his natural or preternatural gifts [162]: he united the manly virtue of thirty of the children of Adam; and the apoſtle might rival the thirteenth labour [163] of the Grecian Hercules [164]. A more ſerious and decent excuſe

[162] Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, ineſſe jactaret: ita ut unicâ hora poſſet undecim fœminis *ſatisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert S^tus^ Petrus Paſchaſius, c. 2. (Maracci, Prodromus Alcoran, p. iv. p. 55. See likewiſe Obſervations de Belon, l. iii. c. 10. fol. 179. recto). Al Jannabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 287.) records his own teſtimony, that he ſurpaſſed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who waſhed his body after his death, "O propheta, certe pœnis "tuus cœlum verſus erectus eſt" (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 140.).

[163] I borrow the ſtyle of a father of the church, ναθλευων Ἡρακλης τρισκαιδεκατον αθλον (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 108.).

[164] The common and moſt glorious legend includes,

excuſe may be drawn from his fidelity to Cadijah. During the twenty-four years of their marriage, her youthful huſband abſtained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderneſs of the venerable matron was never inſulted by the ſociety of a rival. After her death, he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the ſiſter of Moſes, the mother of Jeſus, and Fatima, the beſt beloved of his daughters. "Was ſhe not old?" ſaid Ayeſha, with the inſolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better "in her place?" "No, by God," ſaid Mahomet, with an effuſion of honeſt gratitude, "there never can be a better! She believed "in me, when men deſpiſed me: ſhe relieved my wants, when I "was poor and perſecuted by the world [165]."

and children.

In the largeſt indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aſpire to multiply the chances of a numerous poſterity and a lineal ſucceſſion. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally diſappointed. The virgin Ayeſha, and his ten widows of mature age and approved fertility, were barren in his potent embraces. The four ſons of Cadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the prophet wept over his grave; but he ſuſtained with firmneſs the raillery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moſlems, by the aſſurance that an eclipſe of the ſun was *not* occaſioned by the death of the infant. Cadijah had likewiſe given him four daughters, who were married

includes, in a ſingle night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Theſtius (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iv. p. 274. Pauſanias, l. ix. p. 763. Statius Sylv. l. i. eleg. iii. v. 42.). But Athenæus allows ſeven nights (Deipnoſophiſt. l. xiii. p. 556.), and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous atchievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age (Bibliot. l. ii. c. 4. p. 111. cum notis Heyne, part i. p. 332.).

[165] Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13. 16, 17. cum notis Gagnier.

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to the moſt faithful of his diſciples: the three eldeſt died before their father; but Fatima, who poſſeſſed his confidence and love, became the wife of her couſin Ali, and the mother of an illuſtrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his deſcendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the ſeries of the Saracen caliphs, a title which deſcribes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and ſucceſſors of the apoſtle of God [166].

Character of Ali.

The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the reſt of his countrymen, might juſtify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The ſon of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Haſhem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the huſband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and bleſſing of her father: the Arabs had ſometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandſons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap, and ſhewn in his pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth of paradiſe. The firſt of the true believers might aſpire to march before them in this world and in the next; and if ſome were of a graver and more rigid caſt, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outſtripped by any recent proſelyte. He united the qualifications of a poet, a ſoldier, and a ſaint: his wiſdom ſtill breathes in a collection of moral and religious ſayings [167]; and every antagoniſt, in the combats of the tongue or of the

[166] This outline of the Arabian hiſtory is drawn from the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot (under the names of *Aboubecre*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, &c.); from the Annals of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and eſpecially from Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens (vol. i. p. 1—10. 115—122. 229. 249. 363—372. 378—391. and almoſt the whole of the ſecond volume). Yet we ſhould weigh with caution the traditions of the hoſtile ſects; a ſtream which becomes ſtill more muddy as it flows farther from the ſource. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Perſians (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 235—250, &c.).

[167] Ockley (at the end of his ſecond volume) has given an Engliſh verſion of 169 ſentences,

the ſword, was ſubdued by his eloquence and valour. From the firſt hour of his miſſion, to the laſt rites of his funeral, the apoſtle was never forſaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a ſecond Moſes. The ſon of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to ſecure his intereſt by a ſolemn declaration of his right, which would have ſilenced all competition, and ſealed his ſucceſſion by the decrees of heaven. But the unſuſpecting hero confided in himſelf: the jealouſy of empire, and perhaps the fear of oppoſition, might ſuſpend the reſolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of ſickneſs was beſieged by the artful Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali.

Reign of Abubeker; A. D. 632, June 7.

The ſilence and death of the prophet reſtored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an aſſembly to deliberate on the choice of his ſucceſſor. The hereditary claim and lofty ſpirit of Ali, were offenſive to an ariſtocracy of elders, deſirous of beſtowing and reſuming the ſceptre by a free and frequent election: the Koreiſh could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Haſhem; the ancient diſcord of the tribes was rekindled; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina aſſerted their reſpective merits, and the raſh propoſal of chuſing two independent caliphs would have cruſhed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeaſed by the diſintereſted reſolution of Omar, who, ſuddenly renouncing his own pretenſions, ſtretched forth his hand, and declared himſelf the firſt ſubject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The urgency of the moment, and the acquieſcence of the people, might excuſe this illegal and pre-

ſentences, which he aſcribes, with ſome heſitation, to Ali, the ſon of Abu Taleb. His preface is coloured by the enthuſiaſm of a tranſlator: yet theſe ſentences delineate a characteriſtic, though dark, picture of human life.

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cipitate meaſure; but Omar himſelf confeſſed from the pulpit, that if any Muſulman ſhould hereafter preſume to anticipate the ſuffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death [168]. After the ſimple inauguration of Abubeker, he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of Arabia; the Haſhemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief, in his own houſe, maintained, above ſix months, a ſullen and independent reſerve; without liſtening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to conſume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the apoſtle. The death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, ſubdued the indignant ſpirit of Ali: he condeſcended to ſalute the commander of the faithful, accepted his excuſe of the neceſſity of preventing their common enemies, and wiſely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabians. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was ſummoned by the angel of death. In his teſtament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the ſceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occa-" ſion," ſaid the modeſt candidate, "for the place." "But the place " has occaſion for you," replied Abubeker; who expired with a fervent prayer, that the God of Mahomet would ratify his choice, and direct the Muſulmans in the way of concord and obedience. The prayer was not ineffectual, ſince Ali himſelf, in a life of privacy and prayer, profeſſed to revere the ſuperior worth and dignity of his rival; who comforted him for the loſs of empire, by the moſt flattering marks of confidence and eſteem. In the twelfth year of his reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an aſſaſſin:

of Omar; A. D. 634, July 24.

[168] Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6.) from an Arabian MS. repreſents Ayeſha as adverſe to the ſubſtitution of her father in the place of the apoſtle. This fact, ſo improbable in itſelf, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari, the laſt of whom quotes the tradition of Ayeſha herſelf (Vit. Mohammed, p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236.).

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he rejected with equal impartiality the names of his ſon and of Ali, refuſed to load his conſcience with the ſins of his ſucceſſor, and devolved on ſix of the moſt reſpectable companions, the arduous taſk of electing a commander of the faithful. On this occaſion, Ali was again blamed by his friends [169] for ſubmitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognizing their juriſdiction by accepting a place among the ſix electors. He might have obtained their ſuffrage, had he deigned to promiſe a ſtrict and ſervile conformity, not only to the Koran and tradition, but likewiſe to the determinations of two *ſeniors* [170]. With theſe limitations, Othman, the ſecretary of Mahomet, accepted the government; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was inveſted, by the popular choice, with the regal and ſacerdotal office. The manners of the Arabians retained their primitive ſimplicity, and the ſon of Abu Taleb deſpiſed the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the moſch of Medina, clothed in a thin cotton gown, a coarſe turban on his head, his ſlippers in one hand, and his bow in the other, inſtead of a walking ſtaff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes ſaluted their new ſovereign, and gave him their right hands as a ſign of fealty and allegiance.

of Othman, A. D. 644, November 6.

The miſchiefs that flow from the conteſts of ambition are uſually confined to the times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious diſcord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is ſtill maintained in the

Diſcord of the Turks and Perſians.

[169] Particularly by his friend and couſin Abdallah, the ſon of Abbas, who died A. D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moſlems. In Abulfeda he recapitulated the important occaſions in which Ali had neglected his ſalutary advice (p. 76. verſ. Reiſke); and concludes (p. 85.), O princeps fidelium, abſque controverſia tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni conſilii, et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

[170] I ſuſpect that the two ſeniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115. Ockley, tom. i. p. 371.) may ſignify not two actual counſellors, but his two predeceſſors, Abubeker and Omar.

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immortal hatred of the Perſians and Turks [171]. The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites* or ſectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apoſtle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converſe, in their public worſhip, they bitterly execrate the three uſurpers who intercepted his indefeaſible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph; and the name of Omar expreſſes in their tongue the perfect accompliſhment of wickedneſs and impiety [172]. The *Sonnites*, who are ſupported by the general conſent and orthodox tradition of the Muſulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at leaſt a more decent opinion. They reſpect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate ſucceſſors of the prophet. But they aſſign the laſt and moſt humble place to the huſband of Fatima, in the perſuaſion that the order of ſucceſſion was determined by the degrees of ſanctity [173]. An hiſtorian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unſhaken by ſuperſtition, will calmly pronounce, that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent, and probably ſincere; and that, in the midſt of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of

[171] The ſchiſm of the Perſians is explained by all our travellers of the laſt century, eſpecially in the ii[d] and iv[th] volume of their maſter, Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing ſo late as the year 1764 (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208—233.), ſince the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation (ſee his Perſian Hiſtory tranſlated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5, 6. 47, 48. 144—155.).

[172] Omar is the name of the devil; his murderer is a ſaint. When the Perſians ſhoot with the bow, they frequently cry, "May this arrow go to the heart of Omar!" (Voyages de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 239, 240. 259, &c.)

[173] This gradation of merit is diſtinctly marked in a creed illuſtrated by Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. l. i. p. 37.); and a Sonnite argument inſerted by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, tom. ii. p. 230.). The practice of curſing the memory of Ali was aboliſhed, after forty years, by the Ommiades themſelves (d'Herbelot, p. 690.); and there are few among the Turks who preſume to revile him as an infidel (Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 46.).

Abubeker

Abubeker and Omar, the prudence of the firſt, the ſeverity of the ſecond, maintained the peace and proſperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of ſuſtaining the weight of conqueſt and empire. He choſe, and he was deceived; he truſted, and he was betrayed: the moſt deſerving of the faithful became uſeleſs or hoſtile to his government, and his laviſh bounty was productive only of ingratitude and diſcontent. The ſpirit of diſcord went forth in the provinces, their deputies aſſembled at Medina, and the Charegites, the deſperate fanatics who diſclaimed the yoke of ſubordination and reaſon, were confounded among the free-born Arabs, who demanded the redreſs of their wrongs and the puniſhment of their oppreſſors. From Cufa, from Baſſora, from Egypt, from the tribes of the deſert, they roſe in arms, encamped about a league from Medina, and diſpatched an haughty mandate to their ſovereign, requiring him to execute juſtice, or to deſcend from the throne. His repentance began to diſarm and diſperſe the inſurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies; and the forgery of a perfidious ſecretary was contrived to blaſt his reputation and precipitate his fall. The caliph had loſt the only guard of his predeceſſors, the eſteem and confidence of the Moſlems; during a ſiege of ſix weeks his water and proviſions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the ſcruples of the more timorous rebels. Forſaken by thoſe who had abuſed his ſimplicity, the helpleſs and venerable caliph expected the approach of death: the brother of Ayeſha marched at the head of the aſſaſſins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeaſed by the inauguration of Ali; his refuſal would have provoked a general maſſacre. In this painful ſituation he ſupported the becoming pride of the chief of the Haſhemites; declared that he had rather ſerve than reign; rebuked the preſumption

Death of Othman, A. D. 655, June 18.

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tion of the ſtrangers; and required the formal, if not the voluntary, aſſent of the chiefs of the nation. He has never been accuſed of prompting the aſſaſſin of Omar; though Perſia indiſcreetly celebrates the feſtival of that holy martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his ſubjects was aſſuaged by the early mediation of Ali; and Haſſan, the eldeſt of his ſons, was inſulted and wounded in the defence of the caliph. Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Haſſan was ſtrenuous and ſincere in his oppoſition to the rebels; and it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed of ſuch magnitude as might ſtagger and corrupt the moſt obdurate virtue. The ambitious candidate no longer aſpired to the barren ſceptre of Arabia: the Saracens had been victorious in the Eaſt and Weſt; and the wealthy kingdoms of Perſia, Syria, and Egypt, were the patrimony of the commander of the faithful.

Reign of Ali, A. D. 655—660.

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he ſtill betrayed in his conduct the raſhneſs and indiſcretion of youth. In the firſt days of his reign, he neglected to ſecure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the moſt powerful of the Arabian chiefs. They eſcaped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to Baſſora; erected the ſtandard of revolt; and uſurped the government of Irak, or Aſſyria, which they had vainly ſolicited as the reward of their ſervices. The maſk of patriotiſm is allowed to cover the moſt glaring inconſiſtencies; and the enemies, perhaps the aſſaſſins, of Othman now demanded vengeance for his blood. They were accompanied in their flight by Ayeſha, the widow of the prophet, who cheriſhed, to the laſt hour of her life, an implacable hatred againſt the huſband and the poſterity of Fatima. The moſt reaſonable Moſlems were ſcandaliſed, that the mother of the faithful ſhould expoſe in a camp her

her perſon and character; but the ſuperſtitious crowd was confident that her preſence would ſanctify the juſtice, and aſſure the ſucceſs, of their cauſe. At the head of twenty thouſand of his loyal Arabs, and nine thouſand valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, the caliph encountered and defeated the ſuperior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Baſſora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were ſlain in the firſt battle that ſtained with civil blood the arms of the Moſlems. After paſſing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayeſha had choſen her poſt amidſt the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, ſeventy men, who held the bridle of her camel, were ſucceſſively killed or wounded; and the cage or litter in which ſhe ſat, was ſtuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive ſuſtained with firmneſs the reproaches of the conqueror, and was ſpeedily diſmiſſed to her proper ſtation, at the tomb of Mahomet, with the reſpect and tenderneſs that was ſtill due to the widow of the apoſtle. After this victory, which was ſtyled the Day of the Camel, Ali marched againſt a more formidable adverſary; againſt Moawiyah, the ſon of Abu Sophian, who had aſſumed the title of caliph, and whoſe claim was ſupported by the forces of Syria and the intereſt of the houſe of Ommiyah. From the paſſage of Thapſacus, the plain of Siffin[174] extends along the weſtern bank of the Euphrates. On this ſpacious and level theatre, the two competitors waged a deſultory war of one hundred and ten days. In the courſe of ninety actions or ſkirmiſhes, the loſs of Ali was eſtimated at twenty-five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thouſand ſoldiers; and the liſt of the ſlain was dignified with the names of five and twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the ſtandard of Mahomet. In this ſanguinary conteſt, the lawful caliph diſplayed a ſuperior character of valour and humanity. His

[174] The plain of Siffin is determined by d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29.) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.

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troops were ſtrictly enjoined to await the firſt onſet of the enemy, to ſpare their flying brethren, and to reſpect the bodies of the dead, and the chaſtity of the female captives. He generouſly propoſed to ſave the blood of the Moſlems by a ſingle combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a ſentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a pyebald horſe, and wielded with irreſiſtible force his ponderous and two-edged ſword. As often as he ſmote a rebel, he ſhouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious;" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle, he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damaſcus already meditated his flight, but the certain victory was ſnatched from the graſp of Ali by the diſobedience and enthuſiaſm of his troops. Their conſcience was awed by the ſolemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah expoſed on the foremoſt lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a diſgraceful truce and an inſidious compromiſe. He retreated with ſorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was diſcouraged; the diſtant provinces of Perſia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were ſubdued or ſeduced by his crafty rival; and the ſtroke of fanaticiſm which was aimed againſt the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the couſin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Charegites or enthuſiaſts diſcourſed of the diſorders of the church and ſtate: they ſoon agreed, that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would reſtore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the aſſaſſins choſe his victim, poiſoned his dagger, devoted his life, and ſecretly repaired to the ſcene of action. Their reſolution was equally deſperate: but the firſt miſtook the perſon of Amrou, and ſtabbed the deputy who occupied his ſeat; the prince of Damaſcus was dangerouſly hurt by the ſecond; the lawful caliph, in the

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moſch of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the ſixty-third year of his age, and mercifully recommended to his children, that they would diſpatch the murderer by a ſingle ſtroke. The ſepulchre of Ali[175] was concealed from the tyrants of the houſe of Ommiyah[176]; but in the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, aroſe near the ruins of Cufa[177]. Many thouſands of the Shiites repoſe in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the deſert is vivified by the numerous and annual viſits of the Perſians, who eſteem their devotion not leſs meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

Reign of Moawiyah, A. D. 655, or 661—680.

The perſecutors of Mahomet uſurped the inheritance of his children; and the champions of idolatry became the ſupreme heads of his religion and empire. The oppoſition of Abu Sophian had been fierce and obſtinate; his converſion was tardy and reluctant; his new faith was fortified by neceſſity and intereſt; he ſerved, he fought, perhaps he believed; and the ſins of the time of ignorance were expiated by the recent merits of the family of Ommiyah. Moawiyah, the ſon of Abu Sophian, and of the cruel Henda, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of ſecretary of the prophet: the judgment of Omar entruſted him with the government of Syria; and he adminiſtered that important province above forty years either in a ſubordinate or ſupreme rank. Without renouncing the fame of valour and liberality, he affected the reputation of hu-

[175] Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the ſepulchre of Cufa, hodiè famâ numeroque religioſe frequentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount annually to 2000 of the dead, and 5000 of the living (tom. ii. p. 208, 209.).

[176] All the tyrants of Perſia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A. D. 977, d'Herbelot, p. 58, 59. 95.) to Nadir Shah (A. D. 1743, Hiſt. de Nadir Shah, tom. ii. p. 155.), have enriched the tomb of Ali with the ſpoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and maſſy gilding, which glitters to the ſun at the diſtance of many a mile.

[177] The city of Meſhed Ali, five or ſix miles from the ruins of Cufa, and one hundred and twenty to the ſouth of Bagdad, is of the ſize and form of the modern Jeruſalem. Meſhed Hoſein, larger and more populous, is at the diſtance of thirty miles.

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manity and moderation: a grateful people was attached to their benefactor; and the victorious Moſlems were enriched with the ſpoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The ſacred duty of purſuing the aſſaſſins of Othman was the engine and pretence of his ambition. The bloody ſhirt of the martyr was expoſed in the moſch of Damaſcus: the emir deplored the fate of his injured kinſman; and ſixty thouſand Syrians were engaged in his ſervice by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, himſelf an army, was the firſt who ſaluted the new monarch, and divulged the dangerous ſecret, that the Arabian caliphs might be created elſewhere than in the city of the prophet [178]. The policy of Moawiyah eluded the valour of his rival; and, after the death of Ali, he negociated the abdication of his ſon Haſſan, whoſe mind was either above or below the government of the world, and who retired without a ſigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aſpiring wiſhes of the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticiſm atteſted the reluctance of the Arabs, and four citizens of Medina refuſed the oath of fidelity; but the deſigns of Moawiyah were conducted with vigour and addreſs; and his ſon Yezid, a feeble and diſſolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the ſucceſſor of the apoſtle of God.

Death of Hoſein, A. D. 680, October 10.

A familiar ſtory is related of the benevolence of one of the ſons of Ali. In ſerving at table, a ſlave had inadvertently dropt a diſh of ſcalding broth on his maſter: the heedleſs wretch fell proſtrate, to deprecate his puniſhment, and repeated a verſe of the Koran: "Paradiſe is for thoſe who command their anger:"—"I am not "angry:"—"and for thoſe who pardon offences:"—"I pardon your

[178] I borrow, on this occaſion, the ſtrong ſenſe and expreſſion of Tacitus (Hiſt. i. 4.): Evulgato imperii arcano poſſe imperatorem alibi quam Romæ fieri.

"offence;"

"offence:"—"and for thoſe who return good for evil:"—"I give "you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of ſilver." With an equal meaſure of piety, Hoſein, the younger brother of Haſſan, inherited a remnant of his father's ſpirit, and ſerved with honour againſt the Chriſtians in the ſiege of Conſtantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Haſhem, and the holy character of grandſon of the apoſtle, had centered in his perſon, and he was at liberty to proſecute his claim againſt Yezid the tyrant of Damaſcus, whoſe vices he deſpiſed, and whoſe title he had never deigned to acknowledge. A liſt was ſecretly tranſmitted from Cufa to Medina, of one hundred and forty thouſand Moſlems, who profeſſed their attachment to his cauſe, and who were eager to draw their ſwords ſo ſoon as he ſhould appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Againſt the advice of his wiſeſt friends, he reſolved to truſt his perſon and family in the hands of a perfidious people. He traverſed the deſert of Arabia with a timorous retinue of women and children; but as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the ſolitary or hoſtile face of the country, and ſuſpected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were juſt; Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguiſhed the firſt ſparks of an inſurrection; and Hoſein, in the plain of Kerbela, was encompaſſed by a body of five thouſand horſe, who intercepted his communication with the city and the river. He might ſtill have eſcaped to a fortreſs in the deſert, that had defied the power of Cæſar and Choſroes, and confided in the fidelity of the tribe of Tai, which would have armed ten thouſand warriors in his defence. In a conference with the chief of the enemy, he propoſed the option of three honourable conditions; that he ſhould be allowed to return to Medina, or be ſtationed in a frontier garriſon againſt the Turks, or ſafely conducted to the preſence of Yezid. But the commands of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were ſtern and abſolute;

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abſolute; and Hoſein was informed that he muſt either ſubmit as a captive and a criminal to the commander of the faithful, or expect the conſequences of his rebellion. "Do you think," replied he, "to terrify me with death?" And, during the ſhort reſpite of a night, he prepared with calm and ſolemn reſignation to encounter his fate. He checked the lamentations of his ſiſter Fatima, who deplored the impending ruin of his houſe. "Our truſt," ſaid Hoſein, "is in God alone. All things, both in heaven and earth, muſt "periſh and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my "mother, were better than me; and every Muſulman has an ex-"ample in the prophet." He preſſed his friends to conſult their ſafety by a timely flight: they unanimouſly refuſed to deſert or ſurvive their beloved maſter; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the aſſurance of paradiſe. On the morning of the fatal day, he mounted on horſeback, with his ſword in one hand and the Koran in the other: his generous band of martyrs conſiſted only of thirty-two horſe and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were ſecured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted faggots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and one of their chiefs deſerted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnerſhip of inevitable death. In every cloſe onſet, or ſingle combat, the deſpair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the ſurrounding multitudes galled them from a diſtance with a cloud of arrows, and the horſes and men were ſucceſſively ſlain: a truce was allowed on both ſides for the hour of prayer; and the battle at length expired by the death of the laſt of the companions of Hoſein. Alone, weary, and wounded, he ſeated himſelf at the door of his tent. As he taſted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his ſon and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted

lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a tranſport of deſpair his ſiſter iſſued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians, that he would not ſuffer Hoſein to be murdered before his eyes: a tear trickled down his venerable beard; and the boldeſt of his ſoldiers fell back on every ſide as the dying hero threw himſelf among them. The remorſeleſs Shamer, a name deteſted by the faithful, reproached their cowardice; and the grandſon of Mahomet was ſlain with three and thirty ſtrokes of lances and ſwords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the caſtle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeïdollah ſtruck him on the mouth with a cane: "Alas!" exclaimed an aged Muſulman, "on theſe lips have I ſeen "the lips of the apoſtle of God!" In a diſtant age and climate the tragic ſcene of the death of Hoſein will awaken the ſympathy of the coldeſt reader[179]. On the annual feſtival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his ſepulchre, his Perſian votaries abandon their ſouls to the religious frenzy of ſorrow and indignation[180].

Poſterity of Mahomet and Ali.

When the ſiſters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damaſcus, the caliph was adviſed to extirpate the enmity of a popular and hoſtile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid preferred the counſels of mercy; and the mourning family was honourably diſmiſſed to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of martyrdom ſu-

[179] I have abridged the intereſting narrative of Ockley (tom. ii. p. 170—231.). It is long and minute; but the pathetic, almoſt always, conſiſts in the detail of little circumſtances.

[180] Niebuhr the Dane (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208, &c.) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to viſit Meſhed Ali and Meſhed Hoſein. The two ſepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Perſian heretics. The feſtival of the death of Hoſein is amply deſcribed by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praiſed.

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perſeded the right of primogeniture; and the twelve IMAMS [181], or pontiffs, of the Perſian creed are Ali, Haſſan, Hoſein, and the lineal deſcendants of Hoſein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treaſures, or ſubjects, they ſucceſſively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealouſy of the reigning caliphs: their tombs at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the province of Choraſan, are ſtill viſited by the devotion of their ſect. Their names were often the pretence of ſedition and civil war; but theſe royal ſaints deſpiſed the pomp of the world, ſubmitted to the will of God and the injuſtice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the ſtudy and practice of religion. The twelfth and laſt of the Imams, conſpicuous by the title of *Mahadi*, or the Guide, ſurpaſſed the ſolitude and ſanctity of his predeceſſors. He concealed himſelf in a cavern near Bagdad: the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend, that he ſtill lives, and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or the Antichriſt [182]. In the lapſe of two or three centuries the poſterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of thirty-three thouſand [183]: the race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meaneſt individual was above the firſt and greateſt of princes; and the moſt eminent were ſuppoſed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverſe fortune, and the wide extent of the Muſulman empire, allowed an ample ſcope for every bold and artful impoſtor, who claimed affinity with the holy ſeed: the ſceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Afric, of the Fatimites in Egypt and

[181] The general article of *Imam*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque, will indicate the ſucceſſion; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their reſpective names.

[182] The name of *Antichriſt* may ſeem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion (Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 80. 82.). In the royal ſtable of Iſpahan, two horſes were always kept ſaddled, one for the Mahadi himſelf, the other for his lieutenant, Jeſus the ſon of Mary.

[183] In the year of the Hegira 200 (A. D. 815). See d'Herbelot, p. 546.

Syria,

Syria [184], of the Sultans of Yemen, and of the Sophis of Perſia [185], has been conſecrated by this vague and ambiguous title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to diſpute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of the Fatimite caliphs ſilenced an indiſcreet queſtion, by drawing his ſcymetar: "This," ſaid Moez, "is my pedigree; and "theſe," caſting an handful of gold to his ſoldiers, "and theſe are "my kindred and my children." In the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a ſwarm of the genuine or fictitious deſcendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with the appellation of ſheiks, or ſherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire, they are diſtinguiſhed by a green turban, receive a ſtipend from the treaſury, are judged only by their chief, and, however debaſed by fortune or character, ſtill aſſert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred perſons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Haſſan, is preſerved without taint or ſuſpicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and ſtill retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the cuſtody of the temple and the ſovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreiſh tranſcends the recent majeſty of the kings of the earth [186].

[184] D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites diſgraced them by a Jewiſh origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the ſixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (Annal. Moſlem. p. 230.) that they were owned by many, qui abſque controverſiâ genuini ſunt Alidarum, homine propaginum ſuæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes ſome lines from the celebrated *Scherif or Rahdi*, Egone humilitatem induam in terris hoſtium? (I ſuſpect him to be an Edriſſite of Sicily) cum in Ægypto ſit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.

[185] The kings of Perſia of the laſt dynaſty are deſcended from Sheik Sefi, a ſaint of the xiv[th] century, and through him from Mouſſa Caſſem, the ſon of Hoſein, the ſon of Ali (Olearius, p. 957. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288.). But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ix[th] century (d'Herbelot, p. 96.).

[186] The preſent ſtate of the family of Mahomet and Ali is moſt accurately deſcribed by Demetrius Cantemir (Hiſt. of the Othman Empire, p. 94.); and Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 9—16. 317, &c.). It is much to be lamented, that the Daniſh traveller was unable to purchaſe the chronicles of Arabia.

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Succeſs of Mahomet.

The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applauſe, but his ſucceſs has perhaps too ſtrongly attracted our admiration. Are we ſurpriſed that a multitude of proſelytes ſhould embrace the doctrine and the paſſions of an eloquent fanatic? In the hereſies of the church, the ſame ſeduction has been tried and repeated from the time of the apoſtles to that of the reformers. Does it ſeem incredible that a private citizen ſhould graſp the ſword and the ſceptre, ſubdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynaſties of the Eaſt, an hundred fortunate uſurpers have ariſen from a baſer origin, ſurmounted more formidable obſtacles, and filled a larger ſcope of empire and conqueſt. Mahomet was alike inſtructed to preach and to fight, and the union of theſe oppoſite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his ſucceſs: the operation of force and perſuaſion, of enthuſiaſm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irreſiſtible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling paſſions in this world and the other; the reſtraints which he impoſed were requiſite to eſtabliſh the credit of the prophet, and to exerciſe the obedience of the people; and the only objection to his ſucceſs, was his rational creed of the unity and perfections of God. It is not the propagation but the permanency of his religion that deſerves our wonder: the ſame pure and perfect impreſſion which he engraved at Mecca and Medina, is preſerved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkiſh proſelytes of the Koran. If the Chriſtian apoſtles, St. Peter or St. Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might poſſibly enquire the name of the Deity who is worſhipped with ſuch myſterious rites in that magnificent temple: at Oxford or Geneva, they would experience leſs ſurpriſe; but it might ſtill be incumbent on them to peruſe the catechiſm of the church, and to ſtudy the orthodox com-

Permanency of his religion.

mentators

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mentators on their own writings and the words of their maſter. But the Turkiſh dome of St. Sophia, with an encreaſe of ſplendor and ſize, repreſents the humble tabernacle erected at Medina by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniformly withſtood the temptation of reducing the object of their faith and devotion to a level with the ſenſes and imagination of man. "I believe in one God, "and Mahomet the apoſtle of God," is the ſimple and invariable profeſſion of Iſlam. The intellectual image of the Deity has never been degraded by any viſible idol; the honours of the prophet have never tranſgreſſed the meaſure of human virtue; and his living precepts have reſtrained the gratitude of his diſciples within the bounds of reaſon and religion. The votaries of Ali have indeed conſecrated the memory of their hero, his wife, and his children, and ſome of the Perſian doctors pretend that the divine eſſence was incarnate in the perſon of the Imams; but their ſuperſtition is univerſally condemned by the Sonnites; and their impiety has afforded a ſeaſonable warning againſt the worſhip of ſaints and martyrs. The metaphyſical queſtions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the ſchools of the Mahometans, as well as in thoſe of the Chriſtians; but among the former they have never engaged the paſſions of the people or diſturbed the tranquillity of the ſtate. The cauſe of this important difference may be found in the ſeparation or union of the regal and ſacerdotal characters. It was the intereſt of the caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repreſs and diſcourage all religious innovations: the order, the diſcipline, the temporal and ſpiritual ambition of the clergy, are unknown to the Moſlems; and the ſages of the law are the guides of their conſcience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges, the Koran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology but of civil and criminal juriſprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and

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the property of mankind, are guarded by the infallible and immutable ſanction of the will of God. This religious ſervitude is attended with ſome practical diſadvantage; the illiterate legiſlator had been often miſled by his own prejudices and thoſe of his country; and the inſtitutions of the Arabian deſert may be ill-adapted to the wealth and numbers of Iſpahan and Conſtantinople. On theſe occaſions, the Cadhi reſpectfully places on his head the holy volume, and ſubſtitutes a dextrous interpretation more appoſite to the principles of equity, and the manners and policy of the times.

His merit towards his country.

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happineſs is the laſt conſideration in the character of Mahomet. The moſt bitter or moſt bigotted of his Chriſtian or Jewiſh foes, will ſurely allow that he aſſumed a falſe commiſſion to inculcate a ſalutary doctrine, leſs perfect only than their own. He piouſly ſuppoſed, as the baſis of his religion, the truth and ſanctity of *their* prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and faſting, and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion; and his rewards and puniſhments of a future life were painted by the images moſt congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mahomet was perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political ſyſtem for the uſe of his countrymen: but he breathed among the faithful a ſpirit of charity and friendſhip, recommended the practice of the ſocial virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirſt of revenge and the oppreſſion of widows and orphans. The hoſtile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly ſpent in domeſtic quarrels, was vigorouſly directed againſt a foreign enemy. Had the impulſe been leſs powerful, Arabia, free at home, and formidable abroad, might have flouriſhed under a ſucceſſion of her native monarchs. Her ſovereignty was loſt by the extent and rapidity of conqueſt. The colonies of

the nation were ſcattered over the Eaſt and Weſt, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs, the throne was tranſported from Medina to the valley of Damaſcus and the banks of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a ſubject, perhaps of a ſtranger; and the Bedoweens of the deſert, awakening from their dream of dominion, reſumed their old and ſolitary independence[187].

[187] The writers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory (vol. i. and ii.) have compiled, in 850 folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and ſometimes correcting, the Arabic texts; yet, notwithſtanding their high-ſounding boaſts, I cannot find, after the concluſion of my work, that they have afforded me much (if any) additional information. The dull maſs is not quickened by a ſpark of philoſophy or taſte: and the compilers indulge the criticiſm of acrimonious bigotry againſt Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even juſtice.

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The Conqueſt of Perſia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs or Saracens.—Empire of the Caliphs, or Succeſſors of Mahomet.—State of the Chriſtians, &c. under their Government.

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Union of the Arabs, A. D. 632.

THE revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs: the death of Mahomet was the ſignal of independence; and the haſty ſtructure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A ſmall and faithful band of his primitive diſciples had liſtened to his eloquence, and ſhared his diſtreſs; had fled with the apoſtle from the perſecution of Mecca, or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The encreaſing myriads, who acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms, or allured by his proſperity. The polytheiſts were confounded by the ſimple idea of a ſolitary and inviſible God: the pride of the Chriſtians and Jews diſdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legiſlator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not ſufficiently confirmed; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moſes, or the rites and myſteries of the Catholic church, or the idols, the ſacrifices, the joyous feſtivals, of their Pagan anceſtors. The jarring intereſts and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coaleſced in a ſyſtem of union and ſubordination; and the Barbarians were impatient of the mildeſt and moſt ſalutary laws that curbed their paſſions, or violated their cuſtoms. They ſubmitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of

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the Koran, the abſtinence from wine, the faſt of the Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treaſury of Medina, could be diſtinguiſhed only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute. The example of Mahomet had excited a ſpirit of fanaticiſm or impoſture, and ſeveral of his rivals preſumed to imitate the conduct and defy the authority of the living prophet. At the head of the *fugitives* and *auxiliaries*, the firſt caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef; and perhaps the Koreiſh would have reſtored the idols of the Caaba, if their levity had not been checked by a ſeaſonable reproof. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be "the laſt to embrace and the firſt to abandon the religion of Iſlam?" After exhorting the Moſlems to confide in the aid of God and his apoſtle, Abubeker reſolved, by a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were ſafely lodged in the cavities of the mountains: the warriors, marching under eleven banners, diffuſed the terror of their arms; and the appearance of a military force revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconſtant tribes accepted, with humble repentance, the duties of prayer, and faſting, and alms; and, after ſome examples of ſucceſs and ſeverity, the moſt daring apoſtates fell proſtrate before the ſword of the Lord and of Caled. In the fertile province of Yemanah[1], between the Red Sea and the Gulph of Perſia, in a city not inferior to Medina itſelf, a powerful chief, his name was Moſeilama, had aſſumed the character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa liſtened to his voice. A female propheteſs was attracted by his reputation: the decencies of words and actions were ſpurned by

[1] See the deſcription of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, Deſcript. Arabiæ, p. 60, 61. In the xiiith century, there were ſome ruins, and a few palms; but in the preſent century, the ſame ground is occupied by the viſions and arms of a modern prophet, whoſe tenets are imperfectly known (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 296—302.).

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theſe favourites of heaven[2]; and they employed ſeveral days in myſtic and amorous converſe. An obſcure ſentence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant[3]; and, in the pride of his miſſion, Moſeilama condeſcended to offer a partition of the earth. The propoſal was anſwered by Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progreſs of the impoſtor awakened the fears of his ſucceſſor: forty thouſand Moſlems were aſſembled under the ſtandard of Caled; and the exiſtence of their faith was reſigned to the event of a deciſive battle. In the firſt action, they were repulſed with the loſs of twelve hundred men; but the ſkill and perſeverance of their general prevailed: their defeat was avenged by the ſlaughter of ten thouſand infidels; and Moſeilama himſelf was pierced by an Ethiopian ſlave with the ſame javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a chief or a cauſe, were ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by the power and diſcipline of the riſing monarchy; and the whole nation again profeſſed, and more ſtedfaſtly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exerciſe for the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Saracens: their valour was united in the proſecution of an holy war; and their enthuſiaſm was equally confirmed by oppoſition and victory.

[2] Their firſt ſalutation may be tranſcribed, but cannot be tranſlated. It was thus that Moſeilama ſaid or ſung:

Surge tandem itaque ſtrenue permolenda; nam ſtratus tibi thorus eſt.
Aut in propatulo tentorio ſi velis, aut in abditiore cubiculo ſi malis;
Aut ſupinam te humi exporrectam fuſtigabo, ſi velis, aut ſi malis manibus pedibuſque nixam.
Aut ſi velis ejus *(Priapi)* gemino triente, aut ſi malis totus veniam.
Imo, totus venito, O Apoſtole Dei clamabat fœmina. Id ipſum dicebat Moſeilama mihi quoque ſuggeſſit Deus.

The propheteſs Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, ſhe became a Muſulman, and died at Baſſora (Abulfeda, Annal. verſ. Reiſke, p. 63.).

[3] See this text, which demonſtrates a God from the work of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen, Hiſt. Arabum, p. 13. and Dynaſt. p. 103.) and Abulfeda (Annal. p. 63.).

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Character of their caliphs.

From the rapid conqueſts of the Saracens a preſumption will naturally ariſe, that the firſt caliphs commanded in perſon the armies of the faithful, and ſought the crown of martyrdom in the foremoſt ranks of the battle. The courage of Abubeker [4], Omar [5], and Othman [6], had indeed been tried in the perſecution and wars of the prophet; and the perſonal aſſurance of paradiſe muſt have taught them to deſpiſe the pleaſures and dangers of the preſent world. But they aſcended the throne in a venerable or mature age, and eſteemed the domeſtic cares of religion and juſtice the moſt important duties of a ſovereign. Except the preſence of Omar at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, their longeſt expeditions were the frequent pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the ſepulchre of the prophet. The auſtere and frugal meaſure of their lives was the effect of virtue or habit, and the pride of their ſimplicity inſulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. When Abubeker aſſumed the office of caliph, he enjoined his daughter Ayeſha to take a ſtrict account of his private patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were enriched or impoveriſhed by the ſervice of the ſtate. He thought himſelf entitled to a ſtipend of three pieces of gold, with the ſufficient maintenance of a ſingle camel and a black ſlave; but on the Friday of each week, he diſtributed the reſidue of his own and the public money, firſt to the moſt worthy, and then to the moſt indigent, of the Moſlems. The remains of his wealth, a coarſe garment, and five pieces of gold, were delivered to his ſucceſſor, who lamented with a modeſt ſigh his own inability to equal

[4] His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251. Elmacin, p. 18. Abulpharagius, p. 108. Abulfeda, p. 60. D'Herbelot, p. 58.

[5] His reign in Eutychius, p. 264. Elmacin, p. 24. Abulpharagius, p. 110. Abulfeda, p. 66. D'Herbelot, p. 686.

[6] His reign in Eutychius, p. 323. Elmacin, p. 36. Abulpharagius, p. 115. Abulfeda, p. 75. D'Herbelot, p. 695.

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ſuch an admirable model. Yet the abſtinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker; his food conſiſted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Perſian ſatrap who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him aſleep among the beggars on the ſteps of the moſch of Medina. Oeconomy is the ſource of liberality, and the encreaſe of the revenue enabled Omar to eſtabliſh a juſt and perpetual reward for the paſt and preſent ſervices of the faithful. Careleſs of his own emolument, he aſſigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the firſt and moſt ample allowance of twenty-five thouſand drams or pieces of ſilver. Five thouſand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the laſt and meaneſt of the companions of Mahomet was diſtinguiſhed by the annual reward of three thouſand pieces. One thouſand was the ſtipend of the veterans who had fought in the firſt battles againſt the Greeks and Perſians, and the decreaſing pay, as low as fifty pieces of ſilver, was adapted to the reſpective merit and ſeniority of the ſoldiers of Omar. Under his reign, and that of his predeceſſor, the conquerors of the Eaſt, were the truſty ſervants of God and the people: the maſs of the public treaſure was conſecrated to the expences of peace and war; a prudent mixture of juſtice and bounty, maintained the diſcipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the diſpatch and execution of deſpotiſm, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali [7], the conſummate prudence of Moawiyah [8], excited the emulation of their ſubjects; and the talents which had been exerciſed in the ſchool of civil diſcord, were more uſefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the ſloth

[7] His reign in Eutychius, p. 343. Elmacin, p. 51. Abulpharagius, p. 117. Abulfeda, p. 83. D'Herbelot, p. 89.

[8] His reign in Eutychius, p. 344. Elmacin, p. 54. Abulpharagius, p. 123. Abulfeda, p. 101. D'Herbelot, p. 586.

and

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and vanity of the palace of Damaſcus, the ſucceeding princes of the houſe of Ommiyah were alike deſtitute of the qualifications of ſtateſmen and of ſaints [9]. Yet the ſpoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the foot of their throne, and the uniform aſcent of the Arabian greatneſs muſt be aſcribed to the ſpirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction muſt be allowed for the weakneſs of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the moſt degenerate and diſorderly period of the Perſians, the Romans, and the Barbarians of Europe: the empires of Trajan, or even of Conſtantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the aſſault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticiſm might have been obſcurely loſt in the ſands of Arabia.

Their conqueſts.

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the ſenate to confine their counſels and legions to a ſingle war, and completely to ſuppreſs a firſt enemy before they provoked the hoſtilities of a ſecond. Theſe timid maxims of policy were diſdained by the magnanimity or enthuſiaſm of the Arabian caliphs. With the ſame vigour and ſucceſs they invaded the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus and thoſe of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the ſame inſtant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been ſo long accuſtomed to deſpiſe. In the ten years of the adminiſtration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-ſix thouſand cities or caſtles, deſtroyed four thouſand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred moſchs for the exerciſe of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his ſucceſſors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and

[9] Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360—395. Elmacin, p. 59—108. Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. ix. p. 124—139. Abulfeda, p. 111—141. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 691. and the particular articles of the Ommiades.

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diſtant provinces, which may be compriſed under the names of, I. Perſia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and, V. Spain. Under this general diviſion, I ſhall proceed to unfold theſe memorable tranſactions; diſpatching with brevity the remote and leſs intereſting conqueſts of the Eaſt, and reſerving a fuller narrative for thoſe domeſtic countries, which had been included within the pale of the Roman empire. Yet I muſt excuſe my own defects by a juſt complaint of the blindneſs and inſufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, ſo loquacious in controverſy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies[10]. After a century of ignorance, the firſt annals of the Muſulmans were collected in a great meaſure from the voice of tradition[11]. Among the numerous productions of Arabic and Perſian literature[12], our interpreters have ſelected the imperfect

[10] For the vii[th] and viii[th] century, we have ſcarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine hiſtorians, except the Chronicles of Theophanes (Theophanis Confeſſoris Chronographia, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio); and the Abridgement of Nicephorus (Nicephori Patriarchæ, C. P. Breviarium Hiſtoricum, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1648, in folio), who both lived in the beginning of the ix[th] century (ſee Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200—246.). Their contemporary Photius does not ſeem to be more opulent. After praiſing the ſtyle of Nicephorus, he adds, Και ὁλως πολλης εστι τον προ αυτου αποκρυπτομενος τηδε της ἱστοριας τη συνγραφη, and only complains of his extreme brevity (Phot. Bibliot. cod. lxvi. p. 100.). Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent hiſtories of Cedrenus and Zonaras of the xii[th] century.

[11] Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Taboreſtan, a famous Imam of Bagdad, and the Livy of the Arabians, finiſhed his general hiſtory in the year of the Hegira 302 (A. D. 914). At the requeſt of his friends, he reduced a work of 30,000 ſheets to a more reaſonable ſize. But his Arabic original is known only by the Perſian and Turkiſh verſions. The Saracenic hiſtory of Ebn Amid, or Elmacin, is ſaid to be an abridgment of the great Tabari (Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. preface p. xxxix. and, liſt of authors, d'Herbelot, p. 866. 870. 1014.).

[12] Beſides the liſts of authors framed by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 179—189.), Ockley (at the end of his ſecond volume), and Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan. p. 525—550.), we find in the Bibliotheque Orientale *Tarikh*, a catalogue of two or three hundred hiſtories or chronicles of the Eaſt, of which not more than three or four are older than Tabari. A lively ſketch of Oriental literature is given by Reiſke (in his Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ librum memorialem ad calcem Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ, Lipſiæ, 1766); but his project and the French verſion of Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Timur Bec. tom. i. preface, p. xlv.) have fallen to the ground.

ſketches

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ſketches of a more recent age[13]. The art and genius of hiſtory have ever been unknown to the Aſiatics[14]; they are ignorant of the laws of criticiſm; and our monkiſh chronicles of the ſame period may be compared to their moſt popular works, which are never vivified by the ſpirit of philoſophy and freedom. The *Oriental library* of a Frenchman[15] would inſtruct the moſt learned mufti of the Eaſt; and perhaps the Arabs might not find in a ſingle hiſtorian, ſo clear and comprehenſive a narrative of their own exploits, as that which will be deduced in the enſuing ſheets.

Invaſion of Perſia, A. D. 632.

I. In the firſt year of the firſt caliph, his lieutenant Caled, the ſword of God, and the ſcourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira. Weſtward of the ruins of Babylon, a tribe of ſedentary Arabs had fixed themſelves on the verge of the deſert; and Hira was the ſeat of a

[13] The particular hiſtorians and geographers will be occaſionally introduced. The four following titles repreſent the annals, which have guided me in this general narrative. 1. *Annales Eutychii, Patriarchæ Alexandrini, ab Edwardo Pocockio, Oxon*, 1656, 2 *vols.* in 4to. A pompous edition of an indifferent author, tranſlated by Pocock to gratify the preſbyterian prejudices of his friend Selden. 2. *Hiſtoria Saracenica Georgii Elmacini, operâ et ſtudio Thomæ Erpenii, in* 4to, *Lugd. Batavorum*, 1625. He is ſaid to have haſtily tranſlated a corrupt MS. and his verſion is often deficient in ſtyle and ſenſe. 3. *Hiſtoria compendioſa Dynaſtiarum a Gregorio Abulpharagio, interprete Edwardo Pocockio, in* 4to, *Oxon*, 1663. More uſeful for the literary than the civil hiſtory of the Eaſt. 4. *Abulfedæ Annales Moſlemici ad Ann. Hegiræ*, ccccvi. *a Jo. Jac. Reiſke, in* 4to, *Lipſiæ*, 1754. The beſt of our Chronicles, both for the original and verſion, yet how far below the name of Abulfeda. We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the xivth century. The three former were Chriſtians of the xth, xiith, and xiiith centuries; the two firſt, natives of Egypt, a Melchite patriarch, and a Jacobite ſcribe.

[14] M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. pref. p. xix, xx.) has characteriſed, with truth and knowledge, the two ſorts of Arabian hiſtorians, the dry annaliſt, and the tumid and flowery orator.

[15] Bibliotheque Orientale, par M. d'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697. For the character of the reſpectable author, conſult his friend Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part i. ch. 1.). His work is an agreeable miſcellany, which muſt gratify every taſte; but I never can digeſt the alphabetical order, and I find him more ſatisfactory in the Perſian than the Arabic hiſtory. The recent ſupplement from the papers of M. M. Viſdelou and Galland (in folio, La Haye, 1779) is of a different caſt, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chineſe antiquities.

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race of kings who had embraced the Chriſtian religion, and reigned above ſix hundred years under the ſhadow of the throne of Perſia[16]. The laſt of the Mondars was defeated and ſlain by Caled; his ſon was ſent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the ſucceſſor of the prophet; the people was tempted by the example and ſucceſs of their countrymen; and the caliph accepted as the firſt fruits of foreign conqueſt, an annual tribute of ſeventy thouſand pieces of gold. The conquerors, and even their hiſtorians, were aſtoniſhed by the dawn of their future greatneſs: "In the ſame year," ſays Elmacin, "Caled "fought many ſignal battles; an immenſe multitude of the infidels "was ſlaughtered; and ſpoils, infinite and innumerable, were acquired "by the victorious Moſlems[17]." But the invincible Caled was ſoon transferred to the Syrian war: the invaſion of the Perſian frontier was conducted by leſs active or leſs prudent commanders: the Saracens were repulſed with loſs in the paſſage of the Euphrates; and, though they chaſtiſed the inſolent purſuit of the Magians, their remaining forces ſtill hovered in the deſert of Babylon.

Battle of Cadeſia, A. D. 636.

The indignation and fears of the Perſians ſuſpended for a moment their inteſtine diviſions. By the unanimous ſentence of the prieſts and nobles, their queen Arzema was depoſed; the ſixth of the tranſient uſurpers, who had ariſen and vaniſhed in three or four years, ſince the death of Choſroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandſon of Choſroes;

[16] Pocock will explain the chronology (Specimen, Hiſt. Arabum, p. 66—74.), and d'Anville the Geography (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 125.), of the Dynaſty of the Almondars. The Engliſh ſcholar underſtood more Arabic than the Mufti of Aleppo (Ockley, vol. ii. p. 34.): the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world.

[17] Fecit et Chaled plurima in hoc anno prœlia, in quibus vicerunt Muſlimi, et *infidelium* immensâ multitudine occisâ ſpolia infinita et innumera ſunt nacti (Hiſt. Saracenica, p. 20.). The Chriſtian annaliſt ſlides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without ſcandal) this characteriſtic mode of expreſſion.

and

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and the ſame æra, which coincides with an aſtronomical period [18], has recorded the fall of the Saſſanian dynaſty and the religion of Zoroaſter [19]. The youth and inexperience of the prince, he was only fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter: the royal ſtandard was delivered into the hands of his general Ruſtam; and a remnant of thirty thouſand regular troops was ſwelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thouſand ſubjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moſlems, whoſe numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thouſand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadeſia [20]: and their line, though it conſiſted of fewer *men*, could produce more *ſoldiers* than the unwieldy hoſt of the infidels. I ſhall here obſerve what I muſt often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by ſingle combats and flying ſkirmiſhes, might be protracted without any deciſive event to the continuance of ſeveral days. The periods of the battle of Cadeſia were diſtinguiſhed

[18] A cycle of 120 years, the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days ſupplied the uſe of our Biſſextile, and reſtored the integrity of the ſolar year. In a great revolution of 1440 years, this intercalation was ſucceſſively removed from the firſt to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Freret are involved in a profound controverſy, whether the twelve, or only eight of theſe changes were accompliſhed before the æra of Yezdegerd, which is unanimouſly fixed to the 16th of June A. D. 632. How laborioufly does the curious ſpirit of Europe explore the darkeſt and moſt diſtant antiquities (Hyde, de Religione Perſarum, c. 14—18. p. 181—211. Freret in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 233—267.)!

[19] Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th June A. D. 632), we find the æra of Yezdegerd 16th June A. D. 632), and his acceſſion cannot be poſtponed beyond the end of the firſt year. His predeceſſors could not therefore reſiſt the arms of the caliph Omar, and theſe unqueſtionable dates overthrow the thoughtleſs chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 130.

[20] Cadeſia, ſays the Nubian geographer (p. 121.), is in margine ſolitudinis, 61 leagues from Bagdad, and two ſtations from Cufa. Otter (Voyage, tom. i. p. 163.) reckons 15 leagues, and obſerves, that the place is ſupplied with dates and water.

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by their peculiar appellations. The firſt, from the well-timed appearance of ſix thouſand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *ſuccour*. The day of *concuſſion* might expreſs the diſorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimſical name of the night of *barking*, from the diſcordant clamours, which were compared to the inarticulate ſounds of the fierceſt animals. The morning of the ſucceeding day determined the fate of Perſia; and a ſeaſonable whirlwind drove a cloud of duſt againſt the faces of the unbelievers. The clangor of arms was re-echoed to the tent of Ruſtam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil ſhade, amidſt the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and ſilver. On the ſound of danger he ſtarted from his couch; but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, ſtruck off his head, hoiſted it on a lance, and inſtantly returning to the field of battle, carried ſlaughter and diſmay among the thickeſt ranks of the Perſians. The Saracens confeſs a loſs of ſeven thouſand five hundred men; and the battle of Cadeſia is juſtly deſcribed by the epithets of obſtinate and atrocious[21]. The ſtandard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blackſmith, who, in ancient times, had ariſen the deliverer of Perſia; but this badge of heroic poverty was diſguiſed, and almoſt concealed by a profuſion of precious gems[22]. After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak or Aſſyria ſubmitted to the caliph, and his conqueſts were firmly eſtabliſhed by the ſpeedy foundation of Baſſora[23], a place which ever

[21] Atrox, contumax, plus ſemel renovatum, are the well-choſen expreſſions of the tranſlator of Abulfeda (Reiſke, p. 69.).

[22] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 297. 348.

[23] The reader may ſatisfy himſelf on the ſubject of Baſſora, by conſulting the following writers: Geograph. Nubienſ. p. 121. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 192. D'Anville, L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130.

ever commands the trade and navigation of the Perſians. At the diſtance of fourſcore miles from the Gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly ſtyled the river of the Arabs. In the mid-way, between the junction and the mouth of theſe famous ſtreams, the new ſettlement was planted on the weſtern bank: the firſt colony was compoſed of eight hundred Moſlems; but the influence of the ſituation ſoon reared a flouriſhing and populous capital. The air, though exceſſively hot, is pure and healthy: the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent vallies has been celebrated among the four paradiſes or gardens of Aſia. Under the firſt caliphs, the juriſdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the ſouthern provinces of Perſia: the city has been ſanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the veſſels of Europe ſtill frequent the port of Baſſora, as a convenient ſtation and paſſage of the Indian trade.

Foundation of Baſſora.

After the defeat of Cadeſia, a country interſected by rivers and canals might have oppoſed an inſuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Cteſiphon or Madayn, which had reſiſted the battering-rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Perſians were overcome by the belief, that the laſt day of their religion and empire was at hand: the ſtrongeſt poſts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his family and treaſures, eſcaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, paſſed the Tigris without oppoſition; the capital was taken by aſſault; and the diſorderly reſiſtance of the people gave a keener edge to the ſabres of the Moſlems, who

Sack of Madayn, A. D. 637, March.

133. 145. Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſophique des deux Indes, tom. ii. p. 92—100. Voyages di Pietro della Valle, tom. iv. p. 370—391. De Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240—247. De Thevenot, tom. ii. p. 545—584. D'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45—78. De Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—199.

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ſhouted with religious tranſport, "This is the white palace of Choſ-"roes, this is the promiſe of the apoſtle of God!" The naked robbers of the deſert were ſuddenly enriched beyond the meaſure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treaſure ſecreted with art, or oſtentatiouſly diſplayed; the gold and ſilver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, ſurpaſſed (ſays Abulfeda) the eſtimate of fancy or numbers; and another hiſtorian defines the untold and almoſt infinite maſs, by the fabulous computation of three thouſands of thouſands of thouſands of pieces of gold [24]. Some minute though curious facts repreſent the contraſt of riches and ignorance. From the remote iſlands of the Indian Ocean, a large proviſion of camphire [25] had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the Eaſt. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, miſtaking it for ſalt, mingled the camphire in their bread, and were aſtoniſhed at the bitterneſs of the taſte. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of ſilk, ſixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth: a paradiſe or garden was depictured on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and ſhrubs were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colours of the precious ſtones; and the ample ſquare was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general perſuaded his ſoldiers to relinquiſh their claim, in the reaſonable hope, that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the ſplendid workmanſhip of nature and

[24] Mente vix poteſt numerove comprehendi quanta ſpolia.... noſtris ceſſerint. Abulfeda, p. 69. Yet I ſtill ſuſpect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, but of the verſion. The beſt tranſlators from the Greek, for inſtance. I find to be very poor arithmeticians.

[25] The Camphire tree grows in China and Japan; but many hundred weight of thoſe meaner ſorts are exchanged for a ſingle pound of the more precious gum of Borneo and Sumatra (Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. i. p. 362—365. Dictionnaire d'Hiſt. Naturelle par Bomare. Millar's Gardener's Dictionary). Theſe may be the iſlands of the firſt climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphire (Geograph. Nub. p. 34, 35. d'Herbelot, p. 232.).

induſtry. Regardleſs of the merit of art and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina: the picture was deſtroyed; but ſuch was the intrinſic value of the materials, that the ſhare of Ali alone was ſold for twenty thouſand drams. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuiraſs, the belt and bracelets of Choſroes, was overtaken by the purſuers; the gorgeous trophy was preſented to the commander of the faithful, and the graveſt of the companions condeſcended to ſmile when they beheld the white beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was inveſted with the ſpoils of the great king[26]. The ſack of Cteſiphon was followed by its deſertion and gradual decay. The Saracens diſliked the air and ſituation of the place, and Omar was adviſed by his general to remove the ſeat of government to the weſtern ſide of the Euphrates. In every age the foundation and ruin of the Aſſyrian cities has been eaſy and rapid; the country is deſtitute of ſtone and timber, and the moſt ſolid ſtructures[27] are compoſed of bricks baked in the ſun, and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of *Cufa*[28] deſcribes an habitation of reeds and earth; but the importance of the new capital was ſupported by the numbers, wealth, and ſpirit of a colony of veterans; and their licentiouſneſs was indulged by the wiſeſt caliphs who were apprehenſive of provoking the revolt of an hundred thouſand ſwords: "Ye men of Cufa," ſaid Ali, who ſolicited their aid, "you have "been always conſpicuous by your valour. You conquered the "Perſian king, and ſcattered his forces, till you had taken poſſeſ-

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Foundation of Cufa.

[26] See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fact, without believing the prophecy.

[27] The moſt conſiderable ruins of Aſſyria are the tower of Belus, at Babylon, and the hall of Choſroes, at Cteſiphon: they have been viſited by that vain and curious traveller Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 713—718. 731—735.).

[28] Conſult the article of *Coufah* in the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot (p. 277, 278.), and the ſecond volume of Ockley's hiſtory, particularly p. 40. and 153.

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"ſion of his inheritance." This mighty conqueſt was atchieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loſs of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his ſhame and deſpair in the mountains of Farſiſtan, from whence Cyrus had deſcended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation ſurvived that of the monarch; among the hills to the ſouth of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one hundred and fifty thouſand Perſians made a third and final ſtand for their religion and country; and the deciſive battle of Nehavend was ſtyled by the Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flying general of the Perſians was ſtopt and overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, however ſlight or ſingular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an Oriental army[29].

Conqueſt of Perſia, A. D. 637—651.

The geography of Perſia is darkly delineated by the Greeks and Latins; but the moſt illuſtrious of her cities appear to be more ancient than the invaſion of the Arabs. By the reduction of Hamadan and Iſpahan, of Caſwin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradually approached the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea; and the orators of Mecca might applaud the ſucceſs and ſpirit of the faithful, who had already loſt ſight of the northern bear, and had almoſt tranſcended the bounds of the habitable world[30]. Again turning towards the Weſt and the Roman empire, they repaſſed the Tigris over the bridge of Moſul, and, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Meſopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the

[29] See the article of *Nehavend*, in d'Herbelot, p. 667, 668.; and Voyages en Turquie et en Perſe, par Otter, tom. i. p. 191.

[30] It is in ſuch a ſtyle of ignorance and wonder that the Athenian orator deſcribes the Arctic conqueſts of Alexander, who never advanced beyond the ſhores of the Caſpian. Αλεξανδρος εξω της αρκτου και της οικουμενης, ολιγου δειν, πασης μεθηρκει. Eſchines contra Cteſiphontem, tom. iii. p. 554, edit. Græc. Orator. Reiſke. This memorable cauſe was pleaded at Athens, Olymp. cxii. 3. (before Chriſt 330), in the autumn (Tayler, præfat. p. 370, &c.), about a year after the battle of Arbela; and Alexander, in the purſuit of Darius, was marching towards Hyrcania and Bactriana.

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palace of Madayn their Eaſtern progreſs was not leſs rapid or extenſive. They advanced along the Tigris and the Gulf; penetrated through the paſſes of the mountains into the valley of Eſtachar or Perſepolis; and profaned the laſt ſanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandſon of Choſroes was nearly ſurpriſed among the falling columns and mutilated figures; a ſad emblem of the paſt and preſent fortune of Perſia[31]: he fled with accelerated haſte over the deſert of Kirman, implored the aid of the warlike Segeſtans, and ſought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkiſh and Chineſe power. But a victorious army is inſenſible of fatigue: the Arabs divided their forces in the purſuit of a timorous enemy; and the caliph Othman promiſed the government of Choraſan to the firſt general who ſhould enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the ancient Bactrians. The condition was accepted; the prize was deſerved; the ſtandard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of Herat, Merou, and Balch; and the ſucceſsful leader neither halted nor repoſed till his foaming cavalry had taſted the waters of the Oxus. In the public anarchy, the independent governors of the cities and caſtles obtained their ſeparate capitulations: the terms were granted or impoſed by the eſteem, the prudence, or the compaſſion, of the victors; and a ſimple profeſſion of faith eſtabliſhed the diſtinction between a brother and a ſlave. After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or ſatrap of Ahwaz and Suſa, was compelled to ſurrender his perſon and his ſtate to the diſcretion of the caliph; and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners. In the preſence, and by the command, of Omar, the gay Barbarian was deſpoiled of his ſilken robes embroidered with gold, and of his

[31] We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius, p. 116; but it is needleſs to prove the identity of Eſtachar and Perſepolis (d'Herbelot, p. 327.); and ſtill more needleſs to copy the drawings and deſcriptions of Sir John Chardin, or Corneille le Bruyn.

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tiara bedecked with rubies and emeralds: "Are you now ſenſible," ſaid the conqueror to his naked captive; "are you now ſenſible of "the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity "and obedience?" "Alas!" replied Harmozan, "I feel them too "deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with "the weapons of the fleſh, and my nation was ſuperior. God was "then neuter: ſince he has eſpouſed your quarrel, you have ſub-"verted our kingdom and religion." Oppreſſed by this painful dialogue, the Perſian complained of intolerable thirſt, but diſcovered ſome apprehenſion leſt he ſhould be killed whilſt he was drinking a cup of water. "Be of good courage," ſaid the caliph, "your life "is ſafe till you have drank this water:" the crafty ſatrap accepted the aſſurance, and inſtantly daſhed the vaſe againſt the ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit; but his companions repreſented the ſanctity of an oath; and the ſpeedy converſion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but even to a ſtipend of two thouſand pieces of gold. The adminiſtration of Perſia was regulated by an actual ſurvey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth [32]; and this monument which atteſts the vigilance of the caliphs, might have inſtructed the philoſophers of every age [33].

Death of the laſt king, A.D. 651.

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers [34] of ancient and modern renown, which deſcend from the mountains of India towards the Caſpian Sea.

[32] After the conqueſt of Perſia, Theophanes adds, αυτῳ δε τῳ χρονῳ εκελευσεν Ουμαρος αναγραφηναι πασαν την ὑπ' αυτον οικουμενην. εγενετο δε η αναγραφη και ανθρωπων και κτηνων και φυτων (Chronograph. p. 283.).

[33] Amidſt our meagre relations, I muſt regret, that d'Herbelot has not found and uſed a Perſian tranſlation of Tabari, enriched, as he ſays, with many extracts from the native hiſtorians of the Ghebers or Magi (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 1014.).

[34] The moſt authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes), and the Gihon (Oxus), may be found in Sherif al Edriſi (Geograph. Nubienſ. p. 138.). Abulfeda (Deſcript. Choraſan. in Hudſon, tom. iii. p. 23.). Abulghazi Khan, who reigned on their banks (Hiſt. Genealogique des Tatars, p. 32. 57. 766.), and the Turkiſh Geographer, a MS. in the king of France's library (Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, p. 194—360.).

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He was hoſpitably entertained by Tarkhan, prince of Fargana [35], a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the king of Samarcand, with the Turkiſh tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promiſes of the fallen monarch; and he ſolicited by a ſuppliant embaſſy, the more ſolid and powerful friendſhip of the emperor of China [36]. The virtuous Taitſong [37], the firſt of the dynaſty of the Tang, may be juſtly compared with the Antonines of Rome: his people enjoyed the bleſſings of proſperity and peace; and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hords of the Barbarians of Tartary. His laſt garriſons of Caſhgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourſe with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; a recent colony of Perſians had introduced into China the aſtronomy of the Magi; and Taitſong might be alarmed by the rapid progreſs and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The influence, and perhaps the ſupplies, of China revived the hopes of Yezdegerd and the zeal of the worſhippers of fire; and he returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moſlems, without unſheathing their ſwords, were the ſpectators of his ruin and death. The grandſon of Choſroes was betrayed by his ſervant, inſulted by the ſeditious inhabitants of Merou, and oppreſſed, defeated, and purſued, by his Barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, and offered his rings and bracelets for an inſtant paſſage in a miller's boat. Ignorant or inſenſible of royal diſtreſs, the ruſtic replied, that four drams of ſilver were the daily profit of his mill, and that he would not ſuſpend his work unleſs

[35] The territory of Fergana is deſcribed by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77.

[36] Eo redegit anguſtiarum eundem regem exſulem, ut Turcici regis, et Sogdiani, et Sinenſis, auxilia miſſis literis imploraret (Abulfed. Annal. p. 74.). The connection of the Perſian and Chineſe hiſtory is illuſtrated by Freret (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xvi. p. 245—255.), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54—59.), and for the geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 1—43.).

[37] Hiſt. Sinica, p. 41—46. in the iii[d] part of the Relations Curieuſes of Thevenot.

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the loſs were repaid. In this moment of heſitation and delay, the laſt of the Saſſanian kings was overtaken and ſlaughtered by the Turkiſh cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign [38]. His ſon Firuz, an humble client of the Chineſe emperor, accepted the ſtation of captain of his guards; and the Magian worſhip was long preſerved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandſon inherited the regal name; but after a faint and fruitleſs enterpriſe, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Saſſanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Perſia, were given to the conquerors in ſervitude or marriage; and the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers [39].

The conqueſt of Tranſoxiana, A. D. 710.

After the fall of the Perſian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was ſoon overleaped by the ſpirit of the Arabs: the governors of Choraſan extended their ſucceſſive inroads; and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buſkin of a Turkiſh queen, which ſhe dropt in her precipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochara [40]. But the final conqueſt of Tranſoxiana [41], as well as of Spain, was reſerved

[38] I have endeavoured to harmonize the various narratives of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 37.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 116.), Abulfeda (Annal. p. 74. 79.), and d'Herbelot (p. 485.). The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate but obſcure.

[39] The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Haſſan, the ſon of Ali, and Mohammed, the ſon of Abubeker; and the firſt of theſe was the father of a numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the caliph Walid, and their ſon Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous deſcent from the Choſroes of Perſia, the Cæſars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 96. 487.).

[40] It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah, the ſon of Ziyad, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hoſein (Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.). His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the firſt Arabian woman (A. D. 680.) who paſſed the Oxus: ſhe borrowed, or rather ſtole, the crown and jewels of the princeſs of the Sogdians (p. 231, 232.).

[41] A part of Abulfeda's geography is tranſlated by Greaves, inſerted in Hudſon's collection of the minor geographers (tom. iii.), and entitled, Deſcriptio Choraſmiæ et *Mawaralnahræ*, id eſt, regionum extra fluvium, Oxum, p. 80. The name of *Trans-oxiana*, ſofter

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reſerved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel-driver, declares the origin and merit of his ſucceſsful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues diſplayed the firſt Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the ſpacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caſpian Sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and of the caliph[42]. A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was impoſed on the infidels; their idols were burnt or broken; the Muſulman chief pronounced a ſermon in the new moſch of Carizme; after ſeveral battles, the Turkiſh hords were driven back to the deſert; and the emperors of China ſolicited the friendſhip of the victorious Arabs. To their induſtry, the proſperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great meaſure be aſcribed; but the advantages of the ſoil and climate had been underſtood and cultivated ſince the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invaſion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bocara, and Samarcand, were rich and populous under the yoke of the ſhepherds of the north. Theſe cities were ſurrounded with a double wall; and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, incloſed the fields and gardens of the adjacent diſtrict. The mutual wants of India and Europe were ſupplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants; and the ineſtimable art of transforming linen into paper, has been diffuſed from the manufacture of Samarcand over the weſtern world[43].

ſofter in ſound, equivalent in ſenſe, is aptly uſed by Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, &c.), and ſome modern Orientaliſts, but they are miſtaken in aſcribing it to the writers of antiquity.

[42] The conqueſts of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 84.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Catbah*, *Samarcand Valid.*), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

[43] A curious deſcription of Samarcand is inſerted in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 208, &c. The librarian Caſiri (tom. ii. 9.) relates, from credible teſtimony, that paper was firſt imported from China to Samarcand, A. H. 30. and *invented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca, A. H. 88. The Eſcurial library contains paper MSS. as old as the ivth or vth century of the Hegira.

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Invaſion of SYRIA, A. D. 632.

II. No ſooner had Abubeker reſtored the unity of faith and government, than he diſpatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the moſt merciful God, to the reſt of the true believers. Health and happineſs, and the mercy and bleſſing of God be upon you. I praiſe the moſt high God, and I pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to ſend the true believers into Syria [44] to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His meſſengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour which they had kindled in every province; and the camp of Medina was ſucceſſively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the ſeaſon and the ſcarcity of proviſions; and accuſed with impatient murmurs the delays of the caliph. As ſoon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker aſcended the hill, reviewed the men, the horſes, and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for the ſucceſs of their undertaking. In perſon, and on foot, he accompanied the firſt day's march; and when the bluſhing leaders attempted to diſmount, the caliph removed their ſcruples by a declaration, that thoſe who rode, and thoſe who walked, in the ſervice of religion, were equally meritorious. His inſtruction [45] to

[44] A ſeparate hiſtory of the conqueſt of Syria has been compoſed by Al Wakidi, cadi of Bagdad, who was born A. D. 748, and died A. D. 822: he likewiſe wrote the conqueſt of Egypt, of Diarbekir, &c. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiouſneſs. His tales and traditions afford an artleſs picture of the men and the times. Yet his narrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till ſomething better ſhall be found, his learned and ſpirited interpreter (Ockley, in his hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 21—342.) will not deſerve the petulant animadverſion of Reiſke (Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 236.). I am ſorry to think that the labours of Ockley were conſummated in a jail (ſee his two prefaces to the 1st vol. A. D. 1708, to the 2d, 1718, with the liſt of authors at the end.

[45] The inſtructions, &c. of the Syrian war, are deſcribed by Al Wakidi and Ockley, tom. i. p. 22—27, &c. In the ſequel it is neceſſary to contract, and needleſs to quote their circumſtantial narrative. My obligations to others ſhall be noticed.

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the chiefs of the Syrian army, were inſpired by the warlike fanaticiſm which advances to ſeize, and affects to deſpiſe, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," ſaid the ſucceſſor of the prophet, "that you are always in the preſence of God, on the verge of death, "in the aſſurance of judgment, and the hope of paradiſe. Avoid "injuſtice and oppreſſion; conſult with your brethren, and ſtudy "to preſerve the love and confidence of your troops. When you "fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourſelves like men, without "turning your backs; but let not your victory be ſtained with the "blood of women or children. Deſtroy no palm-trees, nor burn "any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any miſchief "to cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat. When you make any "covenant or article, ſtand to it, and be as good as your word. "As you go on, you will find ſome religious perſons who live re-"tired in monaſteries, and propoſe to themſelves to ſerve God that "way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor deſtroy their "monaſteries[46]: And you will find another ſort of people that be-"long to the ſynagogue of Satan, who have ſhaven crowns[47]; "be ſure you cleave their ſkulls, and give them no quarter till they "either turn Mahometans or pay tribute." All profane or frivolous converſation; all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels was ſeverely prohibited among the Arabs; in the tumult of a camp, the exerciſes of religion were aſſiduouſly practiſed; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the ſtudy of the

[46] Notwithſtanding this precept, M. Paw (Recherches ſur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 192. edit. Lauſanne) repreſents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian monks. For my own part I am more inclined to ſuſpect the avarice of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philoſopher.

[47] Even in the ſeventh century, the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and diſhevelled, and ſhaved their heads when they were ordained prieſts. The circular tonſure was ſacred and myſterious: it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewiſe a royal diadem, and every prieſt was a king, &c. (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 721—758. eſpecially p. 737, 738.).

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Koran. The abuſe, or even the uſe, of wine was chaſtiſed by fourſcore ſtrokes on the ſoals of the feet, and in the fervour of their primitive zeal many ſecret ſinners revealed their fault, and ſolicited their puniſhment. After ſome heſitation the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca and companions of Mahomet; whoſe zeal and devotion were aſſuaged, without being abated, by the ſingular mildneſs and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war, the ſoldiers demanded the ſuperior genius of Caled; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *ſword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremoſt leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without reluctance; he was conſulted without jealouſy; and ſuch was the ſpirit of the man, or rather of the times, that Caled profeſſed his readineſs to ſerve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, and riches, and dominion, were indeed promiſed to the victorious Muſulman; but he was carefully inſtructed, that if the goods of this life were his only incitement, *they* likewiſe would be his only reward.

Siege of Boſra.

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eaſtward of the Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity with the name of *Arabia*[48]; and the firſt arms of the Saracens were juſtified by the ſemblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts; and the populous cities of Geraſa, Philadelphia, and Boſra[49], were ſecure, at leaſt from a ſurpriſe,

[48] Huic Arabia eſt conſerta, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, caſtriſque oppleta validis et caſtellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excurſus, ſolicitudo perviget veterum per opportunos ſaltos erexit et cautos. Ammian. Marcellin xiv. 8. Reland. Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 85, 86.

[49] With Geraſa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praiſes the fortifications of Boſra firmitate cautiſſimas. They deſerved the ſame praiſe in the time of Abulfeda (Tabul. Syriæ,

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priſe, by the ſolid ſtructure of their walls. The laſt of theſe cities was the eighteenth ſtation from Medina: the road was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, who annually viſited this plenteous market of the province and the deſert: the perpetual jealouſy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants to arms; and twelve thouſand horſe could ſally from the gates of Boſra, an appellation which ſignifies, in the Syriac language, a ſtrong tower of defence. Encouraged by their firſt ſucceſs againſt the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a detachment of four thouſand Moſlems preſumed to ſummon and attack the fortreſs of Boſra. They were oppreſſed by the numbers of the Syrians; they were ſaved by the preſence of Caled, with fifteen hundred horſe: he blamed the enterpriſe, reſtored the battle, and reſcued his friend, the venerable Serjabil, who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promiſes of the apoſtle. After a ſhort repoſe, the Moſlems performed their ablutions with ſand inſtead of water [50]; and the morning prayer was recited by Caled before they mounted on horſeback. Confident in their ſtrength, the people of Boſra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and ſwore to die in the defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapable of withſtanding the fanatic cry of "Fight, fight! Paradiſe, paradiſe!" that re-echoed in the ranks of the Saracens; and the uproar of the town, the ringing of bells [51], and the exclamations of the prieſts and monks encreaſed the

Syriæ, p. 99.), who deſcribes this city, the metropolis of Hawran (Auranitis), four days journey from Damaſcus. The Hebrew etymology I learn from Reland, Paleſtin. tom. ii. p. 666.

[50] The apoſtle of a deſert and an army was obliged to allow this ready ſuccedaneum for water (Koran, c. iii. p. 66. c. v. p. 83.); but the Arabian and Perſian caſuiſts have embarraſſed his free permiſſion with many niceties and diſtinctions (Reland de Relig. Mohammed, l. i. p. 82, 83. Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv.).

[51] *The bells rung!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this expreſſion can be juſtified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times. Ad Græcos, ſays the learned Ducange (Gloſſar. med. et in fin. Græcitat.

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the diſmay and diſorder of the Chriſtians. With the loſs of two hundred and thirty men, the Arabs remained maſters of the field; and the ramparts of Boſra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowded with holy croſſes and conſecrated banners. The governor Romanus had recommended an early ſubmiſſion: deſpiſed by the people, and degraded from his office, he ſtill retained the deſire and opportunity of revenge. In a nocturnal interview, he informed the enemy of a ſubterraneous paſſage from his houſe under the wall of the city; the ſon of the caliph, with an hundred volunteers, were committed to the faith of this new ally, and their ſucceſsful intrepidity gave an eaſy entrance to their companions. After Caled had impoſed the terms of ſervitude and tribute, the apoſtate or convert avowed in the aſſembly of the people his meritorious treaſon. "I renounce your ſociety," ſaid Romanus, "both "in this world, and the world to come. And I deny him that was "crucified, and whoſoever worſhips him. And I chuſe God for "my Lord, Iſlam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the Moſlems "for my brethren, and Mahomet for my prophet; who was ſent "to lead us into the right way, and to exalt the true religion in "ſpite of thoſe who join partners with God."

Siege of Damaſcus, A. D. 633.

The conqueſt of Boſra, four days journey from Damaſcus[52], encouraged the Arabs to beſiege the ancient capital of Syria[53]. At

Græcitat. tom. i. p. 774.) campanarum uſus ſerius tranſit et etiamnum rariſſimus eſt. The oldeſt example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but the Venetians pretend, that they introduced bells at Conſtantinople in the ix^th century.

[52] Damaſcus is amply deſcribed by the Sherif al Edriſi (Geograph. Nub. p. 116, 117.); and his tranſlator, Sionita (Appendix, c. 4.); Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 100.); Schultens (Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 291.); Thevenot, Voyage du Levant (part i. p. 688—698.); Maundrell (Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 122—130.); and Pocock (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. 117—127.).

[53] Nobiliſſima civitas, ſays Juſtin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was older than Abraham or Semiramis. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 6, 7. p. 24, 29. edit. Havercamp. Juſtin. xxxvi. 2.

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ſome diſtance from the walls, they encamped among the groves and fountains of that delicious territory[54], and the uſual option of the Mahometan faith, of tribute or of war, was propoſed to the reſolute citizens, who had been lately ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of five thouſand Greeks. In the decline as in the infancy of the military art, an hoſtile defiance was frequently offered and accepted by the generals themſelves[55]: many a lance was ſhivered in the plain of Damaſcus, and the perſonal proweſs of Caled was ſignalized in the firſt ſally of the beſieged. After an obſtinate combat, he had overthrown and made priſoner one of the Chriſtian leaders, a ſtout and worthy antagoniſt. He inſtantly mounted a freſh horſe, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and puſhed forwards to the front of the battle. "Repoſe yourſelf, for a moment," ſaid his friend Derar, "and permit me to ſupply your place: you are fatigued with "fighting with this dog." "O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we ſhall reſt in the world to come. He that labours to-day, "ſhall reſt to-morrow." With the ſame unabated ardour, Caled anſwered, encountered and vanquiſhed a ſecond champion; and the heads of his two captives who refuſed to abandon their religion were indignantly hurled into the midſt of the city. The event of ſome general and partial actions reduced the Damaſcenes to a cloſer defence: but a meſſenger whom they dropt from the walls, returned with the promiſe of ſpeedy and powerful ſuccour, and their tumul-

[54] Εδει γαρ οιμαι την Διος πολιν αληθως, και της Εωας απασης οφθαλμον, την ιεραν και μεγιστην Δαμασκον λεγω, τοις τε αλλοις συμπασιν, οιον ιερων καλλει, και νεων μεγεθει. και ωρων ευκαιρια και πηγων αγλαια και ποταμων πληθει, και γης ευφορια νικωσαν, &c. Julian, epiſt. xxiv. p. 392. Theſe ſplendid epithets are occaſioned by the figs of Damaſcus, of which the author ſends an hundred to his friend Serapion, and this rhetorical theme is inſerted by Petavius, Spanheim, &c. (p. 390—396.) among the genuine epiſtles of Julian. How could they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damaſcus (he thrice affirms, that this peculiar fig grows only περι ημιν), a city which Julian never entered or approached?

[55] Voltaire, who caſts a keen and lively glance over the ſurface of hiſtory, has been ſtruck with the reſemblance of the firſt Moſlems and the heroes of the Iliad; the ſiege of Troy and that of Damaſcus (Hiſt. Generale, tom. i. p. 348.).

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tuous joy conveyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs. After ſome debate it was reſolved by the generals to raiſe or rather to ſuſpend the ſiege of Damaſcus, till they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In the retreat, Caled would have choſen the more perilous ſtation of the rear-guard; he modeſtly yielded to the wiſhes of Abu Obeidah. But in the hour of danger he flew to the reſcue of his companion, who was rudely preſſed by a ſally of ſix thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, and few among the Chriſtians could relate at Damaſcus the circumſtances of their defeat. The importance of the conteſt required the junction of the Saracens who were diſperſed on the frontiers of Syria and Paleſtine; and I ſhall tranſcribe one of the circular mandates which was addreſſed to Amrou the future conqueror of Egypt. "In the name of the moſt "merciful God: from Caled to Amrou, health and happineſs. "Know that thy brethren the Moſlems deſign to march to Aiz-"nadin, where there is an army of ſeventy thouſand Greeks, who "purpoſe to come againſt us, *that they may extinguiſh the light of "God with their mouths; but God preſerveth his light in ſpite of the "infidels*[56]. As ſoon therefore as this letter of mine ſhall be deli-"vered to thy hands, come with thoſe that are with thee to Aiznadin, "where thou ſhall find us if it pleaſe the moſt high God." The ſummons were cheerfully obeyed, and the forty-five thouſand Moſlems who met on the ſame day, on the ſame ſpot, aſcribed to the bleſſing of providence the effects of their activity and zeal.

Battle of Aiznadin, A. D. 633, July 13.

About four years after the triumphs of the Perſian war, the repoſe of Heraclius and the empire was again diſturbed by a new enemy, the power of whoſe religion was more ſtrongly felt than it was

[56] Theſe words are a text of the Koran, c. ix. 32. lxi. 8. Like our fanatics of the laſt century, the Moſlems, on every familiar or important occaſion, ſpoke the language of *their* ſcriptures; a ſtyle more natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew idiom tranſplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

clearly underſtood by the Chriſtians of the Eaſt. In his palace of Conſtantinople or Antioch, he was awakened by the invaſion of Syria, the loſs of Boſra, and the danger of Damaſcus. An army of ſeventy thouſand veterans, or new levies, was aſſembled at Hems or Emeſa, under the command of his general Werdan [57]; and theſe troops, conſiſting chiefly of cavalry, might be indifferently ſtyled either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans: *Syrians* from the place of their birth or warfare; *Greeks* from the religion and language of their ſovereign; and *Romans*, from the proud appellation which was ſtill profaned by the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine. On the plain of Aiznadin, as Werdan rode on a white mule decorated with gold chains, and ſurrounded with enſigns and ſtandards, he was ſurpriſed by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the ſtate of the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar was inſpired, and has perhaps been adorned, by the enthuſiaſm of his age and country. The hatred of the Chriſtians, the love of ſpoil, and the contempt of danger, were the ruling paſſions of the audacious Saracen; and the proſpect of inſtant death could never ſhake his religious confidence, or ruffle the calmneſs of his reſolution, or even ſuſpend the frank and martial pleaſantry of his humour. In the moſt hopeleſs enterpriſes, he was bold, and prudent, and fortunate: after innumerable hazards, after being thrice a priſoner in the hands of the infidels, he ſtill ſurvived to relate the atchievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conqueſt. On this occaſion, his ſingle lance maintained a flying fight againſt thirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and after killing or

[57] The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and, though it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aſpect or ſound. If the Byzantine hiſtorians have mangled the Oriental names, the Arabs, in this inſtance, likewiſe have taken ample revenge on their enemies. In tranſpoſing the Greek character from right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, ſomething like the anagram *Werdan?*

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unhorſing ſeventeen of their number, Derar returned in ſafety to his applauding brethren. When his raſhneſs was mildly cenſured by the general, he excuſed himſelf with the ſimplicity of a ſoldier. "Nay," ſaid Derar, "I did not begin firſt: but they came out to "take me, and I was afraid that God ſhould ſee me turn my back; "and indeed I fought in good earneſt, and without doubt God "aſſiſted me againſt them; and had I not been apprehenſive of diſ- "obeying your orders, I ſhould not have come away as I did; and "I perceive already that they will fall into our hands." In the preſence of both armies, a venerable Greek advanced from the ranks with a liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchaſed by a gift to each ſoldier, of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes, and an hundred pieces to their leader; one hundred robes, and a thouſand pieces to the caliph. A ſmile of indignation expreſſed the refuſal of Caled. "Ye Chriſtian "dogs, you know your option; the koran, the tribute, or the ſword. "We are a people whoſe delight is in war, rather than in peace; "and we deſpiſe your pitiful alms, ſince we ſhall be ſpeedily maſters "of your wealth, your families, and your perſons." Notwithſtanding this apparent diſdain, he was deeply conſcious of the public danger: thoſe who had been in Perſia, and had ſeen the armies of Choſroes, confeſſed that they never beheld a more formidable array. From the ſuperiority of the enemy, the artful Saracen derived a freſh incentive of courage: "You ſee before you, ſaid he, the united "force of the Romans, you cannot hope to eſcape, but you may "conquer Syria in a ſingle day. The event depends on your diſ- "cipline and patience. Reſerve yourſelves till the evening. It was "in the evening that the prophet was accuſtomed to vanquiſh." During two ſucceſſive engagements, his temperate firmneſs ſuſtained the darts of the enemy, and the murmurs of his troops. At length, when the ſpirits and quivers of the adverſe line were almoſt exhauſted,

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hauſted, Caled gave the ſignal of onſet and victory. The remains of the Imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæſarea, or Damaſcus; and the death of four hundred and ſeventy Moſlems was compenſated by the opinion that they had ſent to hell above fifty thouſand of the infidels. The ſpoil was ineſtimable; many banners and croſſes of gold and ſilver, precious ſtones, ſilver and gold chains, and innumerable ſuits of the richeſt armour and apparel. The general diſtribution was poſtponed till Damaſcus ſhould be taken; but the ſeaſonable ſupply of arms became the inſtrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was tranſmitted to the throne of the caliph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldeſt or moſt hoſtile to the prophet's miſſion, were eager and importunate to ſhare the harveſt of Syria.

The Arabs return to Damaſcus.

The ſad tidings were carried to Damaſcus by the ſpeed of grief and terror; and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return of the heroes of Aiznadin. Amrou led the van at the head of nine thouſand horſe: the bands of the Saracens ſucceeded each other in formidable review; and the rear was cloſed by Caled in perſon, with the ſtandard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he entruſted the commiſſion of patrolling round the city with two thouſand horſe, of ſcouring the plain, and of intercepting all ſuccour or intelligence. The reſt of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their reſpective ſtations before the ſeven gates of Damaſcus; and the ſiege was renewed with freſh vigour and confidence. The art, the labour, the military engines, of the Greeks and Romans are ſeldom to be found in the ſimple, though ſucceſsful, operations of the Saracens: it was ſufficient for them to inveſt a city with arms, rather than with trenches; to repel the ſallies of the beſieged; to attempt a ſtratagem or an aſſault; or to expect the progreſs of famine and diſcontent. Damaſcus would have acquieſced in the trial of Aiznadin, as a final and peremptory ſentence between the emperor and the caliph: her courage was rekindled by the example and authority

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of Thomas, a noble Greek, illuſtrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius[58]. The tumult and illumination of the night proclaimed the deſign of the morning ſally; and the Chriſtian hero, who affected to deſpiſe the enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, employed the reſource of a ſimilar ſuperſtition. At the principal gate, in the ſight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the biſhop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Teſtament before the image of Jeſus; and the contending parties were ſcandaliſed or edified by a prayer, that the Son of God would defend his ſervants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged with inceſſant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas[59], an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldeſt Saracens, till their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring huſband. "Happy," ſaid ſhe, "happy art thou, my dear; thou art gone to "thy Lord who firſt joined us together, and then parted us aſunder. "I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmoſt of my "power to come to the place where thou art, becauſe I love thee. "Henceforth ſhall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedi- "cated myſelf to the ſervice of God." Without a groan, without a tear, ſhe waſhed the corpſe of her huſband, and buried him with the uſual rites. Then graſping the manly weapons, which in her native land ſhe was accuſtomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban ſought the place where his murderer fought in the thickeſt of the battle. Her firſt arrow pierced the hand of his ſtandard-bearer;

[58] Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the ſon-in-law of the emperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *auguſt* daughter would not have married in exile at Damaſcus (ſee Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 118, 119.). Had he been leſs religious, I might only ſuſpect the legitimacy of the damſel.

[59] Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 101.) ſays, "with "poiſoned arrows;" but this ſavage invention is ſo repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I muſt ſuſpect, on this occaſion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens.

her ſecond wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Chriſtians no longer beheld their enſign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damaſcus refuſed to withdraw to his palace: his wound was dreſſed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians reſted on their arms. In the ſilence of the night, the ſignal was given by a ſtroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate diſcharged an impetuous column on the ſleeping camp of the Saracens. Caled was the firſt in arms; at the head of four hundred horſe he flew to the poſt of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation; "O God, who never ſleepeſt, look upon thy ſervants, "and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." The valour and victory of Thomas were arreſted by the preſence of the *ſword of God*; with the knowledge of the peril, the Moſlems recovered their ranks, and charged the aſſailants in the flank and rear. After the loſs of thouſands, the Chriſtian general retreated with a ſigh of deſpair, and the purſuit of the Saracens was checked by the military engines of the rampart.

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After a ſiege of ſeventy days[60], the patience, and perhaps the proviſions, of the Damaſcenes were exhauſted; and the braveſt of their chiefs ſubmitted to the hard dictates of neceſſity. In the occurrences of peace and war, they had been taught to dread the fierceneſs of Caled, and to revere the mild virtues of Abu Obeidah. At the hour of midnight, one hundred choſen deputies of the clergy

The city is taken by ſtorm and capitulation, A. D. 634.

[60] Abulfeda allows only ſeventy days for the ſiege of Damaſcus (Annal. Moſlem. p. 67. verſ. Reiſke); but Elmacin, who mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to ſix months, and notices the uſe of *baliſtæ* by the Saracens (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 25. 32.). Even this longer period is inſufficient to fill the interval between the battle of Aiznadin (July, A. D. 633) and the acceſſion of Omar (24 July, A. D. 634), to whoſe reign the conqueſt of Damaſcus is unanimouſly aſcribed (Al Wakidi, apud Ockley, vol. i. p. 115. Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 112. verſ. Pocock). Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were interrupted by excurſions and detachments, till the laſt ſeventy days of the ſiege.

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and people were introduced to the tent of that venerable commander. He received and diſmiſſed them with courteſy. They returned with a written agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mahomet, that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in ſafety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary ſubjects of the caliph ſhould enjoy their lands and houſes, with the uſe and poſſeſſion of ſeven churches. On theſe terms, the moſt reſpectable hoſtages, and the gate neareſt to his camp, were delivered into his hands: his ſoldiers imitated the moderation of their chief; and he enjoyed the ſubmiſſive gratitude of a people whom he had reſcued from deſtruction. But the ſucceſs of the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the ſame moment the oppoſite quarter of the city was betrayed and taken by aſſault. A party of an hundred Arabs had opened the eaſtern gate to a more inexorable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and ſanguinary Caled, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord:" his trumpets ſounded, and a torrent of Chriſtian blood was poured down the ſtreets of Damaſcus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, he was aſtoniſhed and provoked by the peaceful aſpect of his companions: their ſwords were in the ſcabbard, and they were ſurrounded by a multitude of prieſts and monks. Abu Obeidah ſaluted the general: "God," ſaid he, "has delivered the city into my "hands by way of ſurrender, and has ſaved the believers the trouble "of fighting." "And am *I* not," replied the indignant Caled, "am *I* not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have "I not taken the city by ſtorm? The unbelievers ſhall periſh by "the ſword. Fall on." The hungry and cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command: and Damaſcus was loſt, if the benevolence of Abu Obeidah had not been ſupported by a decent and dignified firmneſs. Throwing himſelf between the trembling citizens and the moſt eager of the Barbarians, he adjured them by

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the holy name of God, to reſpect his promiſe, to ſuſpend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chiefs retired into the church of St. Mary; and after a vehement debate, Caled ſubmitted in ſome meaſure to the reaſon and authority of his colleague; who urged the ſanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honour which the Moſlems would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obſtinate reſiſtance which they muſt encounter from the diſtruſt and deſpair of the reſt of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the ſword ſhould be ſheathed, that the part of Damaſcus which had ſurrendered to Abu Obeidah, ſhould be immediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation, and that the final deciſion ſhould be referred to the juſtice and wiſdom of the caliph [61]. A large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; and Damaſcus is ſtill peopled by twenty thouſand Chriſtians. But the valiant Thomas, and the free-born patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow, a numerous encampment was formed of prieſts and laymen, of ſoldiers and citizens, of women and children: they collected, with haſte and terror, their moſt precious moveables; and abandoned, with loud lamentations or ſilent anguiſh, their native homes, and the pleaſant banks of the Pharphar. The inflexible ſoul of Caled was not touched by the ſpectacle of their diſtreſs: he diſputed with the Damaſcenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavoured to exclude the garriſon from the benefit of the treaty; conſented, with reluctance, that each of the fugitives ſhould arm himſelf with a ſword, or a lance, or a bow; and ſternly declared, that, after a reſpite of three days, they might be purſued and treated as the enemies of the Moſlems.

[61] It appears from Abulfeda (p. 125.) and Elmacin (p. 32.), that this diſtinction of the two parts of Damaſcus was long remembered, though not always reſpected, by the Mahometan ſovereigns. See likewiſe Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380. 383.).

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Purſuit of the Damaſcenes.

The paſſion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damaſcus. A nobleman of the city, of the name of Jonas[62], was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the conſummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was perſuaded to eſcape with the man whom ſhe had choſen. They corrupted the nightly watchmen of the gate Keiſan: the lover, who led the way, was encompaſſed by a ſquadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue, "the bird is taken," admoniſhed his miſtreſs to haſten her return. In the preſence of Caled, and of death, the unfortunate Jonas profeſſed his belief in one God, and his apoſtle Mahomet; and continued, till the ſeaſon of his martyrdom, to diſcharge the duties of a brave and ſincere Muſulman. When the city was taken, he flew to the monaſtery, where Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apoſtate was ſcorned; ſhe preferred her religion to her country; and the juſtice of Caled, though deaf to mercy, refuſed to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damaſcus. Four days was the general confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the urgent cares of his new conqueſt. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguiſhed by the hopeleſs computation of time and diſtance; but he liſtened to the importunities of Jonas, who aſſured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thouſand horſe, in the diſguiſe of Chriſtian Arabs, Caled undertook the purſuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and their guide had a perfect knowledge of

[62] On the fate of theſe lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the Siege of Damaſcus, one of our moſt popular tragedies, and which poſſeſſes the rare merit of blending nature and hiſtory, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The fooliſh delicacy of the players compelled him to ſoften the guilt of the hero and the deſpair of the heroine. Inſtead of a baſe renegado, Phocyas ſerves the Arabs as an honourable ally; inſtead of prompting their purſuit, he flies to the ſuccour of his countrymen, and after killing Caled and Derar, is himſelf mortally wounded, and expires in the preſence of Eudocia, who profeſſes her reſolution to take the veil at Conſtantinople. A frigid cataſtrophe!

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the country. For a long way the footſteps of the Damaſcenes were plain and conſpicuous: they vaniſhed on a ſudden; but the Saracens were comforted by the aſſurance that the caravan had turned aſide into the mountains, and muſt ſpeedily fall into their hands. In traverſing the ridges of the Libanus, they endured intolerable hardſhips, and the ſinking ſpirits of the veteran fanatics were ſupported and cheered by the unconquerable ardour of a lover. From a peaſant of the country, they were informed that the emperor had ſent orders to the colony of exiles, to purſue without delay the road of the ſea-coaſt, and of Conſtantinople; apprehenſive, perhaps, that the ſoldiers and people of Antioch might be diſcouraged by the ſight and the ſtory of their ſufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala[63] and Laodicea, at a cautious diſtance from the walls of the cities; the rain was inceſſant, the night was dark, a ſingle mountain ſeparated them from the Roman army; and Caled, ever anxious for the ſafety of his brethren, whiſpered an ominous dream in the car of his companion. With the dawn of day, the proſpect again cleared, and they ſaw before them, in a pleaſant valley, the tents of Damaſcus. After a ſhort interval of repoſe and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four ſquadrons, committing the firſt to his faithful Derar, and reſerving the laſt for himſelf. They ſucceſſively ruſhed on the promiſcuous multitude, inſufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquiſhed by ſorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and diſmiſſed, the Arabs enjoyed the ſatisfaction of believing that not a Chriſtian of either ſex eſcaped the edge of their ſcymetars. The gold and ſilver of Da-

[63] The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs paſſed, ſtill exiſt in a ſtate of decay (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 13.). Had not the Chriſtians been overtaken, they muſt have croſſed the Orontes on ſome bridge in the ſixteen miles between Antioch and the ſea, and might have rejoined the high road of Conſtantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will repreſent the directions and diſtances (p. 146. 148. 581, 582. edit. Weſſeling).

maſcus

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maſcus was ſcattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred load of ſilk might clothe an army of naked Barbarians. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas ſought and found the object of his purſuit; but her reſentment was inflamed by the laſt act of his perfidy; and as Eudocia ſtruggled in his hateful embraces, ſhe ſtruck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or ſuppoſed daughter of Heraclius, was ſpared and releaſed without a ranſom; but the generoſity of Caled was the effect of his contempt; and the haughty Saracen inſulted, by a meſſage of defiance, the throne of the Cæſars. Caled had penetrated above an hundred and fifty miles into the heart of the Roman province: he returned to Damaſcus with the ſame ſecrecy and ſpeed. On the acceſſion of Omar, the *ſword of God* was removed from the command, but the caliph, who blamed the raſhneſs, was compelled to applaud the vigour and conduct, of the enterpriſe.

Fair of Abyla.

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damaſcus will equally diſplay their avidity and their contempt for the riches of the preſent world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the fair of Abyla [64], about thirty miles from the city; that the cell of a devout hermit was viſited at the ſame time by a multitude of pilgrims; and that the feſtival of trade and ſuperſtition would be ennobled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the ſon of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horſe, the pious and profitable commiſſion of deſpoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was aſtoniſhed by the report of the mighty concourſe of Jews and Chriſtians, Greeks

[64] *Dair Abil Kodos.* After retrenching the laſt word, the epithet, *holy*, I diſcover the Abila of Lyſanias between Damaſcus and Heliopolis: the name (*Abil* ſignifies a vineyard) concurs with the ſituation to juſtify my conjecture (Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 317. tom. ii. p. 525. 527.).

and

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and Armenians, of natives of Syria, and of ſtrangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thouſand, beſides a guard of five thouſand horſe that attended the perſon of the bride. The Saracens pauſed: "For "my own part," ſaid Abdallah, "I *dare not* go back: our foes are "many, our danger is great, but our reward is ſplendid and ſecure, "either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man, accord-"ing to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Muſulman deſerted his ſtandard. "Lead the way," ſaid Abdallah to his Chriſtian guide, "and you ſhall ſee what the companions of the prophet "can perform." They charged in five ſquadrons; but after the firſt advantage of the ſurpriſe they were encompaſſed and almoſt overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies; and their valiant band is fancifully compared to a white ſpot in the ſkin of a black camel[65]. About the hour of ſunſet, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they panted on the verge of eternity, they diſcovered an approaching cloud of duſt, they heard the welcome ſound of the *tecbir*[66], and they ſoon perceived the ſtandard of Caled, who flew to their relief with the utmoſt ſpeed of his cavalry. The Chriſtians were broken by his attack, and ſlaughtered in their flight as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the fair; the merchandiſes that were expoſed for ſale, the money that was brought for purchaſe, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, proviſions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of horſes, aſſes, and

[65] I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 164.), who dares not inſert this figurative expreſſion in the text, though he obſerves in a marginal note, that the Arabians often borrow their ſimilies from that uſeful and familiar animal. The rein-deer may be equally famous in the ſongs of the Laplanders.

[66] We heard the *tecbir*; ſo the Arabs call
Their ſhout of onſet, when with loud appeal
They challenge heaven, as if demanding
conqueſt.
This word, ſo formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (ſays Ockley in his index) of the ſecond conjugation, from *Kabbara*, which ſignifies ſaying *Alla Acbar*, God is moſt mighty!

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mules; and the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damaſcus. The hermit, after a ſhort and angry controverſy with Caled, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the ſolitary ſcene of blood and devaſtation.

Sieges of Heliopolis and Emeſa, A. D. 635.

Syria [67], one of the countries that have been improved by the moſt early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference [68]. The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity of the ſea and mountains, by the plenty of wood and water; and the produce of a fertile ſoil affords the ſubſiſtence, and encourages the propagation, of men and animals. From the age of David to that of Heraclius, the country was overſpread with ancient and flouriſhing cities: the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the ſlow ravage of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, after the recent calamities of the Perſian war, Syria could ſtill attract and reward the rapacious tribes of the deſert. A plain, of ten days journey, from Damaſcus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered, on the weſtern ſide, by the winding courſe of the Orontes. The hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north to ſouth, between the Orontes and the Mediterranean; and the epithet of *hollow* (Cœleſyria) was applied to a long and fruitful valley, which is confined in the ſame direction by the two ridges of

[67] In the geography of Abulfeda, the deſcription of Syria, his native country, is the moſt intereſting and authentic portion. It was publiſhed in Arabic and Latin, Lipſiæ, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Kochler and Reiſke, and ſome extracts of geography and natural hiſtory from Ibn Ol Wardii. Among the modern travels, Pocock's Deſcription of the Eaſt (of Syria and Meſopotamia, vol. ii. p. 88—209.) is a work of ſuperior learning and dignity; but the author too often confounds what he had ſeen and what he had read.

[68] The praiſes of Dionyſius are juſt and lively. Και την μεν (Syria) πολλοι τε και ολβιοι ανδρες εχουσιν (in Periegeſi, v. 902. in tom. iv. Geograph. Minor. Hudſon). In another place, he ſtyles the country πολυπτολιν αιαν (v. 898.). He proceeds to ſay,

Πασα δε τοι λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος επλετο χωρη
Μηλα τε φερβεμεναι και δενδρεσι καρπον αεξειν.
v. 921, 922.

This poetical geographer lived in the age of Auguſtus, and his deſcription of the world is illuſtrated by the Greek commentary of Euſtathius, who paid the ſame compliment to Homer and Dionyſius (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. iv. c. 2. tom. iii. p. 21, &c.).

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ſnowy mountains [69]. Among the cities, which are enumerated by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and conqueſt of Syria, we may diſtinguiſh Emeſa or Hems, Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the laſt of the Cæſars, they were ſtrong and populous: the turrets glittered from afar: an ample ſpace was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were illuſtrious by their ſpirit, or at leaſt by their pride; by their riches, or at leaſt by their luxury. In the days of paganiſm, both Emeſa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worſhip of Baal, or the ſun; but the decline of their ſuperſtition and ſplendour has been marked by a ſingular variety of fortune. Not a veſtige remains of the temple of Emeſa, which was equalled in poetic ſtyle to the ſummits of mount Libanus [70], while the ruins of Baalbec, inviſible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curioſity and wonder of the European traveller [71]. The meaſure of the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in breadth: the front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns; fourteen may be counted on either ſide; and each column, forty-five feet in height, is compoſed of three maſſy blocks of ſtone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Co-

[69] The topography of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus is excellently deſcribed by the learning and ſenſe of Reland (Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 311—326.).

[70] ——Emeſæ faſtigia celſa renident
Nam diffuſa ſolo latus explicat; ac ſubit auras
Turribus in cœlum nitentibus: incola claris
Cor ſtudiis acuit . . . . .
Denique flammicomo devoti pectora ſoli
Vitam agitant. Libanus frondoſa cacumina turget,
Et tamen bis certant celſi faſtigia templi.

Theſe verſes of the Latin verſion of Rufus Avienus are wanting in the Greek original of Dionyſius; and ſince they are likewiſe unnoticed by Euſtatius, I muſt, with Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 153. edit. Erneſti), and againſt Salmaſius (ad Vopiſcum, p. 366, 367. in Hiſt. Auguſt.), aſcribe them to the fancy rather than the MSS. of Avienus.

[71] I am much better ſatisfied with Maundrell's ſlight octavo (Journey, p. 134—139.), than with the pompous folio of Doctor Pocock (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. 106—113.); but every preceding account is eclipſed by the magnificent deſcription and drawings of M. M. Dawkins and Wood, who have tranſported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbeck.

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rinthian order expreſs the architecture of the Greeks; but as Baalbec has never been the ſeat of a monarch, we are at a loſs to conceive how the expence of theſe magnificent ſtructures could be ſupplied by private or municipal liberality[72]. From the conqueſt of Damaſcus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emeſa; but I ſhall decline the repetition of the ſallies and combats which have been already ſhewn on a larger ſcale. In the proſecution of the war, their policy was not leſs effectual than their ſword. By ſhort and ſeparate truces they diſſolved the union of the enemy; accuſtomed the Syrians to compare their friendſhip with their enmity; familiariſed the idea of their language, religion, and manners; and exhauſted, by clandeſtine purchaſe, the magazines and arſenals of the cities which they returned to beſiege. They aggravated the ranſom of the more wealthy, or the more obſtinate; and Chalcis alone was taxed at five thouſand ounces of gold, five thouſand ounces of ſilver, two thouſand robes of ſilk, and as many figs and olives as would load five thouſand aſſes. But the terms of truce or capitulation were faithfully obſerved; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promiſed not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained tranquil and immoveable in his tent till the jarring factions ſolicited the interpoſition of a foreign maſter. The conqueſt of the plain and valley of Syria was atchieved in leſs than two years. Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the ſlowneſs of their progreſs, and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emeſa, an Arabian youth, the couſin of Caled, was heard aloud to exclaim, "Methinks I ſee the black-eyed girls look-

[72] The Orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices of Baalbec were conſtructed by the fairies or the genii (Hiſt. de Timour Bec, tom. iii. l. v. c. 23. p. 311, 312. Voyage d'Otter, tom. i. p. 83.). With leſs abſurdity, but with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chaukel aſcribe them to the Sabæans or Aadites. Non ſunt in omni Syria ædificia magnificentiora his (Tabula Syriæ, p. 103.).

"ing

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" ing upon me; one of whom, ſhould ſhe appear in this world, all " mankind would die for love of her. And I ſee in the hand of " one of them, an handkerchief of green ſilk, and a cap of precious " ſtones, and ſhe beckons me, and calls out, come hither quickly, " for I love thee." With theſe words, charging the Chriſtians, he made havock wherever he went, till, obſerved at length by the governor of Hems, he was ſtruck through with a javelin.

Battle of Yermuk, A. D. 636, November.

It was incumbent on the Saracens to exert the full powers of their valour and enthuſiaſm againſt the forces of the emperor, who was taught by repeated loſſes, that the rovers of the deſert had undertaken, and would ſpeedily atchieve, a regular and permanent conqueſt. From the provinces of Europe and Aſia, fourſcore thouſand ſoldiers were tranſported by ſea and land to Antioch and Cæſarea: the light troops of the army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand Chriſtian Arabs of the tribe of Gaſſan. Under the banner of Jabalah, the laſt of their princes, they marched in the van; and it was a maxim of the Greeks, that, for the purpoſe of cutting diamond, a diamond was the moſt effectual. Heraclius withheld his perſon from the dangers of the field; but his preſumption, or perhaps his deſpondency, ſuggeſted a peremptory order, that the fate of the province and the war ſhould be decided by a ſingle battle. The Syrians were attached to the ſtandard of Rome and of the croſs; but the noble, the citizen, the peaſant, were exaſperated by the injuſtice and cruelty of a licentious hoſt, who oppreſſed them as ſubjects, and deſpiſed them as ſtrangers and aliens[73]. A report of theſe mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in their camp of Emeſa; and the chiefs, though reſolved to fight, aſſembled a council: the faith of Abu Obeidah would have expected on the ſame ſpot the

[73] I have read ſomewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, Subjectos habent tanquam ſuos, viles tanquam alienos. Some Greek officers raviſhed the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Manuel ſmiled at his undutiful complaint.

glory

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glory of martyrdom; the wiſdom of Caled adviſed an honourable retreat to the ſkirts of Paleſtine and Arabia, where they might await the ſuccours of their friends and the attack of the unbelievers. A ſpeedy meſſenger ſoon returned from the throne of Medina, with the bleſſings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows of the prophet, and a reinforcement of eight thouſand Moſlems. In their way they overturned a detachment of Greeks, and when they joined at Yermuk the camp of their brethren, they found the pleaſing intelligence, that Caled had already defeated and ſcattered the Chriſtian Arabs of the tribe of Gaſſan. In the neighbourhood of Boſra, the ſprings of mount Hermon deſcend in a torrent to the plain of Decapolis, or ten cities; and the Hieromax, a name which has been corrupted to Yermuk, is loſt after a ſhort courſe in the lake of Tiberias[74]. The banks of this obſcure ſtream were illuſtrated by a long and bloody encounter. On this momentous occaſion, the public voice, and the modeſty of Abu Obeidah, reſtored the command to the moſt deſerving of the Moſlems. Caled aſſumed his ſtation in the front, his colleague was poſted in the rear, that the diſorder of the fugitives might be checked by his venerable aſpect and the ſight of the yellow banner which Mahomet had diſplayed before the walls of Chaibar. The laſt line was occupied by the ſiſter of Derar, with the Arabian women who had enliſted in this holy war, who were accuſtomed to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity had defended, againſt the uncircumciſed raviſhers, their chaſtity and religion[75]. The exhortation of the generals was brief

[74] See Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 272. 283. tom. ii. p. 773. 775. This learned profeſſor was equal to the taſk of deſcribing the Holy Land, ſince he was alike converſant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Yermuk, or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 392.) and d'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 185.). The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himſelf, do not ſeem to recognize the ſcene of their victory.

[75] Theſe women were of the tribe of the Hamyarites, who derived their origin from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accuſtomed

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brief and forcible: "Paradiſe is before you, the devil and hell-fire "in your rear." Yet ſuch was the weight of the Roman cavalry, that the right wing of the Arabs was broken and ſeparated from the main body. Thrice did they retreat in diſorder, and thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals of action, Abu Obeidah viſited the tents of his brethren, prolonged their repoſe, by repeating at once the prayers of two different hours; bound up their wounds with his own hands, and adminiſtered the comfortable reflection, that the infidels partook of their ſufferings without partaking of their reward. Four thouſand and thirty of the Moſlems were buried in the field of battle; and the ſkill of the Armenian archers enabled ſeven hundred to boaſt that they had loſt an eye in that meritorious ſervice. The veterans of the Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardeſt and moſt doubtful of the days which they had ſeen. But it was likewiſe the moſt deciſive: many thouſands of the Greeks and Syrians fell by the ſwords of the Arabs; many were ſlaughtered, after the defeat in the woods and mountains; many, by miſtaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk; and however the loſs may be magnified [76], the Chriſtian writers confeſs and bewail the bloody puniſhment of their ſins [77]. Manuel, the Roman general, was either killed at Damaſcus, or took refuge in the monaſtery of

accuſtomed to ride on horſeback, and to fight like the Amazons of old (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.).

[76] We killed of them, ſays Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fifty thouſand, and made priſoners forty thouſand (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241.). As I cannot doubt his veracity, nor believe his computation, I muſt ſuſpect that the Arabic hiſtorians indulged themſelves in the practice of compoſing ſpeeches and letters for their heroes.

[77] After deploring the ſins of the Chriſtians, Theophanes adds (Chronograph. p. 276.), ανεσχη ὁ ερημικος Αμαληκ τυπτων ἡμας τον λαον τυ Χριστυ, και γινεται πρωτη φορα πτωσις τυ Ρωμαικυ στρατυ ἡ κατα το Γαβιθαν λεγω (does he mean Aiznadin?) και Ιερμυκαν, και την αθεσμον αἱματοχυσιαν. His account is brief and obſcure, but he accuſes the numbers of the enemy, the adverſe wind, and the cloud of duſt: μη δυνηθειτες (the Romans) αντηπροσωπησαι εχθροις δια τον κονιορτον ηττωνται, και ἑαυτυς βαλλοντες εις τας στενοτητας τυ Ιερμοχθ ποταμυ εκει απωλοντο αρδην (Chronograph. p. 280.).

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mount Sinai. An exile in the Byzantine court, Jabalah lamented the manners of Arabia, and his unlucky preference of the Chriſtian cauſe[78]. He had once inclined to the profeſſion of Iſlam; but in the pilgrimage of Mecca, Jabalah was provoked to ſtrike one of his brethren, and fled with amazement from the ſtern and equal juſtice of the caliph. The victorious Saracens enjoyed at Damaſcus a month of pleaſure and repoſe: the ſpoil was divided by the diſcretion of Abu Obeidah: an equal ſhare was allotted to a ſoldier and to his horſe, and a double portion was reſerved for the noble courſers of the Arabian breed.

Conqueſt of Jeruſalem, A. D. 637.

After the battle of Yermuk, the Roman army no longer appeared in the field; and the Saracens might ſecurely chuſe among the fortified towns of Syria, the firſt object of their attack. They conſulted the caliph whether they ſhould march to Cæſarea or Jeruſalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate ſiege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jeruſalem was the firſt or ſecond capital of Paleſtine; but after Mecca and Medina, it was revered and viſited by the devout Moſlems, as the temple of the Holy Land which had been ſanctified by the revelation of Moſes, of Jeſus, and of Mahomet himſelf. The ſon of Abu Sophian was ſent with five thouſand Arabs to try the firſt experiment of ſurpriſe or treaty: but on the eleventh day, the town was inveſted by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He addreſſed the cuſtomary ſummons to the chief commanders and people of *Ælia*[79]. "Health and happineſs to every one that follows the

[78] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 70, 71.), who tranſcribes the poetical complaint of Jabalah himſelf, and ſome panegyrical ſtrains of an Arabian poet, to whom the chief of Gaſſan ſent from Conſtantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the ambaſſador of Omar.

[79] In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the ſacred; *Jeruſalem* was known to the devout Chriſtians (Euſeb. de Martyr. Paleſt. c. xi.); but the legal and popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of Ælius Hadrianus) has paſſed from the Romans to the Arabs (Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 207. tom. ii. p. 835. d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, *Cods*, p. 269. *Ilia*, p. 420.). The epithet of *Al Cods*, the Holy, is uſed as the proper name of Jeruſalem.

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" right way! We require of you to teſtify that there is but one " God, and that Mahomet is his apoſtle. If you refuſe this, con- " ſent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwiſe I ſhall " bring men againſt you who love death better than you do the " drinking of wine or eating hogs fleſh. Nor will I ever ſtir from " you, if it pleaſe God, till I have deſtroyed thoſe that fight for " you, and made ſlaves of your children." But the city was defended on every ſide by deep vallies and ſteep aſcents; ſince the invaſion of Syria, the walls and towers had been anxiouſly reſtored; the braveſt of the fugitives of Yermuk had ſtopped in the neareſt place of refuge; and in the defence of the ſepulchre of Chriſt, the natives and ſtrangers might feel ſome ſparks of the enthuſiaſm which ſo fiercely glowed in the boſoms of the Saracens. The ſiege of Jeruſalem laſted four months; not a day was loſt without ſome action of ſally or aſſault; the military engines inceſſantly played from the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was ſtill more painful and deſtructive to the Arabs. The Chriſtians yielded at length to the perſeverance of the beſiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to diſſuade the lieutenant of the caliph from his impious enterpriſe, he propoſed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clauſe, that the articles of ſecurity ſhould be ratified by the authority and preſence of Omar himſelf. The queſtion was debated in the council of Medina; the ſanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, perſuaded the caliph to gratify the wiſhes of his ſoldiers and enemies, and the ſimplicity of his journey is more illuſtrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppreſſion. The conqueror of Perſia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, beſides his perſon, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden diſh, and a leathern bottle of water. Wherever he halted, the company, without diſtinction, was invited

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to partake of his homely fare, and the repaſt was conſecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful[80]. But in this expedition or pilgrimage, his power was exerciſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice; he reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chaſtiſed the luxury of the Saracens, by deſpoiling them of their rich ſilks, and dragging them on their faces in the dirt. When he came within ſight of Jeruſalem, the caliph cried with a loud voice, "God "is victorious. O Lord give us an eaſy conqueſt;" and, pitching his tent of coarſe hair, calmly ſeated himſelf on the ground. After ſigning the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteouſly diſcourſed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities[81]. Sophronius bowed before his new maſter, and ſecretly muttered, in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of "deſolation is in the holy place[82]." At the hour of prayer, they ſtood together in the church of the Reſurrection; but the caliph refuſed to perform his devotions, and contented himſelf with praying on the ſteps of the church of Conſtantine. To the patriarch he diſcloſed his prudent and honourable motive. "Had I yielded," ſaid Omar, "to "your requeſt, the Moſlems of a future age would have infringed "the treaty under colour of imitating my example." By his command, the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the

[80] The ſingular journey and equipage of Omar are deſcribed (beſides Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.) by Murtadi (Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 200—202.).

[81] The Arabs boaſt of an old prophecy preſerved at Jeruſalem, and deſcribing the name, the religion, and the perſon of Omar, the future conqueror. By ſuch arts the Jews are ſaid to have ſoothed the pride of their foreign maſters, Cyrus and Alexander (Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 1. 8. p. 547. 579—582.).

[82] Το βδελυγμα της ερημοσεως το ῥηθεν δια Δανιηλ τω προφητω εως ιν τοπῳ αγιῳ. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. This prediction, which had already ſerved for Antiochus and the Romans, was again refitted for the preſent occaſion, by the œconomy of Sophronius, one of the deepeſt theologians of the Monothelite controverſy.

foundation

foundation of a moſch [83]; and, during a reſidence of ten days, he regulated the preſent and future ſtate of his Syrian conqueſts. Medina might be jealous, leſt the caliph ſhould be detained by the ſanctity of Jeruſalem or the beauty of Damaſcus; her apprehenſions were diſpelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the apoſtle [84].

Of Aleppo and Antioch, A. D. 638.

To atchieve what yet remained of the Syrian war, the caliph had formed two ſeparate armies; a choſen detachment, under Amrou and Yezid, was left in the camp of Paleſtine; while the larger diviſion, under the ſtandard of Abu Obeidah and Caled, marched away to the north againſt Antioch and Aleppo. The latter of theſe, the Beræa of the Greeks, was not yet illuſtrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their ſubmiſſion and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate compoſition for their lives and religion. But the caſtle of Aleppo [85], diſtinct from the city, ſtood erect on a lofty artificial mound: the ſides were ſharpened to a precipice, and faced with freeſtone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighbouring ſprings. After the loſs of three thouſand men, the garriſon was ſtill equal to the defence; and Youkinna, their valiant and hereditary

[83] According to the accurate ſurvey of d'Anville (Diſſertation ſur l'ancienne Jeruſalem, p. 42—54.), the moſch of Omar, enlarged and embelliſhed by ſucceeding caliphs, covered the ground of the ancient temple (παλαιον τϑ μεγαλϑ ναϑ δαπεδον, ſays Phocas), a length of 215, a breadth of 172, *toiſes*. The Nubian geographer declares, that this magnificent ſtructure was ſecond only in ſize and beauty to the great moſch of Cordova (p. 113.), whoſe preſent ſtate Mr. Swinburne has ſo elegantly repreſented (Travels into Spain, p. 296—302.).

[84] Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jeruſalem (d'Herbelot, p. 867.), Ockley found one among the Pocock MSS. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257.), which he has uſed to ſupply the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

[85] The Perſian hiſtorian of Timur (tom. iii. l. v. c. 21. p. 300.) deſcribes the caſtle of Aleppo as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height, a proof, ſays the French tranſlator, that he had never viſited the place. It is now in the midſt of the city, of no ſtrength, with a ſingle gate, the circuit is about 5 or 600 paces, and the ditch half full of ſtagnant water (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 149. Pocock, vol. ii. part i. p. 150.). The fortreſſes of the Eaſt are contemptible to an European eye.

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chief, had murdered his brother, an holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a ſiege of four or five months, the hardeſt of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded: their removal to the diſtance of a mile could not ſeduce the vigilance of Youkinna; nor could the Chriſtians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheaded before the caſtle wall. The ſilence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah informed the caliph that their hope and patience were conſumed at the foot of this impregnable fortreſs. "I am variouſly affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of "your ſucceſs; but I charge you by no means to raiſe the ſiege of "the caſtle. Your retreat would diminiſh the reputation of our "arms, and encourage the infidels to fall upon you on all ſides. "Remain before Aleppo till God ſhall determine the event, and "forage with your horſe round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of the faithful was fortified by a ſupply of volunteers from all the tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horſes or camels. Among theſe was Dames, of a ſervile birth, but of gigantic ſize and intrepid reſolution. The forty-ſeventh day of his ſervice he propoſed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on the caſtle. The experience and teſtimony of Caled recommended his offer; and Abu Obeidah admoniſhed his brethren not to deſpiſe the baſer origin of Dames, ſince he himſelf, could he relinquiſh the public care, would cheerfully ſerve under the banner of the ſlave. His deſign was covered by the appearance of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay in ambuſh at the foot of the hill; and Dames at length ſucceeded in his enquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. "God curſe "theſe dogs," ſaid the illiterate Arab, "what a ſtrange barbarous "language they ſpeak!" At the darkeſt hour of the night, he

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ſcaled the moſt acceſſible height which he had diligently ſurveyed, a place where the ſtones were leſs entire, or the ſlope leſs perpendicular, or the guard leſs vigilant. Seven of the ſtouteſt Saracens mounted on each others ſhoulders, and the weight of the column was ſuſtained on the broad and ſinewy back of the gigantic ſlave. The foremoſt in this painful aſcent could graſp and climb the loweſt part of the battlements: they ſilently ſtabbed and caſt down the ſentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O "apoſtle of God, help and deliver us!" were ſucceſſively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bold and cautious footſteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the feſtival of his deliverance. From thence, returning to his companions, he aſſaulted on the inſide the entrance of the caſtle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the drawbridge, and defended the narrow paſs, till the arrival of Caled, with the dawn of day, relieved their danger and aſſured their conqueſt. Youkinna, a formidable foe, became an active and uſeful proſelyte; and the general of the Saracens expreſſed his regard for the moſt humble merit, by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honourable wounds. The capital of Syria was ſtill covered by the caſtle of Aazaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loſs of thoſe important poſts, and the defeat of the laſt of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch [86] trembled and obeyed. Her ſafety was ranſomed with three hundred thouſand pieces of gold; but the throne of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, the

[86] The date of the conqueſt of Antioch by the Arabs is of ſome importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the hiſtory of Elmacin, we ſhall determine, that it was taken between January 23d and September 1ſt of the year of Chriſt 638 (Pagi Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813.). Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.) aſſigns that event to Tueſday, Auguſt 21ſt, an inconſiſtent date; ſince Eaſter fell that year on April 5th, the 21ſt of Auguſt muſt have been a Friday (ſee the Tables of the Art de Verifier les Dates).

ſeat

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ſeat of the Roman government in the Eaſt, which had been decorated by Cæſar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate, war degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the ſecondary rank of a provincial town [87].

Flight of Heraclius, A. D. 638.

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Perſian war are clouded on either hand by the diſgrace and weakneſs of his more early and his later days. When the ſucceſſors of Mahomet unſheathed the ſword of war and religion, he was aſtoniſhed at the boundleſs proſpect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and frigid age of the emperor be kindled to a ſecond effort. The ſenſe of ſhame, and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his haſty departure from the ſcene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loſs of Damaſcus and Jeruſalem, the bloody fields of Aiznadin and Yermuk, may be imputed in ſome degree to the abſence or miſconduct of the ſovereign. Inſtead of defending the ſepulchre of Chriſt, he involved the church and ſtate in a metaphyſical controverſy for the unity of his will; and while Heraclius crowned the offspring of his ſecond nuptials, he was tamely ſtripped of the moſt valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the preſence of the biſhops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the ſins of the prince and people; but his confeſſion inſtructed the world, that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to reſiſt the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, ſince they were invincible in opinion; and the deſertion of Youkinna, his falſe repentance and repeated perfidy, might juſtify the ſuſpicion of the emperor, that he was encompaſſed by traitors and apoſtates, who conſpired to betray his perſon and their country to the enemies of

[87] His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to aſſume the victory of Pharſalia for a perpetual æra, is given εν Αντιοχειᾳ τη μητροπολει, ιερᾳ και ασυλῳ και αυτονομῳ και αρχουσῃ και προκαθημενῃ της ανατολης. John Malela, in Chron. p. 91. edit. Venet. We may diſtinguiſh his authentic information of domeſtic facts from his groſs ignorance of general hiſtory.

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Chriſt. In the hour of adverſity, his ſuperſtition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and after bidding an eternal farewel to Syria, he ſecretly embarked with a few attendants, and abſolved the faith of his ſubjects[88]. Conſtantine, his eldeſt ſon, had been ſtationed with forty thouſand men at Cæſarea, the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Paleſtine. But his private intereſt recalled him to the Byzantine court; and, after the flight of his father, he felt himſelf an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thouſand black ſlaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbed the ſnowy mountains of Libanus, and who were ſpeedily followed by the victorious ſquadrons of Caled himſelf. From the north and ſouth the troops of Antioch and Jeruſalem advanced along the ſea ſhore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities: Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; and a fleet of fifty tranſports, which entered without diſtruſt the captive harbours, brought a ſeaſonable ſupply of arms and proviſions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected ſurrender of Cæſarea: the Roman prince had embarked in the night[89]; and the defenceleſs citizens ſolicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province Ramlah, Ptolemais or Acre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Aſcalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer preſumed to diſpute the will of the conqueror; and

End of the Syrian war.

[88] See Ockley (vol. i. p. 308. 312.), who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Heraclius bade farewel to Syria, Vale Syria et ultimum vale, he propheſied that the Romans ſhould never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauſpicious child, the future ſcourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignorant of the myſtic ſenſe, or nonſenſe, of this prediction.

[89] In the looſe and obſcure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authentic record (in the book of ceremonies of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus), which certifies that, June 4, A. D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger ſon Heraclius in the preſence of his eldeſt Conſtantine, and in the palace of Conſtantinople; that January 1, A. D. 639, the royal proceſſion viſited the great church, and on the 4th of the ſame month, the hippodrome.

Syria

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Syria bowed under the ſceptre of the caliphs ſeven hundred years after Pompey had deſpoiled the laſt of the Macedonian kings[90].

The conquerors of Syria, A. D. 633—639.

The ſieges and battles of ſix campaigns had conſumed many thouſands of the Moſlems. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulneſs of martyrs; and the ſimplicity of their faith may be expreſſed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the laſt time, his ſiſter and mother: "It is not," ſaid he, "the delicacies of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that have "prompted me to devote my life in the cauſe of religion. But I "ſeek the favour of God and his apoſtle; and I have heard, from "one of the companions of the prophet, that the ſpirits of the mar"tyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who ſhall taſte "the fruits, and drink of the rivers, of paradiſe. Farewel, we ſhall "meet again among the groves and fountains which God has pro"vided for his elect." The faithful captives might exerciſe a paſſive and more arduous reſolution; and a couſin of Mahomet is celebrated for refuſing, after an abſtinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nouriſhment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of ſome weaker brethren exaſperated the implacable ſpirit of fanaticiſm; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic ſtrains, the apoſtacy and damnation of a ſon, who had renounced the promiſes of God, and the interceſſion of the prophet, to occupy, with the prieſts and deacons, the loweſt manſions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs, who ſurvived the war and perſevered in the faith, were reſtrained by their abſtemious leader from the abuſe of proſperity. After a refreſhment of three days, Abu Obeidah withdrew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury

[90] Sixty-five years before Chriſt, *Syria Pontuſque monumenta ſunt Cn. Pompeii virtutis* (Vell. Patercul. ii. 38.), rather of his fortune and power: he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the laſt of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a ſword in the defence of their patrimony (ſee the original texts collected by Uſher, Annal. p. 420.).

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of Antioch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropt a tear of compassion; and sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant: "God," said the successor of the prophet, "has not "forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful "men, and such as have performed good works. Therefore you "ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake "freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any "of the Saracens has no family in Arabia, they may marry in "Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may "purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah might be lamented by the Christians; but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect whom the prophet had named as the heirs of paradise[91]. Caled survived his brethren about three years; and the tomb of the sword of God is shewn in the neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed himself invulnerable amidst the darts of the infidels.

[91] Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the praises of his disciples. Of Omar he was accustomed to say, that if a prophet could arise after himself, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity, Omar would be excepted by the divine justice (Ockley, vol. i. p. 221.).

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Progreſs of the Syrian conquerors, A. D. 639—655.

The place of the firſt conquerors was ſupplied by a new generation of their children and countrymen; Syria became the ſeat and ſupport of the houſe of Ommiyah; and the revenue, the ſoldiers, the ſhips of that powerful kingdom, were conſecrated to enlarge on every ſide the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens deſpiſe a ſuperfluity of fame; and their hiſtorians ſcarcely condeſcend to mention the ſubordinate conqueſts which are loſt in the ſplendour and rapidity of their victorious career. To the *north* of Syria, they paſſed mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarſus, the ancient monument of the Aſſyrian kings. Beyond a ſecond ridge of the ſame mountains, they ſpread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the ſhores of the Euxine and the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople. To the *eaſt* they advanced to the banks and ſources of the Euphrates and Tigris [92]: the long-diſputed barrier of Rome and Perſia was for ever confounded; the walls of Edeſſa and Amida, of Dara and Niſibis, which had reſiſted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nuſhirvan, were levelled in the duſt; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epiſtle or the image of Chriſt to an unbelieving conqueror. To the *weſt*, the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the ſea: and the ruin of Aradus, a ſmall iſland or peninſula on the coaſt, was poſtponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber, the trade of Phœnicia was populous in mariners; and a fleet of ſeventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the deſert. The Imperial navy of the Romans fled be-

[92] Al Wakidi had likewiſe written an hiſtory of the conqueſt of Diarbekir, or Meſopotamia (Ockley, at the end of the ii[d] vol.), which our interpreters do not appear to have ſeen. The Chronicle of Dionyſius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edeſſa A. D. 637, and of Dara A. D. 641 (Aſſeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103.); and the attentive may glean ſome doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes (p. 285—287.). Moſt of the towns of Meſopotamia yielded by ſurrender (Abulpharag. p. 112.).

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fore them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Helleſpont; but the ſpirit of the emperor, a grandſon of Heraclius, had been ſubdued before the combat by a dream and a pun[93]. The Saracens rode maſters of the ſea; and the iſlands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were ſucceſſively expoſed to their rapacious viſits. Three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the memorable though fruitleſs ſiege of Rhodes[94] by Demetrius, had furniſhed that maritime republic with the materials and the ſubject of a trophy. A gigantic ſtatue of Apollo or the ſun, ſeventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After ſtanding fifty-ſix years, the coloſſus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake: but the maſſy trunk, and huge fragments, lay ſcattered eight centuries on the ground, and are often deſcribed as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and ſold to a Jewiſh merchant of Edeſſa, who is ſaid to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the braſs metal: an enormous weight, though we ſhould include the hundred coloſſal figures[95], and the three thouſand ſtatues, which adorned the proſperity of the city of the ſun.

EGYPT. Character and life of Amrou.

II. The conqueſt of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the firſt of his nation, in an age when the meaneſt of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the

[93] He dreamt that he was at Theſſalonica, an harmleſs and unmeaning viſion; but his ſoothſayer, or his cowardice, underſtood the ſure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauſpicious word θες αλλῳ νικην, Give to another the victory (Theophan. p. 286. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88.).

[94] Every paſſage and every fact that relates to the iſle, the city, and the coloſſus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatiſe of Meurſius, who has beſtowed the ſame diligence on the two larger iſlands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the iii[d] vol. of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meurſius (l. i. c. 15. p. 715—719.). The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Conſtantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to 1360 years, and ridiculouſly divide the weight among 30,000 camels.

[95] Centum coloſſi alium nobilitaturi locum, ſays Pliny, with his uſual ſpirit. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 18.

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ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The birth of Amrou was at once baſe and illuſtrious: his mother, a notorious proſtitute, was unable to decide among five of the Koreiſh; but the proof of reſemblance adjudged the child to Aaſi the oldeſt of her lovers[96]. The youth of Amrou was impelled by the paſſions and prejudices of his kindred: his poetic genius was exerciſed in ſatirical verſes againſt the perſon and doctrine of Mahomet; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to purſue the religious exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the Æthiopian king[97]. Yet he returned from this embaſſy, a ſecret proſelyte; his reaſon or his intereſt determined him to renounce the worſhip of idols; he eſcaped from Mecca with his friend Caled, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the ſame moment the ſatisfaction of embracing the two firmeſt champions of his cauſe. The impatience of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful, was checked by the reproof of Omar, who adviſed him not to ſeek power and dominion, ſince he who is a ſubject to-day, may be a prince tomorrow. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet; they were indebted to his arms for the conqueſt of Paleſtine; and in all the battles and ſieges of Syria, he united with the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous ſoldier. In a viſit to Medina, the caliph expreſſed a wiſh to ſurvey the ſword which had cut down ſo many Chriſtian warriors: the ſon of Aaſi unſheathed a ſhort and ordinary ſcymetar; and as he perceived the ſurpriſe of Omar, "Alas," ſaid the modeſt Saracen, "the "ſword itſelf, without the arm of its maſter, is neither ſharper "nor more weighty than the ſword of Pharezdak the poet[98]." After

[96] We learn this anecdote from a ſpirited old woman, who reviled to their faces the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the ſilence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 111.).

[97] Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, &c. who quotes the Abyſſinian hiſtory, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embaſſy and ambaſſador may be allowed.

[98] This ſaying is preſerved by Pocock (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 184.), and juſtly applauded by Mr. Harris (Philoſophical Arrangements, p. 350.).

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the conqueſt of Egypt, he was recalled by the jealouſy of the caliph Othman; but in the ſubſequent troubles, the ambition of a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, and an orator, emerged from a private ſtation. His powerful ſupport, both in council and in the field, eſtabliſhed the throne of the Ommiades; the adminiſtration and revenue of Egypt were reſtored by the gratitude of Moawiyah to a faithful friend who had raiſed himſelf above the rank of a ſubject; and Amrou ended his days in the palace and city which he had founded on the banks of the Nile. His dying ſpeech to his children is celebrated by the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wiſdom: he deplored the errors of his youth; but if the penitent was ſtill infected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom and miſchief of his impious compoſitions[99].

Invaſion of Egypt, A. D. 638, June.

From his camp, in Paleſtine, Amrou had ſurpriſed or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invaſion of Egypt[100]. The magnanimous Omar truſted in his God and his ſword, which had ſhaken the thrones of Choſroes and Cæſar: but when he compared the ſlender force of the Moſlems with the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, he condemned his own raſhneſs, and liſtened to his timid companions. The pride and the greatneſs of Pharaoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran; and a tenfold repetition of prodigies had been ſcarcely ſufficient to effect, not the victory, but the flight, of ſix hundred thouſand of the children of Iſrael: the cities of Egypt

[99] For the life and character of Amrou, ſee Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 28. 63. 94. 328. 342. 344. and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51. 55. 57. 74. 110—112. 162.) and Otter (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxi. p. 131, 132.). The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Veſpaſian and Mucianus, with Moawiyah and Amrou. Yet the reſemblance is ſtill more in the ſituation, than in the characters, of the men.

[100] Al Wakidi had likewiſe compoſed a ſeparate hiſtory of the conqueſt of Egypt, which Mr. Ockley could never procure; and his own enquiries (vol. i. p. 344—362.) have added very little to the original text of Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 296—323. verſ. Pocock), the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hundred years after the revolution.

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were many and populous; their architecture was ſtrong and ſolid; the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an inſuperable barrier; and the granary of the Imperial city would be obſtinately defended by the Roman powers. In this perplexity, the commander of the faithful reſigned himſelf to the deciſion of chance, or, in his opinion, of providence. At the head of only four thouſand Arabs, the intrepid Amrou had marched away from his ſtation of Gaza when he was overtaken by the meſſenger of Omar. "If "you are ſtill in Syria," ſaid the ambiguous mandate, "retreat "without delay; but if, at the receipt of this epiſtle, you have al- "ready reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, "and depend on the ſuccour of God and of your brethren." The experience, perhaps the ſecret intelligence, of Amrou had taught him to ſuſpect the mutability of courts; and he continued his march till his tents were unqueſtionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He there aſſembled his officers, broke the ſeal, peruſed the epiſtle, gravely enquired the name and ſituation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a ſiege of thirty days, he took poſſeſſion of Farmah or Peluſium; and that key of Egypt, as it has been juſtly named, unlocked the entrance of the country, as far as the ruins of Heliopolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

The cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Cairo.

On the weſtern ſide of the Nile, at a ſmall diſtance to the eaſt of the pyramids, at a ſmall diſtance to the ſouth of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, diſplayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæſars, the ſeat of government was removed to the ſea-coaſt; the ancient capital was eclipſed by the arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced

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to a deſolate and ruinous condition: yet, in the age of Auguſtus, and even in that of Conſtantine, Memphis was ſtill numbered among the greateſt and moſt populous of the provincial cities[101]. The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of three thouſand feet, were united by two bridges of ſixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle ſtream by the ſmall iſland of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and habitations[102]. The eaſtern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the paſſage of the river and the ſecond capital of Egypt. This important fortreſs, which might fairly be deſcribed as a part of Memphis or *Miſrah*, was inveſted by the arms of the lieutenant of Omar: a reinforcement of four thouſand Saracens ſoon arrived in his camp; and the military engines, which battered the walls, may be imputed to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the ſiege was protracted to ſeven months; and the raſh invaders were encompaſſed and threatened by the inundation of the Nile[103]. Their laſt aſſault was bold and ſucceſsful: they paſſed the ditch, which had been fortified with iron ſpikes, applied their ſcaling-ladders, entered the fortreſs with the ſhout of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant of the Greeks to

[101] Strabo, an accurate and attentive ſpectator, obſerves of Heliopolis νυνι μεν ουν εστι πανερημος ἡ πολις (Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1158.); but of Memphis, he declares, πολις δ'εστι μεγαλη τε και ευανδρος δευτερα μετ' Αλεξανδρειαν (p. 1161.); he notices, however, the mixture of inhabitants, and the ruin of the palaces. In the proper Egypt, Ammianus enumerates Memphis among the four cities, maximis urbibus quibus provincia nitet (xxii. 16.); and the name of Memphis appears with diſtinction in the Roman Itinerary and epiſcopal liſts.

[102] Theſe rare and curious facts, the breadth (2946 feet) and the bridge of the Nile, are only to be found in the Daniſh traveller and the Nubian geographer (p. 98.).

[103] From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to riſe: the ſwell becomes ſtrong and viſible in the moon after the ſummer ſolſtice (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. v. 10.), and is uſually proclaimed at Cairo on St. Peter's day (June 29.). A regiſter of thirty ſucceſſive years marks the greateſt height of the waters between July 25 and Auguſt 18 (Maillet, Deſcription de l'Egypt, lettre xi. p. 67, &c. Pocock's Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's Travels, p. 383.).

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their boats and the isle of Rouda. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia: the remains of Memphis were deserted: the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations; and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet [104]. A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of old Misrah or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs [105]. It has gradually receded from the river, but the continuity of buildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin [106].

Voluntary submission of the Copts or Jacobites, A. D. 638.

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The rapid conquest of Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the natives: they abhorred their Persian oppressors, the disciples of the Magi, who had burnt the temples of Egypt, and feasted with sacrilegious appetite on the flesh of the god Apis [107]. After a period of ten centuries the same revolution

[104] Murtadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 243—259. He expatiates on the subject with the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and his local traditions have a strong air of truth and accuracy.

[105] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 233.

[106] The position of New and of Old Cairo is well known, and has been often described. Two writers, who were intimately acquainted with ancient and modern Egypt, have fixed, after a learned enquiry, the city of Memphis at *Gizeh*, directly opposite the Old Cairo (Sicard, Nouveaux Memoires des Missions du Levant, tom. vi. p. 5, 6. Shaw's Observations and Travels, p. 296—304.). Yet we may not disregard the authority or the arguments of Pocock (vol. i. p. 25—41.), Nieubuhr (Voyage, tom. i. 77—106.), and, above all, of d'Anville (Description de l'Egypte, p. 111, 112. 130—149.), who have removed Memphis towards the village of Mohannah, some miles farther to the south. In their heat, the disputants have forgot that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy.

[107] See Herodotus, l. iii. c. 27, 28, 29. Ælian.

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lution was renewed by a ſimilar cauſe; and in the ſupport of an incomprehenſible creed, the zeal of the Coptic Chriſtians was equally ardent. I have already explained the origin and progreſs of the Monophyſite controverſy, and the perſecution of the emperors, which converted a ſect into a nation, and alienated Egypt from their religion and government. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a ſecret and effectual treaty was opened during the ſiege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of ſlaves. A rich and noble Egyptian, of the name of Mokawkas, had diſſembled his faith to obtain the adminiſtration of his province: in the diſorders of the Perſian war he aſpired to independence: the embaſſy of Mahomet ranked him among princes; but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments, the propoſal of a new religion [108]. The abuſe of his truſt expoſed him to the reſentment of Heraclius; his ſubmiſſion was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conſcience was prompted by intereſt to throw himſelf on the favour of the nation and the ſupport of the Saracens. In his firſt conference with Amrou, he heard without indignation the uſual option of the Koran, the tribute or the ſword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of the ſword; but "with the Greeks I deſire no communion, either in this world or "in the next, and I abjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his ſynod "of Chalcedon, and his Melchite ſlaves. For myſelf and my "brethren, we are reſolved to live and die in the profeſſion of "the goſpel and unity of Chriſt. It is impoſſible for us to embrace

Ælian. Hiſt. Var. l. iv. c. 8. Suidas in Ωχο-, tom. ii. p. 774. Diodor. Sicul. tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 197. edit. Weſſeling. Των Περσων ποιβηκοτων εις τα ιερα, ſays the laſt of theſe hiſtorians.

[108] Mokawkas ſent the prophet two Coptic damſels, with two maids, and one eunuch, an alabaſter vaſe, an ingot of pure gold, oil, honey, and the fineſt white linen of Egypt, with an horſe, a mule, and an aſs, diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective qualifications. The embaſſy of Mahomet was diſpatched from Medina in the ſeventh year of the Hegira (A. D. 628). See Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 255, 256. 303.), from Al Jannabi.

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" the revelations of your prophet; but we are deſirous of peace, " and cheerfully ſubmit to pay tribute and obedience to his tem- " poral ſucceſſors." The tribute was aſcertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Chriſtian; but old men, monks, women, and children, of both ſexes, under ſixteen years of age, were exempted from this perſonal aſſeſſment: the Copts above and below Memphis ſwore allegiance to the caliph, and promiſed an hoſpitable entertainment of three days to every Muſulman who ſhould travel through their country. By this charter of ſecurity, the eccleſiaſtical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was deſtroyed [109]: the anathemas of St. Cyril were thundered from every pulpit; and the ſacred edifices, with the patrimony of the church, were reſtored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the preſſing ſummons of Amrou, their patriarch Benjamin emerged from his deſert; and, after the firſt interview, the courteous Arab affected to declare, that he had never converſed with a Chriſtian prieſt of more innocent manners and a more venerable aſpect [110]. In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar entruſted his ſafety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians: the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every ſtep of his progreſs, he could depend on a conſtant ſupply of proviſions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whoſe numbers could ſcarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the univerſal defection; they had

[109] The præfecture of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been truſted by Heraclius to the patriarch Cyrus (Theophan. p. 280, 281.). " In Spain," ſaid James II. " do you not conſult your prieſts?" " We " do," replied the Catholic ambaſſador, " and our affairs ſucceed accordingly." I know not how to relate the plans of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impairing the revenue, and of converting Omar by his marriage with the emperor's daughter (Nicephor. Breviar. p. 17, 18.).

[110] See the life of Benjamin, in Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 156—172.), who has enriched the conqueſt of Egypt with ſome facts from the Arabic text of Severus the Jacobite hiſtorian.

ever been hated, they were no longer feared: the magiſtrate fled from his tribunal, the biſhop from his altar; and the diſtant garriſons were ſurpriſed or ſtarved by the ſurrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a ſafe and ready conveyance to the ſea, not an individual could have eſcaped, who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name.

Siege and conqueſt of Alexandria.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a conſiderable force was collected in the iſland of Delta: the natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a ſucceſſion of ſtrong and defenſible poſts; and the road to Alexandria was laborioufly cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two and twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conqueſt, the ſiege of Alexandria[111] is perhaps the moſt arduous and important enterpriſe. The firſt trading city in the world was abundantly repleniſhed with the means of ſubſiſtence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the deareſt of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives ſeemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The ſea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public diſtreſs, freſh armies of Romans and Barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to ſave the ſecond capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have ſcattered the forces of the Greeks, and favoured the ſtratagems of an active enemy; but the two ſides of an oblong ſquare were covered by the ſea and the lake Maræotis, and each of the narrow ends expoſed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne

[111] The local deſcription of Alexandria is perfectly aſcertained by the maſter hand of the firſt of geographers (d'Anville, Memoire ſur l'Egypte, p. 52—63.); but we may borrow the eyes of the modern travellers, more eſpecially of Thevenot (Voyage au Levant, part i. p. 381—395.), Pocock (vol. i. p. 2—13.), and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 34—43.). Of the two modern rivals, Savary and Volney, the one may amuſe, the other will inſtruct.

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of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city: his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of an holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithful natives devoted their labours to the ſervice of Amrou; ſome ſparks of martial ſpirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies; and the ſanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his ſepulchre in the church of St. John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch obſerves, that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulſed the frequent and almoſt daily ſallies of the beſieged, and ſoon aſſaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack, the ſword, the banner of Amrou, glittered in the van of the Moſlems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a ſlave, remained a priſoner in the hands of the Chriſtians. When Amrou was conducted before the præfect, he remembered his dignity and forgot his ſituation; a lofty demeanour, and reſolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a ſoldier was already raiſed to ſtrike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was ſaved by the readineſs of his ſlave, who inſtantly gave his maſter a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be ſilent in the preſence of his ſuperiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he liſtened to the offer of a treaty, and his priſoners were diſmiſſed in the hope of a more reſpectable embaſſy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and inſulted the folly of the infidels. At length, after a ſiege of fourteen months [112], and the loſs of three and twenty

[112] Both Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 319.) and Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 28.) concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the new moon of Moharram of the twentieth year of the Hegira (December 22, A.D. 640). In reckoning backwards fourteen months

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twenty thouſand men, the Saracens prevailed: the Greeks embarked their diſpirited and diminiſhed numbers, and the ſtandard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have "taken," ſaid Amrou to the caliph, "the great city of the Weſt. "It is impoſſible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and "beauty; and I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that it con- "tains four thouſand palaces, four thouſand baths, four hundred "theatres or places of amuſement, twelve thouſand ſhops for the "ſale of vegetable food, and forty thouſand tributary Jews. The "town has been ſubdued by force of arms, without treaty or capi- "tulation, and the Moſlems are impatient to ſeize the fruits of their "victory[113]." The commander of the faithful rejected with firmneſs the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reſerve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public ſervice and the propagation of the faith: the inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was impoſed; the zeal and reſentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites who ſubmitted to the Arabian yoke, were indulged in the obſcure but tranquil exerciſe of their worſhip. The intelligence of this diſgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropſy about ſeven weeks after the loſs of Alexandria[114]. Under the minority of his grandſon, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily ſuſtenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the ſpace of four years, the harbour

months ſpent before Alexandria, ſeven months before Babylon, &c. Amrou might have invaded Egypt about the end of the year 638: but we are aſſured, that he entered the country the 12th of Bayni, 6th of June (Murtadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 164. Severus, apud Renaudot, p. 162.). The Saracen, and afterwards Lewis IX. of France, halted at Peluſium, or Damietta, during the ſeaſon of the inundation of the Nile.

[113] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p 316. 319.

[114] Notwithſtanding ſome inconſiſtencies of Theophanes and Cedrenus, the accuracy of Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 824.) has extracted from Nicephorus and the Chronicon Orientale the true date of the death of Heraclius, February 11th, A. D. 641, fifty days after the loſs of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was ſufficient to convey the intelligence.

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and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domeſtic peril from the diſtant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the inſult, and the obſtinacy of the reſiſtance, provoked him to ſwear, that if a third time he drove the infidels into the ſea, he would render Alexandria as acceſſible on all ſides as the houſe of a proſtitute. Faithful to his promiſe, he diſmantled ſeveral parts of the walls and towers, but the people was ſpared in the chaſtiſement of the city, and the moſch of *Mercy* was erected on the ſpot where the victorious general had ſtopped the fury of his troops.

The Alexandrian library.

I ſhould deceive the expectation of the reader, if I paſſed in ſilence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is deſcribed by the learned Abulpharagius. The ſpirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leiſure hours, the Arabian chief was pleaſed with the converſation of John, the laſt diſciple of Ammonius, and who derived the ſurname of *Philoponus*, from his laborious ſtudies of grammar and philoſophy[115]. Emboldened by this familiar intercourſe, Philoponus preſumed to ſolicit a gift, ineſtimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the Barbarians; the royal library, which alone, among the ſpoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the viſit and the ſeal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wiſh of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refuſed to alienate the minuteſt object without the conſent of the caliph; and the well-known anſwer of Omar was inſpired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If theſe writings of the

[115] Many treatiſes of this lover of labour (φιλοπονος) are ſtill extant; but for readers of the preſent age, the printed and unpubliſhed are nearly in the ſame predicament. Moſes and Ariſtotle are the chief objects of his verboſe commentaries, one of which is dated as early as May 10th, A. D. 617 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ix. p. 458—468.). A modern (John Le Clerc), who ſometimes aſſumed the ſame name, was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far ſuperior in good ſenſe and real knowledge.

"Greeks

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" Greeks agree with the book of God, they are uſeleſs and need " not be preſerved: if they diſagree, they are pernicious and ought " to be deſtroyed." The ſentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were diſtributed to the four thouſand baths of the city; and ſuch was their incredible multitude, that ſix months were barely ſufficient for the conſumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius[116] have been given to the world in a Latin verſion, the tale has been repeatedly tranſcribed; and every ſcholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable ſhipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity. For my own part, I am ſtrongly tempted to deny both the fact and the conſequences. The fact is indeed marvellous; " Read " and wonder!" ſays the hiſtorian himſelf: and the ſolitary report of a ſtranger who wrote at the end of ſix hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the ſilence of two annaliſts of a more early date, both Chriſtians, both natives of Egypt, and the moſt ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply deſcribed the conqueſt of Alexandria[117]. The rigid ſentence of Omar is repugnant to the ſound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan caſuiſts: they expreſsly declare, that the religious books of the Jews and Chriſtians, which are acquired by the right of war, ſhould never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profane ſcience, hiſtorians or poets, phyſicians or philoſophers, may be lawfully applied to the uſe of the faithful[118]. A more deſtructive zeal

[116] Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 114. verſ. Pocock. Audi quid factum ſit et mirare. It would be endleſs to enumerate the moderns who have wondered and believed, but I may diſtinguiſh with honour the rational ſcepticiſm of Renaudot (Hiſt. Alex. Patriarch. p. 170.): hiſtoria.... habet aliquid απιστον ut Arabibus familiare eſt.

[117] This curious anecdote will be vainly ſought in the annals of Eutychius, and the Saracenic hiſtory of Elmacin. The ſilence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moſlems, is leſs concluſive from their ignorance of Chriſtian literature.

[118] See Reland, de Jure Militari Mohammedanorum, in his iii[d] volume of Diſſertations, p. 37. The reaſon for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Chriſtians, is derived from the reſpect that is due to the *name* of God.

may

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may perhaps be attributed to the firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet; yet in this inſtance, the conflagration would have ſpeedily expired in the deficiency of materials. I ſhall not recapitulate the diſaſters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæſar in his own defence [119], or the miſchievous bigotry of the Chriſtians who ſtudied to deſtroy the monuments of idolatry [120]. But if we gradually deſcend from the age of the Antonines to that of Theodoſius, we ſhall learn from a chain of contemporary witneſſes, that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis, no longer contained the four, or the ſeven, hundred thouſand volumes, which had been aſſembled by the curioſity and magnificence of the Ptolemies [121]. Perhaps the church and ſeat of the patriarchs might be enriched with a repoſitory of books; but if the ponderous maſs of Arian and Monophyſite controverſy were indeed conſumed in the public baths [122], a philoſopher may allow, with a ſmile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. I ſincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman empire; but when I ſeriouſly compute the lapſe of ages, the waſte of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treaſures, rather than our loſſes, are the object of my ſurpriſe. Many curious and intereſting facts are buried in oblivion; the three great hiſtorians of Rome have been tranſmitted to our hands in a mutilated ſtate, and we are deprived

[119] Conſult the collections of Frenſheim (Supplement. Livian. c. 12. 43.) and Uſher (Annal. p. 469.). Livy himſelf had ſtyled the Alexandrian library, elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus; a liberal encomium, for which he is pertly criticiſed by the narrow ſtoiciſm of Seneca (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 9.), whoſe wiſdom, on this occaſion, deviates into nonſenſe.

[120] See this Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 85. quarto edition.

[121] Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, vi. 17.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 16.), and Oroſius (l. vi. c. 15.). They all ſpeak in the *paſt* tenſe, and the words of Ammianus are remarkably ſtrong: fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles; et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, &c.

[122] Renaudot anſwers for verſions of the Bible, Hexapla, *Catenæ Patrum*, Commentaries, &c. (p. 170.). Our Alexandrian MS. if it came from Egypt, and not from Conſtantinople, or mount Athos (Wetſtein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, &c.), might *poſſibly* be among them.

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of many pleaſing compoſitions of the lyric, iambic, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we ſhould gratefully remember, that the miſchances of time and accident have ſpared the claſſic works to which the ſuffrage of antiquity[123] had adjudged the firſt place of genius and glory: the teachers of ancient knowledge, who are ſtill extant, had peruſed and compared the writings of their predeceſſors[124]; nor can it fairly be preſumed that any important truth, any uſeful diſcovery in art or nature, has been ſnatched away from the curioſity of modern ages.

Adminiſtration of Egypt.

In the adminiſtration of Egypt[125], Amrou balanced the demands of juſtice and policy; the intereſt of the people of the law, who were defended by God; and of the people of the alliance, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conqueſt and deliverance, the tongue of the Copts and the ſword of the Arabs were moſt adverſe to the tranquillity of the province. To the former, Amrou declared, that faction and falſehood would be doubly chaſtiſed; by the puniſhment of the accuſers, whom he ſhould deteſt as his perſonal enemies, and by the promotion of their innocent brethren, whom their envy had laboured to injure and ſupplant. He excited the latter by the motives of religion and honour to ſuſtain the dignity of their character, to endear themſelves by a modeſt and temperate conduct to God and the caliph, to ſpare and protect a people who had truſted to their faith, and to content themſelves with

[123] I have often peruſed with pleaſure a chapter of Quintilian (Inſtitut. Orator. x. 1.), in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the ſeries of Greek and Latin claſſics.

[124] Such as Galen, Pliny, Ariſtotle, &c. On this ſubject Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 85—95.) argues, with ſolid ſenſe, againſt the lively exotic fancies of Sir William Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *Barbaric* ſcience, would ſcarcely admit the Indian or Æthiopic books into the library of Alexandria; nor is it proved that philoſophy has ſuſtained any real loſs from their excluſion.

[125] This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284—289.) has not been diſcovered either by Mr. Ockley, or by the ſelf-ſufficient compilers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory.

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the legitimate and ſplendid rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he diſapproved the ſimple but oppreſſive mode of a capitation, and preferred with reaſon a proportion of taxes, deducted on every branch from the clear profits of agriculture and commerce. A third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dykes and canals, ſo eſſential to the public welfare. Under his adminiſtration the fertility of Egypt ſupplied the dearth of Arabia; and a ſtring of camels, laden with corn and proviſions, covered almoſt without an interval the long road from Memphis to Medina [126]. But the genius of Amrou ſoon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted or atchieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæſars; and a canal, at leaſt eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean, was ſoon diſcontinued as uſeleſs and dangerous: the throne was removed from Medina to Damaſcus; and the Grecian fleets might have explored a paſſage to the holy cities of Arabia [127].

Riches and populouſneſs.

Of his new conqueſt, the caliph Omar had an imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and the legends of the Koran. He requeſted that his lieutenant would place before his eyes the realm of Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the anſwer of Amrou exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture of that ſingular country [128]. "O

[126] Eutychius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 35.

[127] On theſe *obſcure* canals, the reader may try to ſatisfy himſelf from d'Anville (Mem. ſur l'Egypte, p. 108—110. 124. 132.), and a learned theſis maintained and printed at Straſburg in the year 1770 (Jungendorum marium fluviorumque molimina, p. 39—47. 68—70.). Even the ſupine Turks have agitated the old project of joining the two ſeas (Memoires du Baron de Tott, tom. iv.).

[128] A ſmall volume, des Merveilles, &c. de l'Egypte, compoſed in the xiii^th century by Murtadi of Cairo, and tranſlated from an Arabic MS. of cardinal Mazarin, was publiſhed by Pierre Vatier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Egypt are wild and legendary: but the writer deſerves credit and eſteem for his account of the conqueſt and geography of his native country (See the correſpondence of Amrou and Omar, p. 279—289.).

"commander

" commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compound of black earth " and green plants, between a pulveriſed mountain and a red ſand. " The diſtance from Syene to the ſea is a month's journey for an " horſeman. Along the valley deſcends a river, on which the " bleſſing of the Moſt High repoſes both in the evening and morning, " and which riſes and falls with the revolutions of the ſun and moon. " When the annual diſpenſation of providence unlocks the ſprings " and fountains that nouriſh the earth, the Nile rolls his ſwelling and " ſounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are over- " ſpread by the ſalutary flood; and the villages communicate with " each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inunda- " tion depoſits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various " ſeeds: the crowds of huſbandmen who blacken the land may " be compared to a ſwarm of induſtrious ants; and their native in- " dolence is quickened by the laſh of the taſk-maſter, and the pro- " miſe of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful encreaſe. Their " hope is ſeldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from " the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit-trees, " and the cattle, are unequally ſhared between thoſe who labour and " thoſe who poſſeſs. According to the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, " the face of the country is adorned with a *ſilver* wave, a verdant " *emerald*, and the deep yellow of a *golden* harveſt [129]." Yet this beneficial order is ſometimes interrupted; and the long delay and ſudden ſwell of the river in the firſt year of the conqueſt might

[129] In a twenty years reſidence at Cairo, the conſul Maillet had contemplated that varying ſcene, the Nile (lettre ii. particularly p. 70. 75.); the fertility of the land (lettre ix.). From a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had *ſeen* the ſame objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the ſultry climes that ſpread,
Where Nile, redundant o'er his ſummer bed,
From his broad boſom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings;
If with advent'rous oar, and ready ſail,
The duſky people drive before the gale:
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
That riſe and glitter o'er the ambient tide.
(Maſon's, Works and Memoirs of Gray, p. 199, 200.)

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afford ſome colour to an edifying fable. It is ſaid, that the annual ſacrifice of a virgin [130] had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay ſullen and inactive in his ſhallow bed, till the mandate of the caliph was caſt into the obedient ſtream, which roſe in a ſingle night to the height of ſixteen cubits. The admiration of the Arabs for their new conqueſt encouraged the licence of their romantic ſpirit. We may read, in the graveſt authors, that Egypt was crowded with twenty thouſand cities or villages [131]: *that*, excluſive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the aſſeſſment, ſix millions of tributary ſubjects [132], or twenty millions of either ſex and of every age: *that* three hundred millions of gold or ſilver were annually paid to the treaſury of the caliph [133]. Our reaſon muſt be ſtartled by theſe extravagant aſſertions; and they will become more palpable, if we aſſume the compaſs and meaſure the extent of habitable ground: a valley from the tropic to Memphis, ſeldom broader than twelve miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat ſurface of two thouſand one hundred ſquare leagues, compoſe a twelfth part of the magnitude of France [134]. A more accurate re-

ſearch

[130] Murtadi, p. 164—167. The reader will not eaſily credit an human ſacrifice under the Chriſtian emperors, or a miracle of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

[131] Maillet, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 22. He mentions this number as the *common* opinion; and adds, that the generality of theſe villages contain two or three thouſand perſons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

[132] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 308. 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following *data*: one-twelfth of mankind above ſixty, one-third below ſixteen, the proportion of men to women as ſeventeen to ſixteen (Recherches ſur la Population de la France, p. 71, 72.). The preſident Goguet (Origine des Arts, &c. tom. iii. p. 26, &c.) beſtows twenty-ſeven millions on ancient Egypt, becauſe the ſeventeen hundred companions of Seſoſtris were born on the ſame day.

[133] Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 218.; and this groſs lump is ſwallowed without ſcruple by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1031.), Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, p. 262.), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 135.). They might allege the not leſs extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies (in præfat.) of ſeventy-four myriads, 740,000 talents, an annual income of 185, or near 300, millions of pounds ſterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent (Bernard de Ponderibus Antiq. p. 186.).

[134] See the meaſurement of d'Anville (Mem. ſur l'Egypte, p. 23, &c.). After ſome

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search will justify a more reasonable estimate. The three hundred millions, created by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue of four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold, of which nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of the soldiers [135]. Two authentic lists, of the present and of the twelfth century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of two thousand seven hundred villages and towns [136]. After a long residence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four millions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, for the ample, though not incredible, scope, of the population of Egypt [137].

AFRICA. First invasion by Abdallah, A. D. 647.

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic ocean [138], was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman.

some peevish cavils, M. Pauw (Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 118—121.) can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 square leagues.

[135] Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 334. who calls the common reading or version of Elmacin, *error librarii*. His own emendation, of 4,300,000 pieces, in the ixth century, maintains a probable medium between the 3,000,000 which the Arabs acquired by the conquest of Egypt (idem, p. 168.), and the 2,400,000 which the sultan of Constantinople levied in the last century (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352.; Thevenot, part i. p. 824.). Pauw (Recherches, tom. ii. p. 365—373.) gradually raises the revenue of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, from six to fifteen millions of German crowns.

[136] The list of Schultens (Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 5.) contains 2396 places; that of d'Anville (Mem. sur l'Egypte, p. 29.), from the divan of Cairo, enumerates 2696.

[137] See Maillet (Description de l'Egypte, p. 28.), who seems to argue with candour and judgment. I am much better satisfied with the observations than with the reading of the French consul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and his fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their best knowledge is collected by Abulfeda (Descript. Ægypt. Arab. et Lat. à Joh. David Michaelis, Gottingæ, in 4to, 1776): and in two recent voyages into Egypt, we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over the globe.

[138] My conquest of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of Arabic literature, Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. i. p. 8—55.) and Otter (Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 111—125. and 136.). They derive their principal information from Novairi, who composed, A. D. 1331, an Encyclopædia in more than twenty volumes. The five general parts successively treat of, 1. Physics, 2. Man, 3. Animals, 4. Plants, and, 5. History; and the Africa naffairs are discussed in the vith chapter of the vth section of this last part (Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 232—234.). Among the older historians who are quoted by Novairi we may distinguish the original narrative of a soldier who led the van of the Moslems.

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The pious design was approved by the companions of Mahomet and the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched from Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by twenty thousand of their countrymen; and the conduct of the war was entrusted to Abdallah [139], the son of Said and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince, and the merit of his favourite, could not obliterate the guilt of his apostacy. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran: he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance, of the apostle. After the conquest of Mecca, he fell prostrate at the feet of Mahomet: his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extorted a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood of the apostate. With apparent fidelity and effective merit, he served the religion which it was no longer his interest to desert: his birth and talents gave him an honourable rank among the Koreish; and, in a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dextrous horseman of Arabia. At the head of forty thousand Moslems, he advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sands of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march, they pitched their tents before the walls of

[139] See the history of Abdallah, in Abulfeda (Vit. Mohammed. p. 109.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 45—48.).

Tripoli,

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Tripoli [140], a maritime city, in which the *name*, the wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province had gradually centered, and which now maintains the third rank among the ſtates of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was ſurpriſed and cut in pieces on the ſea-ſhore; but the fortifications of Tripoli reſiſted the firſt aſſaults; and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the præfect Gregory [141] to relinquiſh the labours of the ſiege for the perils and the hopes of a deciſive action. If his ſtandard was followed by one hundred and twenty thouſand men, the regular bands of the empire muſt have been loſt in the naked and diſorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the ſtrength, or rather the numbers, of his hoſt. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute; and during ſeveral days, the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the exceſſive heat compelled them to ſeek ſhelter and refreſhment in their reſpective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and ſpirit, is ſaid to have fought by his ſide: from her earlieſt youth ſhe was trained to mount on horſeback, to draw the bow, and to wield the ſcymetar; and the richneſs of her arms and apparel were conſpicuous in the foremoſt ranks of the battle. Her hand, with an hundred thouſand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited

The præfect Gregory and his daughter.

[140] The province and city of Tripoli are deſcribed by Leo Africanus (in Navigatione et Viaggi di Ramuſio, tom. i. Venetia, 1550, fol. 76. *verſo*) and Marmol (Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.). The firſt of theſe writers was a Moor, a ſcholar, and a traveller, who compoſed or tranſlated his African geography in a ſtate of captivity at Rome, where he had aſſumed the name and religion of pope Leo X. In a ſimilar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a ſoldier of Charles V. compiled his Deſcription of Africa, tranſlated by d'Ablancourt into French (Paris, 1667, 3 vols. in 4to). Marmol had read and ſeen, but he is deſtitute of the curious and extenſive obſervation which abounds in the original work of Leo the African.

[141] Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory. He brands the præfect with the name of Τυραννος; he had probably aſſumed the purple (Chronograph. p. 285.).

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by the proſpect of the glorious prize. At the preſſing ſolicitation of his brethren, Abdallah withdrew his perſon from the field; but the Saracens were diſcouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of theſe equal or unſucceſsful conflicts.

Victory of the Arabs.

A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adverſary of Ali and the father of a caliph, had ſignalized his valour in Egypt, and Zobeir[142] was the firſt who planted a ſcaling-ladder againſt the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the ſtandard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and preſſed forwards, without taſting either food or repoſe, to partake of the dangers of his brethen. He caſt his eyes round the field: "Where," ſaid he, "is our general?" "In his tent." "Is the tent a ſtation for the "general of the Moſlems?" Abdallah repreſented with a bluſh the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman præfect. "Retort," ſaid Zobeir, "on the infidels "their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks, that the "head of Gregory ſhall be repaid with his captive daughter, and "the equal ſum of one hundred thouſand pieces of gold." To the courage and diſcretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph entruſted the execution of his own ſtratagem, which inclined the long-diſputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular ſkirmiſh with the enemy, till the ſun was high in the heavens. On both ſides they retired with fainting ſteps: their horſes were unbridled, their armour was laid aſide, and the hoſtile nations prepared, or ſeemed to prepare, for the refreſhment of the evening, and

[142] See in Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p 45.), the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, againſt whom he had rebelled. *His* valour at the ſiege of Babylon, if indeed it be the ſame perſon, is mentioned by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308.).

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the encounter of the enſuing day. On a ſudden, the charge was ſounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a ſwarm of freſh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was ſurpriſed, aſſaulted, overturned, by new ſquadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticiſm, might appear as a band of angels deſcending from the ſky. The præfect himſelf was ſlain by the hand of Zobeir: his daughter, who ſought revenge and death, was ſurrounded and made priſoner; and the fugitives involved in their diſaſter the town of Sufetula, to which they eſcaped from the ſabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the ſouth of Carthage: a gentle declivity is watered by a running ſtream, and ſhaded by a grove of juniper-trees; and, in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico, and three temples of the Corinthian order, curioſity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans[143]. After the fall of this opulent city, the provincials and Barbarians implored on all ſides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or profeſſions of faith: but his loſſes, his fatigues, and the progreſs of an epidemical diſeaſe, prevented a ſolid eſtabliſhment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favourite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thouſand pieces of gold[144]; but the ſtate was doubly injured by this fallacious tranſaction, if each foot-ſoldier had ſhared one thouſand, and each horſeman three thouſand, pieces, in the real diviſion of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the moſt precious reward

[143] Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119.

[144] Mimica emptio, ſays Abulfeda, erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex ærario prius ablatos ærario præſtabat (Annal. Moſlem. p. 78.). Elmacin (in his cloudy verſion, p. 39.) ſeems to report the ſame job. When the Arabs beſieged the palace of Othman, it ſtood high in their catalogue of grievances.

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of the victory: from his ſilence it might be preſumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the præfect's daughter at the ſight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modeſty of that gallant ſoldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almoſt rejected as a ſlave, by her father's murderer, who coolly declared that his ſword was conſecrated to the ſervice of religion; and that he laboured for a recompenſe far above the charms of mortal beauty, or the riches of this tranſitory life. A reward congenial to his temper, was the honourable commiſſion of announcing to the caliph Othman the ſucceſs of his arms. The companions, the chiefs, and the people, were aſſembled in the moſch of Medina, to hear the intereſting narrative of Zobeir; and, as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counſels and actions, the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Caled and Amrou [145].

Progreſs of the Saracens in Africa, A. D. 665—689.

The weſtern conqueſts of the Saracens were ſuſpended near twenty years, till their diſſenſions were compoſed by the eſtabliſhment of the houſe of Ommiyah: and the caliph Moawiyah was invited by the cries of the Africans themſelves. The ſucceſſors of Heraclius had been informed of the tribute which they had been compelled to ſtipulate with the Arabs; but inſtead of being moved to pity and relieve their diſtreſs, they impoſed, as an equivalent or a fine, a ſecond tribute of a ſimilar amount. The ears of the Byzantine miniſters were ſhut againſt the complaints of their poverty and ruin: their deſpair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a ſingle maſter; and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was inveſted with civil and military power, provoked the ſectaries, and even the Catholics, of the Roman province to abjure the religion as

[145] Επεστρατευσαν Σαρακηνοι την Αφρικην, και συμβαλοντες τῳ τυραννῳ Γρηγοριῳ τυτον τρεπουσι και τους συν αυτῳ κτεινουσι και τοιχησαντες φορους μετα των Αφρων υπεστρεψαν. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 285. edit. Paris. His chronology is looſe and inaccurate.

well

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well as the authority of their tyrants. The firſt lieutenant of Moawiyah acquired a juſt renown, ſubdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thouſand Greeks, ſwept away fourſcore thouſand captives, and enriched with their ſpoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt [146]. But the title of conqueror of Africa is more juſtly due to his ſucceſſor Akbah. He marched from Damaſcus at the head of ten thouſand of the braveſt Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moſlems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and converſion of many thouſand Barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it neceſſary, to trace the accurate line of the progreſs of Akbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab or Numidia, fourſcore thouſand of the natives might aſſemble in arms; but the number of three hundred and ſixty towns is incompatible with the ignorance or decay of huſbandry [147]; and a circumference of three leagues will not be juſtified by the ruins of Erbe or Lambeſa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country. As we approach the ſea-coaſt, the well-known cities of Bugia [148] and Tangier [149] define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade ſtill adheres to the commodious harbour of Bugia, which, in a more proſperous age, is ſaid to have contained about twenty thouſand houſes; and the plenty of iron which is dug from the adjacent mountains might have ſupplied a braver people with the inſtruments of defence. The remote poſition and venerable anti-

[146] Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293.) inſerts the vague rumours that might reach Conſtantinople, of the weſtern conqueſts of the Arabs; and I learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia (de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 13.), that at this time they ſent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African ſeas.

[147] See Novairi (apud Otter, p. 118.), Leo Africanus (fol. 81. *verſo*), who reckons only cinque citta è infinite caſale, Marmol (Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 33.), and Shaw (Travels, p. 57. 65—68.).

[148] Leo African. fol. 58. verſo 59. recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 43.

[149] Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 228.

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quity of Tingi, or Tangier, have been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables; but the figurative expreſſions of the latter, that the walls were conſtructed of braſs, and that the roofs were covered with gold and ſilver, may be interpreted as the emblems of ſtrength and opulence. The province of Mauritania Tingitana[150], which aſſumed the name of the capital, had been imperfectly diſcovered and ſettled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more ſouthern parts were ſeldom explored except by the agents of luxury, who ſearched the foreſts for ivory and the citron wood[151], and the ſhores of the ocean for the purple ſhell-fiſh. The fearleſs Akbah plunged into the heart of the country, traverſed the wilderneſs in which his ſucceſſors erected the ſplendid capitals of Fez and Morocco[152], and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great deſert. The river Sus deſcends from the weſtern ſides of mount Atlas, fertiliſes, like the Nile, the adjacent ſoil, and falls into the ſea at a moderate diſtance from the Canary, or Fortu-

[150] Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illuſtre ſortita, parvis oppidis habitatur, parva flumina emittit, ſolo quam viris melior et ſegnitie gentis obſcura. Pomponius Mela, i. 5. iii. 10. Mela deſerves the more credit, ſince his own Phœnician anceſtors had migrated from Tingitana to Spain (ſee, in ii. 6. a paſſage of that geographer ſo cruelly tortured by Salmaſius, Iſaac Voſſius, and the moſt virulent of critics, James Gronovius). He lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the emperor Claudius: yet almoſt thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. v. 1.) complains of his authors, too lazy to enquire, too proud to confeſs their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

[151] The fooliſh faſhion of this citron wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taſte for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, ſold for the price of an eſtate (latefundii taxatione), eight, ten, or twelve thouſand pounds ſterling (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xiii. 29.). I conceive that I muſt not confound the tree *citrus*, with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botaniſt enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypreſs) by the vulgar or Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmaſius appears to exhauſt the ſubject, but he too often involves himſelf in the web of his diſorderly erudition (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, &c.).

[152] Leo African. fol. 16. verſo. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the firſt ſcene of the exploits and greatneſs of the *cherifs*, is often mentioned in the curious hiſtory of that dynaſty at the end of the iii^d volume of Marmol, Deſcription de l'Afrique. The iii^d vol. of the Recherches Hiſtoriques ſur les Maures (lately publiſhed at Paris) illuſtrates the hiſtory and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

nate, iſlands. Its banks were inhabited by the laſt of the Moors, a race of ſavages, without laws, or diſcipline, or religion: they were aſtoniſhed by the ſtrange and irreſiſtible terrors of the Oriental arms; and as they poſſeſſed neither gold nor ſilver, the richeſt ſpoil was the beauty of the female captives, ſome of whom were afterwards ſold for a thouſand pieces of gold. The career, though not the zeal, of Akbah was checked by the proſpect of a boundleſs ocean. He ſpurred his horſe into the waves, and raiſing his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with the tone of a fanatic: "Great God! if my courſe "were not ſtopped by this ſea, I would ſtill go on, to the unknown "kingdoms of the Weſt, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and "putting to the ſword the rebellious nations who worſhip any other "gods than thee[153]." Yet this Mahometan Alexander, who ſighed for new worlds, was unable to preſerve his recent conqueſts. By the univerſal defection of the Greeks and Africans, he was recalled from the ſhores of the Atlantic, and the ſurrounding multitudes left him only the reſource of an honourable death. The laſt ſcene was dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chief, who had diſputed the command and failed in the attempt, was led about as a priſoner in the camp of the Arabian general. The inſurgents had truſted to his diſcontent and revenge; he diſdained their offers and revealed their deſigns. In the hour of danger, the grateful Akbah unlocked his fetters, and adviſed him to retire; he choſe to die under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unſheathed their ſcymetars, broke their ſcabbards, and maintained an obſtinate combat, till they fell by each others ſide on the laſt of their ſlaughtered countrymen. The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his

[153] Otter (p. 119.) has given the ſtrong tone of fanaticiſm to this exclamation, which Cardonne (p. 37.) has ſoftened to a pious wiſh of *preaching* the Koran. Yet they had both the ſame text of Novairi before their eyes.

predeceſſor.

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predeceſſor. He vanquiſhed the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Conſtantinople had ſent to the relief of Carthage.

Foundation of Cairoan, A. D. 670—675.

It had been the frequent practice of the Mooriſh tribes to join the invaders, to ſhare the plunder, to profeſs the faith, and to revolt to their ſavage ſtate of independence and idolatry, on the firſt retreat or misfortune of the Moſlems. The prudence of Akbah had propoſed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the Barbarians, a place of refuge to ſecure, againſt the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modeſt title of the ſtation of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its preſent decay, Cairoan[154] ſtill holds the ſecond rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is diſtant about fifty miles to the ſouth[155]: its inland ſituation, twelve miles weſtward of the ſea, has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beaſts and ſerpents were extirpated, when the foreſt, or rather wilderneſs, was cleared, the veſtiges of a Roman town were diſcovered in a ſandy plain: the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar; and the ſcarcity of ſprings conſtrains the inhabitants to collect in ciſterns and reſervoirs a precarious ſupply of rain-water. Theſe obſtacles were ſubdued by the induſtry of Akbah; he traced a circumference of three thouſand and ſix hundred paces, which he encompaſſed with a brick wall; in the ſpace of five years, the go-

[154] The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.); and the ſituation, moſch, &c. of the city, are deſcribed by Leo Africanus (fol. 75.), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 532.), and Shaw (p. 115.).

[155] A portentous, though frequent miſtake, has been the confounding, from a ſlight ſimilitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, two cities which are ſeparated by an interval of a thouſand miles along the ſea-coaſt. The great Thuanus has not eſcaped this fault, the leſs excuſable as it is connected with a formal and elaborate deſcription of Africa (Hiſtoriar. l. vii. c. 2. in tom. i. p. 240. edit. Buckley).

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vernor's palace was ſurrounded with a ſufficient number of private habitations; a ſpacious moſch was ſupported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble; and Cairoan became the ſeat of learning as well as of empire. But theſe were the glories of a later age; the new colony was ſhaken by the ſucceſſive defeats of Akbah and Zuheir, and the weſtern expeditions were again interrupted by the civil diſcord of the Arabian monarchy. The ſon of the valiant Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a ſiege of ſeven months againſt the houſe of Ommiyah. Abdallah was ſaid to unite the fierceneſs of the lion with the ſubtlety of the fox; but if he inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generoſity, of his father[156].

Conqueſt of Carthage, A. D. 692—698.

The return of domeſtic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to reſume the conqueſt of Africa; the ſtandard was delivered to Haſſan governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of forty thouſand men, was conſecrated to the important ſervice. In the viciſſitudes of war, the interior provinces had been alternately won and loſt by the Saracens. But the ſea-coaſt ſtill remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predeceſſors of Haſſan had reſpected the name and fortifications of Carthage; and the number of its defenders was recruited by the fugitives of Cabes and Tripoli. The arms of Haſſan were bolder and more fortunate: he reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa; and the mention of ſcaling-ladders may juſtify the ſuſpicion that he anticipated, by a ſudden aſſault, the more tedious operations of a regular ſiege. But the joy of the conquerors was ſoon diſturbed by the appearance of the Chriſtian ſuccours. The præfect and patrician John, a general of experience

[156] Beſides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius, under the lxxiii[d] year of the Hegira, we may conſult d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 7.) and Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339—349.). The latter has given the laſt and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother; but he has forgot a phyſical effect of *her* grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal conſequences, of her *menſes*.

and

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and renown, embarked at Conſtantinople the forces of the Eaſtern empire[157]; they were joined by the ſhips and ſoldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of Goths[158] was obtained from the fears and religion of the Spaniſh monarch. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbour; the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli; the Chriſtians landed; the citizens hailed the enſign of the croſs, and the winter was idly waſted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably loſt: the zeal and reſentment of the commander of the faithful[159] prepared in the enſuing ſpring a more numerous armament by ſea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the poſt and fortifications of Carthage. A ſecond battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Utica: the Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation ſaved them from the ſword of Haſſan, who had inveſted the ſlight and inſufficient rampart of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage, was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido[160] and Cæſar lay deſolate

[157] Ασοντιος.... απαντα τα Ρωμαικα εξωπλισε πλοιμα, στρατηγον τε επ' αυτοις Ιωαννην τον Πατρικιον εμπειρον των πολεμιων προχειρισαμενος προς Καρχηδονα κατα των Σαρακηνων εξεπεμψεν. Nicephori Conſtantinopolitani Breviar. p. 28. The patriarch of Conſtantinople, with Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 309.), have ſlightly mentioned this laſt attempt for the relief of Africa. Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129. 141.) has nicely aſcertained the chronology by a ſtrict compariſon of the Arabic and Byzantine hiſtorians, who often diſagree both in time and fact. See likewiſe a note of Otter (p. 121.).

[158] Dove s'erano ridotti i nobili Romani e i *Gotti*; and afterwards, i Romani fuggirono e i *Gotti*, laſciarono Carthagine (Leo African. fol. 72. recto). I know not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths, but the fact, though new, is ſo intereſting and ſo probable, that I will accept it on the ſlighteſt authority.

[159] This commander is ſtyled by Nicephorus Βασιλευς Σαρακηνων, a vague though not improper definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the ſtrange appellation of Πρωτοσυμβολος, which his interpreter Goar explains by *Vizir Azem*. They may approach the truth, in aſſigning the active part to the miniſter, rather than the prince; but they forget that the Ommiades had only a *kateb*, or ſecretary, and that the office of vizir was not revived or inſtituted till the 132d year of the Hegira (d'Herbelot, p. 912.).

[160] According to Solinus (l. 27. p. 36. edit. Salmaſ.), the Carthage of Dido ſtood either 677 or 737 years; a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of MSS.

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ſolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was repeopled by the firſt of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the ſecond capital of the Weſt was repreſented by a moſch, a college without ſtudents, twenty-five or thirty ſhops, and the huts of five hundred peaſants, who, in their abject poverty, diſplayed the arrogance of the Punic ſenators. Even that paltry village was ſwept away by the Spaniards whom Charles the Fifth had ſtationed in the fortreſs of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have periſhed; and the place might be unknown if ſome broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footſteps of the inquiſitive traveller [161].

Final conqueſt of Africa, A. D. 698—709.

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet maſters of the country. In the interior provinces the Moors or *Berbers* [162], ſo feeble under the firſt Cæſars, ſo formidable to the Byzantine princes, maintained a diſorderly reſiſtance to the religion and power of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet. Under the ſtandard of their queen Cahina the independent tribes acquired ſome degree of union and diſcipline; and as the Moors reſpected in their females the character of a pro-

or editions (Salmaſ. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228.). The former of theſe accounts, which gives 823 years before Chriſt, is more conſiſtent with the well-weighed teſtimony of Velleius Paterculus: but the latter is preferred by our chronologiſts (Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 398.), as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals.

[161] Leo African. fol. 71, verſo; 72, recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 80.

[162] The hiſtory of the word *Barbar* may be claſſed under four periods. 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Aſiatics might probably uſe a common idiom, the imitative ſound of Bar-bar was applied to the ruder tribes, whoſe pronunciation was moſt harſh, whoſe grammar was moſt defective. Καρες Βαρβαροφωνοι (Iliad ii. 867. with the Oxford ſcholiaſt, Clarke's Annotation, and Henry Stephens's Greek Theſaurus, tom. i. p. 720.). 2. From the time, at leaſt, of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were ſtrangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans ſubmitted to the inſult (Pompeius Feſtus, l. ii. p. 48. edit. Dacier), and freely gave themſelves the name of Barbarians. They inſenſibly claimed an exemption for Italy, and her ſubject provinces; and at length removed the diſgraceful appellation to the ſavage or hoſtile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every ſenſe, it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has juſtly ſettled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coaſt of Africa.

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phetefs, they attacked the invaders with an enthufiafm fimilar to their own. The veteran bands of Haffan were inadequate to the defence of Africa: the conquefts of an age were loft in a fingle day; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promifed fuccours of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens, the victorious prophetefs affembled the Moorifh chiefs, and recommended a meafure of ftrange and favage policy. "Our cities," faid fhe, "and the gold and filver which they contain, perpetually "attract the arms of the Arabs. Thefe vile metals are not the ob-"jects of *our* ambition; we content ourfelves with the fimple pro-"ductions of the earth. Let us deftroy thefe cities; let us bury "in their ruins thofe pernicious treafures; and when the avarice of "our foes fhall be deftitute of temptation, perhaps they will ceafe "to difturb the tranquillity of a warlike people." The propofal was accepted with unanimous applaufe. From Tangier to Tripoli the buildings, or at leaft the fortifications, were demolifhed, the fruit-trees were cut down, the means of fubfiftence were extirpated, a fertile and populous garden was changed into a defert, and the hiftorians of a more recent period could difcern the frequent traces of the profperity and devaftation of their anceftors. Such is the tale of the modern Arabians. Yet I ftrongly fufpect that their ignorance of antiquity, the love of the marvellous, and the fafhion of extolling the philofophy of Barbarians, has induced them to defcribe, as one voluntary act, the calamities of three hundred years fince the firft fury of the Donatifts and Vandals. In the progrefs of the revolt Cahina had moft probably contributed her fhare of deftruction; and the alarm of univerfal ruin might terrify and alienate the cities that had reluctantly yielded to her unworthy yoke. They no longer hoped, perhaps they no longer wifhed, the return of their Byzan-

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tine ſovereigns: their preſent ſervitude was not alleviated by the benefits of order and juſtice; and the moſt zealous Catholic muſt prefer the imperfect truths of the Koran to the blind and rude idolatry of the Moors. The general of the Saracens was again received as the ſaviour of the province: the friends of civil ſociety conſpired againſt the ſavages of the land; and the royal propheteſs was ſlain in the firſt battle which overturned the baſeleſs fabric of her ſuperſtition and empire. The ſame ſpirit revived under the ſucceſſor of Haſſan: it was finally quelled by the activity of Muſa and his two ſons; but the number of the rebels may be preſumed from that of three hundred thouſand captives; ſixty thouſand of whom, the caliph's fifth, were ſold for the profit of the public treaſury. Thirty thouſand of the Barbarian youth were enliſted in the troops; and the pious labours of Muſa, to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accuſtomed the Africans to obey the apoſtle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors reſembled the Bedoweens of the deſert. With the religion, they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin, of Arabs: the blood of the ſtrangers and natives was inſenſibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the ſame nation might ſeem to be diffuſed over the ſandy plains of Aſia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thouſand tents of pure Arabians might be tranſported over the Nile, and ſcattered through the Libyan deſert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Mooriſh tribes ſtill retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans [163].

Adoption of the Moors.

[163] The firſt book of Leo Africanus, and the obſervations of Dr. Shaw (p. 220. 223. 227. 247, &c.), will throw ſome light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Mooriſh deſcent. But Shaw had ſeen theſe ſavages with diſtant terror; and Leo, a captive in the Vatican, appears to have loſt more of his Arabic, than he could acquire of Greek or Roman, learning. Many of his groſs miſtakes might be detected in the firſt period of the Mahometan hiſtory.

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SPAIN. First temptations and designs of the Arabs, A. D. 709.

V. In the progreſs of conqueſt from the north and ſouth, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the confines of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the latter, the difference of religion is a reaſonable ground of enmity and warfare [164]. As early as the time of Othman [165] their piratical ſquadrons had ravaged the coaſt of Andaluſia [166]; nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic ſuccours. In that age, as well as in the preſent, the kings of Spain were poſſeſſed of the fortreſs of Ceuta; one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow ſtreight from the oppoſite pillar or point of Europe. A ſmall portion of Mauritania was ſtill wanting to the African conqueſt; but Muſa, in the pride of victory, was repulſed from the walls of Ceuta, by the vigilance and courage of count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his diſappointment and perplexity, Muſa was relieved by an unexpected meſſage of the Chriſtian chief, who offered his place, his perſon, and his ſword, to the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, and ſolicited the diſgraceful honour of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain [167]. If

[164] In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amrou obſerved that their religion was different; upon which ſcore it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 328.

[165] Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 78. verſ. Reiſke.

[166] The name of Andaluſia is applied by the Arabs not only to the modern province, but to the whole peninſula of Spain (Geograph. Nub. p. 151. d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 114, 115.). The etymology has been moſt improbably deduced from Vandaluſia, country of the Vandals (d'Anville Etats de l'Europe, p. 146, 147, &c.). But the Handaluſia of Caſiri, which ſignifies in Arabic the region of the evening, of the Weſt, in a word, the Heſperia of the Greeks, is perfectly appoſite (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 327, &c.).

[167] The fall and reſurrection of the Gothic monarchy are related by Mariana (tom. i. p. 238—260. l. vi. c. 19—26. l. vii. c. 1, 2.). That hiſtorian has infuſed into his noble work (Hiſtoriæ de Rebus Hiſpaniæ, libri xxx. Hagæ Comitum 1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Miniana), the ſtyle and ſpirit of a Roman claſſic; and after the xiith century, his knowledge and judgment may be ſafely truſted. But the Jeſuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the moſt abſurd of the national legends; he is too careleſs of criticiſm and chronology, and ſupplies, from a lively fancy, the chaſms of hiſtorical evidence. Theſe chaſms are large and frequent; Roderic archbiſhop of Toledo, the father of the Spaniſh hiſtory, lived five hundred years after the conqueſt of the Arabs; and the more early

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If we enquire into the cauſe of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular ſtory of his daughter Cava[168]; of a virgin who was ſeduced, or raviſhed, by her ſovereign; of a father who ſacrificed his religion and country to the thirſt of revenge. The paſſions of princes have often been licentious and deſtructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itſelf, is indifferently ſupported by external evidence; and the hiſtory of Spain will ſuggeſt ſome motives of intereſt and policy more congenial to the breaſt of a veteran ſtateſman[169]. After the deceaſe or depoſition of Witiza, his two ſons were ſupplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whoſe father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was ſtill elective; but the ſons of Witiza, educated on the ſteps of the throne, were impatient of a private ſtation. Their reſentment was the more dangerous, as it was varniſhed with the diſſimulation of courts: their followers were excited by the remembrance of favours and the promiſe of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbiſhop of Toledo and Seville, was the firſt perſon in the church, and the ſecond in the ſtate. It is probable that Julian was involved in the diſgrace of the unſucceſsful faction, that he had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderic and his family had ſuſtained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him an uſeful or formidable ſubject: his eſtates were ample, his followers bold and

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accounts are compriſed in ſome meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Iſidore of Badajoz (Pacenſis), and of Alphonſo III. king of Leon, which I have ſeen only in the Annals of Pagi.

[168] Le viol (ſays Voltaire) eſt auſſi difficile à faire qu'à prouver. Des Evêques ſe ſeroient ils ligués pour une fille? (Hiſt. Generale, c. xxvi.) His argument is not logically concluſive.

[169] In the ſtory of Cava, Mariana (l. vi. c. 21. p. 241, 242.) ſeems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he ſeldom quotes; and the oldeſt teſtimony of Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A.D. 713, N° 19.), that of Lucas Tudenſis, a Galician deacon of the xiiith century, only ſays, Cava quam pro concubinâ utebatur.

numerous,

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numerous, and it was too fatally ſhewn that, by his Andaluſian and Mauritanian commands, he held in his hand the keys of the Spaniſh monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his ſovereign in arms, he ſought the aid of a foreign power; and his raſh invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epiſtles, or in a perſonal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedneſs of his country; the weakneſs of an unpopular prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious Barbarians, who had humbled the pride of Rome, deſpoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenæan mountains, the ſucceſſors of Alaric had ſlumbered in a long peace: the walls of the cities were mouldered into duſt: the youth had abandoned the exerciſe of arms; and the preſumption of their ancient renown would expoſe them in a field of battle to the firſt aſſault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the eaſe and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had conſulted the commander of the faithful; and his meſſenger returned with the permiſſion of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the Weſt to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his reſidence of Tangier, Muſa, with ſecrecy and caution, continued his correſpondence and haſtened his preparations. But the remorſe of the conſpirators was ſoothed by the fallacious aſſurance that he ſhould content himſelf with the glory and ſpoil, without aſpiring to eſtabliſh the Moſlems beyond the ſea that ſeparates Africa from Europe [170].

Before

[170] The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, paſs over the conqueſt of Spain in ſilence, or with a ſingle word. The text of Novairi, and the other Arabian writers, is repreſented, though with ſome foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous la Domination des Arabes, Paris 1765, 3 vol. in 12mo. tom. i. p. 55—114.), and more conciſely by M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 347—350.). The librarian

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The firſt deſcent of the Arabs, A. D. 710, July.

Before Muſa would truſt an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land, he made a leſs dangerous trial of their ſtrength and veracity. One hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans, paſſed over, in four veſſels, from Tangier or Ceuta; the place of their deſcent on the oppoſite ſhore of the ſtreight, is marked by the name of Tarif their chief; and the date of this memorable event [171] is fixed to the month of Ramadan, of the ninety-firſt year of the Hegira, to the month of July, ſeven hundred and forty-eight years from the Spaniſh æra of Cæſar [172], ſeven hundred and ten after the birth of Chriſt. From their firſt ſtation, they marched eighteen miles through an hilly country to the caſtle and town of Julian [173]; on which (it is ſtill called Algezire) they beſtowed the name of the Green iſland, from a verdant cape that advances into the ſea. Their hoſpitable entertainment, the Chriſtians who joined their ſtandard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richneſs of

librarian of the Eſcurial has not ſatisfied my hopes: yet he appears to have ſearched with diligence his broken materials; and the hiſtory of the conqueſt is illuſtrated by ſome valuable fragments of the *genuine* Razis (who wrote at Corduba, A. H. 300), of Ben Hazil, &c. See Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 32. 105, 106. 182. 252. 319—332. On this occaſion, the induſtry of Pagi has been aided by the Arabic learning of his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, and to their joint labours I am deeply indebted.

[171] A miſtake of Roderic of Toledo, in comparing the lunar years of the Hegira with the Julian years of the Æra, has determined Baronius, Mariana, and the crowd of Spaniſh hiſtorians, to place the firſt invaſion in the year 713, and the battle of Xeres in November 714. This anachroniſm of three years, has been detected by the more correct induſtry of modern chronologiſts, above all, of Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 169. 171—174.), who have reſtored the genuine date of the revolution. At the preſent time, an Arabian ſcholar like Cardonne, who adopts the ancient error (tom. i. p. 75.), is inexcuſably ignorant or careleſs.

[172] The Æra of Cæſar, which in Spain was in legal and popular uſe till the xiv^th^ century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Chriſt. I would refer the origin to the general peace by ſea and land, which confirmed the power and *partition* of the Triumvirs (Dion Caſſius, l. xlviii. p. 547. 553. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. v. p. 1034. edit. fol.). Spain was a province of Cæſar Octavian; and Tarragona, which raiſed the firſt temple to Auguſtus (Tacit. Annal. i. 78.), might borrow from the Orientals this mode of flattery.

[173] The road, the country, the old caſtle of count Julian, and the ſuperſtitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treaſures, &c. are deſcribed by Pere Labat (Voyages en Eſpagne et en Italie, tom. i. p. 207—217.) with his uſual pleaſantry.

their

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their ſpoil, and the ſafety of their return, announced to their brethren the moſt favourable omens of victory. In the enſuing ſpring, five thouſand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntleſs and ſkilful ſoldier, who ſurpaſſed the expectation of his chief; and the neceſſary tranſports were provided by the induſtry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed[174] at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar *(Gebel al Tarik)* deſcribes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the firſt outline of thoſe fortifications, which, in the hands of our countrymen, have reſiſted the art and power of the houſe of Bourbon. The adjacent governors informed the court of Toledo of the deſcent and progreſs of the Arabs; and the defeat of his lieutenant Edeco, who had been commanded to ſeize and bind the preſumptuous ſtrangers, admoniſhed Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal ſummons, the dukes and counts, the biſhops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, aſſembled at the head of their followers; and the title of king of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic hiſtorian, may be excuſed by the cloſe affinity of language, religion, and manners, between the nations of Spain. His army conſiſted of ninety or an hundred thouſand men; a formidable power, if their fidelity and diſcipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thouſand Saracens; but the Chriſtian malecontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans moſt greedily taſted the temporal bleſſings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Cadiz, the town of Xeres[175] has been

Their ſecond deſcent, A. D. 711, April;

and victory, July 19—26.

[174] The Nubian geographer (p. 154.) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Muſa ſhould execute the deſperate and uſeleſs meaſure of burning his ſhips.

[175] Xeres (the Roman colony of Aſta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the xvi[th] century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe (Lud. Nonii Hiſpania, c. 13. p. 54—56. a work of correct and conciſe knowledge; d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, &c. p. 154.).

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been illuſtrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the ſtream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating ſkirmiſhes of three ſucceſſive and bloody days. On the fourth day, the two armies joined a more ſerious and deciſive iſſue; but Alaric would have bluſhed at the ſight of his unworthy ſucceſſor, ſuſtaining on his head a diadem of pearls, incumbered with a flowing robe of gold and ſilken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules. Notwithſtanding the valour of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overſpread with ſixteen thouſand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," ſaid Tarik to his ſurviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the ſea is behind; whither would "ye fly? Follow your general: I am reſolved either to loſe my "life, or to trample on the proſtrate king of the Romans." Beſides the reſource of deſpair, he confided in the ſecret correſpondence and nocturnal interviews of count Julian, with the ſons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbiſhop of Toledo, occupied the moſt important poſt: their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Chriſtians; each warrior was prompted by fear or ſuſpicion to conſult his perſonal ſafety; and the remains of the Gothic army were ſcattered or deſtroyed in the flight and purſuit of the three following days. Amidſt the general diſorder, Roderic ſtarted from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleeteſt of his horſes; but he eſcaped from a ſoldier's death to periſh more ignobly in the waters of the Bœtis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courſer, were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was loſt in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph muſt have been gratified with ſome meaner head, which was expoſed in triumph before the palace of Damaſcus. "And ſuch," continues

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a valiant hiſtorian of the Arabs, "is the fate of thoſe kings who "withdraw themſelves from a field of battle [176]."

Ruin of the Gothic monarchy, A. D. 711.

Count Julian had plunged ſo deep into guilt and infamy, that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the moſt effectual meaſures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is ſlain; their princes have fled be-"fore you, the army is routed, the nation is aſtoniſhed. Secure "with ſufficient detachments the cities of Bœtica; but in perſon, "and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow "not the diſtracted Chriſtians either time or tranquillity for the "election of a new monarch." Tarik liſtened to his advice. A Roman captive and proſelyte, who had been enfranchiſed by the caliph himſelf, aſſaulted Cordova with ſeven hundred horſe: he ſwam the river, ſurpriſed the town, and drove the Chriſtians into the great church, where they defended themſelves above three months. Another detachment reduced the ſea-coaſt of Bœtica, which in the laſt period of the Mooriſh power has compriſed in a narrow ſpace the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Bœtis to the Tagus [177], was directed through the Sierra Morena, that ſeparates Andaluſia and Caſtille, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo [178]. The moſt zealous of the Catholics

[176] Id ſane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus ſæpe contingit. Ben Hazil of Grenada, in Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 327. Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Rodrigo, eſcaped to an hermit's cell; and others, that he was caſt alive into a tub full of ſerpents, from whence he exclaimed, with a lamentable voice, "they devour the part with which I "have ſo grievouſly ſinned" (Don Quixote, part ii. l. iii. c. 1.).

[177] The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was meaſured by Mr. Swinburne's mules in 72½ hours; but a larger computation muſt be adopted for the ſlow and devious marches of an army. The Arabs traverſed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into claſſic ground to the readers of every nation.

[178] The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regia* in the vith century, are briefly deſcribed by Nonius (Hiſpania,

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tholics had eſcaped with the relics of their ſaints; and if the gates were ſhut, it was only till the victor had ſubſcribed a fair and reaſonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; ſeven churches were appropriated to the Chriſtian worſhip; the archbiſhop and his clergy were at liberty to exerciſe their functions, the monks to practiſe or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal caſes to the ſubordinate juriſdiction of their own laws and magiſtrates. But if the juſtice of Tarik protected the Chriſtians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whoſe ſecret or open aid he was indebted for his moſt important acquiſitions. Perſecuted by the kings and ſynods of Spain, who had often preſſed the alternative of baniſhment or baptiſm, that outcaſt nation embraced the moment of revenge: the compariſon of their paſt and preſent ſtate was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the diſciples of Moſes and of Mahomet, was maintained till the final æra of their common expulſion. From the royal ſeat of Toledo, the Arabian leader ſpread his conqueſts to the north, over the modern realms of Caſtille and Leon; but it is needleſs to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach, or again to deſcribe the table of emerald[179], tranſported from the Eaſt by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the ſpoils of Rome, and preſented by the Arabs to the throne

pania, c. 59. p. 181—186.). He borrows from Roderic the *fatale palatium* of Mooriſh portraits; but modeſtly inſinuates, it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

[179] In the Hiſtoria Arabum (c. 9. p. 17. ad calcem Elmacin), Roderic of Toledo deſcribes the emerald tables, and inſerts the name of Medinat Almeyda in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be converſant with the Mahometan writers; but I cannot agree with M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 350.), that he had read and tranſcribed Novairi; becauſe he was dead an hundred years before Novairi compoſed his hiſtory. This miſtake is founded on a ſtill groſſer error. M. de Guignes confounds the hiſtorian Roderic Ximenes archbiſhop of Toledo in the xiiith century, with cardinal Ximenes who governed Spain in the beginning of the xvith, and was the ſubject, not the author, of hiſtorical compoſitions.

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of Damaſcus. Beyond the Aſturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term [180] of the lieutenant of Muſa, who had performed, with the ſpeed of a traveller, his victorious march, of ſeven hundred miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the bay of Biſcay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuſe his preſumption of ſubduing a kingdom in the abſence of his general. Spain, which, in a more ſavage and diſorderly ſtate, had reſiſted, two hundred years, the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by thoſe of the Saracens; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of ſubmiſſion and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a priſoner into their hands. The cauſe of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national diſmay, each part of the monarchy declined a conteſt with the antagoniſt who had vanquiſhed the united ſtrength of the whole [181]. That ſtrength had been waſted by two ſucceſſive ſeaſons of famine and peſtilence; and the governors, who were impatient to ſurrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the proviſions of a ſiege. To diſarm the Chriſtians, ſuperſtition likewiſe contributed her terrors: and the ſubtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the deſtined conquerors of Spain, that were diſcovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a ſpark of the vital flame was ſtill alive: ſome invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Aſturian vallies; the hardy mountaineers repulſed the ſlaves of the

[180] Tarik might have inſcribed on the laſt rock, the boaſt of Regnard and his companions in their Lapland journey, "Hic tandem ſtetimus, nobis ubi defuit orbis."

[181] Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addreſſed did not anſwer with the ſpirit of Pelagius: Omnis Hiſpania dudum ſub uno regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hiſpaniæ in uno congregatus Iſmaelitarum non valuit ſuſtinere impetum. Chron. Alphonſi Regis, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

caliph;

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caliph; and the ſword of Pelagiûs has been transformed into the ſceptre of the Catholic kings[182].

Conqueſt of Spain by Muſa, A. D. 712, 713.

On the intelligence of this rapid ſucceſs, the applauſe of Muſa degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to ſubdue. At the head of ten thouſand Arabs and eight thouſand Africans, he paſſed over in perſon from Mauritania to Spain: the firſt of his companions were the nobleſt of the Koreiſh; his eldeſt ſon was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and ſpirit to ſecond the boldeſt enterpriſes of their father. At his landing in Algezire, he was reſpectfully entertained by count Julian, who ſtifled his inward remorſe, and teſtified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cauſe. Some enemies yet remained for the ſword of Muſa. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and thoſe of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined, conſidered themſelves as impregnable; and the braveſt patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were ſucceſſively beſieged and reduced by the labour of Muſa, who tranſported his camp from the Bœtis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolis of Luſitania, "I ſhould "imagine," ſaid he to his four companions, "that the human race "muſt have united their art and power in the foundation of this "city: happy is the man who ſhall become its maſter!" He aſpired to that happineſs, but the *Emeritans* ſuſtained on this occaſion the honour of their deſcent from the veteran legionaries of Auguſtus[183].

Diſdaining

[182] The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Aſturias is diſtinctly though conciſely noticed by d'Anville (Etats de l'Europe, p. 159.).

[183] The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Caſſius, l. liii. p. 720.) were planted in this metropolis of Luſitania, perhaps

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Diſdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuſcade riſing from the ſhelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chaſtiſed their indiſcretion and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of aſſault were rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obſtinate and long; and the *caſtle of the martyrs* was a perpetual teſtimony of the loſſes of the Moſlems. The conſtancy of the beſieged was at length ſubdued by famine and deſpair; and the prudent victor diſguiſed his impatience under the names of clemency and eſteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of thoſe who had fallen in the ſiege, or retired to Gallicia, was confiſcated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Muſa ſaluted the vicegerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their firſt interview was cold and formal: a rigid account was exacted of the treaſures of Spain: the character of Tarik was expoſed to ſuſpicion and obloquy; and the hero was impriſoned, reviled, and ignominiouſly ſcourged by the hand, or the command, of Muſa. Yet ſo ſtrict was the diſcipline, ſo pure the zeal, or ſo tame the ſpirit, of the primitive Moſlems, that, after this public indignity, Tarik could ſerve and be truſted in the reduction of the Tarragoneſe province. A moſch was erected at Saragoſſa, by the liberality of the Koreiſh: the port of Barcelona was opened to the veſſels of Syria; and the Goths were purſued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc[184]. In the church of St. Mary at Carcaſſone,

perhaps of Spain (ſubmittit cui tota ſuos Hiſpania faſces). Nonius (Hiſpania, c. 31. p. 106—110.) enumerates the ancient ſtructures, but concludes with a ſigh: Urbs hæc olim nobiliſſima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapſa eſt et præter priſcæ claritatis ruinas nihil oſtendit.

[184] Both the interpreters of Novairi, de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 349.) and Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom.

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caſſone, Muſa found, but it is improbable that he left, ſeven equeſtrian ſtatues of maſſy ſilver; and from his *term* or column of Narbonne, he returned on his footſteps to the Gallician and Luſitanian ſhores of the ocean. During the abſence of the father, his ſon Abdelaziz chaſtiſed the inſurgents of Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valentia, the ſea-coaſt of the Mediterranean: his original treaty with the diſcreet and valiant Theodemir [185] will repreſent the manners and policy of the times. "*The conditions of peace agreed and ſworn* "*between Abdelaziz, the ſon of Muſa, the ſon of Naſſir, and Theo-* "*demir, prince of the Goths.* In the name of the moſt merciful "God, Abdelaziz makes peace on theſe conditions: *that* Theode- "mir ſhall not be diſturbed in his principality; nor any injury be "offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the reli- "gion and temples, of the Chriſtians: *that* Theodemir ſhall freely "deliver his ſeven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vaca- "ſora, Bigerra (now Bejar), Ora (or Opta), and Lorca: *that* he "ſhall not aſſiſt or entertain the enemies of the caliph, but ſhall "faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hoſtile deſigns: "*that* himſelf, and each of the Gothic nobles, ſhall annually pay "one piece of gold, four meaſures of wheat, as many of barley, "with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar; and that "each of their vaſſals ſhall be taxed at one moiety of the ſaid impo- "ſition. Given the fourth of Regeb, in the year of the Hegira

tom. i. p. 93, 94. 104, 105.), lead Muſa into the Narbonneſe Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterpriſe either in Roderic of Toledo, or the MSS. of the Eſcurial, and the invaſion of the Saracens is poſtponed by a French chronicle till the ix^th^ year after the conqueſt of Spain, A. D. 721 (Pagi Critica, tom. iii. p. 177. 195. Hiſtorians of France, tom. iii.). I much queſtion whether Muſa ever paſſed the Pyrenees.

[185] Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena retain in the Nubian geographer Edriſi (p. 154. 161.) the name of Tadmir (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 156. Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174.). In the preſent decay of Spaniſh agriculture, Mr. Swinburne (Travels into Spain, p. 119.) ſurveyed with pleaſure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of the fineſt corn, pulſe, lucern, oranges, &c.

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"ninety-four, and ſubſcribed with the names of four Muſulman "witneſſes [186]." Theodemir and his ſubjects were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the ſubmiſſion or obſtinacy of the Chriſtians [187]. In this revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious paſſions of the enthuſiaſts: ſome churches were profaned by the new worſhip: ſome relics or images were confounded with idols: the rebels were put to the ſword; and one town (an obſcure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the invaſion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Caſtille and Arragon, we muſt applaud the moderation and diſcipline of the Arabian conquerors.

Diſgrace of Muſa, A. D. 714.

The exploits of Muſa were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to diſguiſe his age by colouring with a red powder the whiteneſs of his beard. But in the love of action and glory, his breaſt was ſtill fired with the ardour of youth; and the poſſeſſion of Spain was conſidered only as the firſt ſtep to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by ſea and land, he was preparing to repaſs the Pyrenees, to extinguiſh in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence,

[186] See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. It is ſigned the 4th of the month of Regeb, A. H. 94. the 5th of April, A. D. 713, a date which ſeems to prolong the reſiſtance of Theodemir and the government of Muſa.

[187] From the hiſtory of Sandoval, p. 87. Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 261.) has given the ſubſtance of another treaty concluded A. Æ. C. 782. A. D. 734, between an Arabian chief, and the Goths and Romans, of the territory of Conimbra in Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the monaſteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: the Chriſtians are judged by their count, but in capital caſes he muſt conſult the alcaide. The church doors muſt be ſhut, and they muſt reſpect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or deſtroy a dark ſuſpicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

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ſubduing the Barbarians of Germany, he propoſed to follow the courſe of the Danube from its ſource to the Euxine ſea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Conſtantinople, and returning from Europe to Aſia, to unite his new acquiſitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria[188]. But his vaſt enterpriſe, perhaps of eaſy execution, muſt have ſeemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the viſionary conqueror was ſoon reminded of his dependence and ſervitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually ſtated his ſervices and wrongs: at the court of Damaſcus, the proceedings of Muſa were blamed, his intentions were ſuſpected, and his delay in complying with the firſt invitation was chaſtiſed by an harſher and more peremptory ſummons. An intrepid meſſenger of the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Gallicia, and in the preſence of the Saracens and Chriſtians arreſted the bridle of his horſe. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience: and his diſgrace was alleviated by the recal of his rival, and the permiſſion of inveſting with his two governments his two ſons, Abdallah and Abdelaziz. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damaſcus diſplayed the ſpoils of Afric and the treaſures of Spain: four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were diſtinguiſhed in his train; and the number of male and female captives, ſelected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thouſand perſons. As ſoon as he reached Tiberias in Paleſtine, he was appriſed of the ſickneſs and danger of the caliph, by a private meſſage from Soliman, his brother and preſumptive heir; who wiſhed to reſerve for his own reign, the ſpectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Muſa would have been

[188] This deſign, which is atteſted by *ſeveral* Arabian hiſtorians (Cardonne, tom. i. p. 95, 96.), may be compared with that of Mithridates, to march from the Crimæa to Rome; or with that of Cæſar, to conquer the Eaſt, and return home by the North: and all three are perhaps ſurpaſſed by the *real* and ſucceſsful enterpriſe of Hannibal.

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been criminal: he purſued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, againſt a popular antagoniſt, he was convicted of vanity and falſehood; and a fine of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold either exhauſted his poverty or proved his rapaciouſneſs. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a ſimilar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, ſtood a whole day in the ſun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The reſentment of the caliph might have been ſatiated with the ruin of Muſa; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A ſentence of death was intimated with ſecrecy and ſpeed to the truſty ſervants of the throne both in Africa and Spain; and the forms, if not the ſubſtance, of juſtice were ſuperſeded in this bloody execution. In the moſch or palace of Cordova, Abdelaziz was ſlain by the ſwords of the conſpirators; they accuſed their governor of claiming the honours of royalty; and his ſcandalous marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Chriſtians and Moſlems. By a refinement of cruelty, the head of the ſon was preſented to the father with an inſulting queſtion, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation: "I aſſert his innocence; and I imprecate the ſame, a "juſter, fate, againſt the authors of his death." The age and deſpair of Muſa raiſed him above the power of kings; and he expired at Mecca of the anguiſh of a broken heart. His rival was more favourably treated: his ſervices were forgiven; and Tarik was permitted to mingle with the crowd of ſlaves [189]. I am ignorant whether

[189] I much regret our loſs, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the viiith century, a Life of Muſa, and a Poem on the Exploits of Tarik. Of theſe authentic pieces, the former was compoſed by a grandſon of Muſa, who had eſcaped from the maſſacre of his

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ther count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deſerved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens; but the tale of their ingratitude to the ſons of Witiza is diſproved by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. The two royal youths were reinſtated in the private patrimony of their father; but on the deceaſe of Eba the elder, his daughter was unjuſtly deſpoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sigebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cauſe before the caliph Haſhem, and obtained the reſtitution of her inheritance; but ſhe was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two ſons, Iſaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the conſideration that was due to their origin and riches.

Proſperity of Spain under the Arabs.

A province is aſſimilated to the victorious ſtate by the introduction of ſtrangers and the imitative ſpirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been ſucceſſively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. The firſt conquerors, and the twenty ſucceſſive lieutenants of the caliphs, were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a diſtant fortune to a narrow home: the private and public intereſt was promoted by the eſtabliſhment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eaſtern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Muſa aſſerted, by the name of *Spaniards*, their original claim of conqueſt; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to ſhare their eſtabliſhments of Murcia and Liſbon. The royal legion of Damaſcus was planted at Cordova; that of Emeſa at Seville; that of Kinniſrin or Chalcis at Jaen; that of Paleſtine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Perſia were ſcattered round Toledo and the inland country; and

his kindred; the latter, by the Vizir of the firſt Abdalrahman caliph of Spain, who might have converſed with ſome of the veterans of the conqueror (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 36. 139.).

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the fertile ſeats of Grenada were beſtowed on ten thouſand horſemen of Syria and Irak, the children of the pureſt and moſt noble of the Arabian tribes [190]. A ſpirit of emulation, ſometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nouriſhed by theſe hereditary factions. Ten years after the conqueſt, a map of the province was preſented to the caliph: the ſeas, the rivers, and the harbours, the inhabitants and cities, the climate, the ſoil, and the mineral productions of the earth [191]. In the ſpace of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture [192], the manufactures, and the commerce of an induſtrious people; and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleneſs of their fancy. The firſt of the Ommiades who reigned in Spain ſolicited the ſupport of the Chriſtians; and, in his edict of peace and protection, he contents himſelf with a modeſt impoſition of ten thouſand ounces of gold, ten thouſand pounds of ſilver, ten thouſand horſes, as many mules, one thouſand cuiraſſes, with an equal number of helmets and lances [193]. The moſt

[190] Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 32. 252. The former of theſe quotations is taken from a *Biographia Hiſpanica*, by an Arabian of Valentia (ſee the copious Extracts of Caſiri, tom. ii. p. 30—121.); and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphs, and of the African and Spaniſh Dynaſties, with a particular Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Caſiri has given almoſt an entire verſion (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 177—319.). The author, Ebn Khateb, a native of Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda (born A. D. 1313, died A. D. 1374), was an hiſtorian, geographer, phyſician, poet, &c. (tom. ii. p. 71—72.).

[191] Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

[192] A copious treatiſe of huſbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the xii[th] century, is in the Eſcurial library, and Caſiri had ſome thoughts of tranſlating it. He gives a liſt of the authors quoted, Arabs, as well as Greeks, Latins, &c.; but it is much if the Andaluſian ſaw theſe ſtrangers through the medium of his countryman Columella (Caſiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 323—338.).

[193] Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 104. Caſiri tranſlates the original teſtimony of the hiſtorian Raſis, as it is alleged in the Arabic Biographia Hiſpanica, pars ix. But I am moſt exceedingly ſurpriſed at the addreſs, Principibus cæteriſque Chriſtianis Hiſpanis ſuis *Caſtellæ*. The name of Caſtellæ was unknown in the viii[th] century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, an hundred years after the time of Raſis (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330.), and the appellation was always expreſſive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *caſtles* independent of the Mooriſh yoke (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 166—170.). Had Caſiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making.

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powerful of his ſucceſſors derived from the ſame kingdom the annual tribute of twelve millions and forty-five thouſand dinars or pieces of gold, about ſix millions of ſterling money [194]; a ſum which, in the tenth century, moſt probably ſurpaſſed the united revenues of the Chriſtian monarchs. His royal ſeat of Cordova contained ſix hundred moſchs, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thouſand houſes: he gave laws to eighty cities of the firſt, to three hundred of the ſecond and third order; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thouſand villages and hamlets. The Arabs might exaggerate the truth, but they created and they deſcribe the moſt proſperous æra of the riches, the cultivation, and the populouſneſs of Spain [195].

Religious toleration.

The wars of the Moſlems were ſanctified by the prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the caliphs ſelected the leſſons of toleration that might tend to diſarm the reſiſtance of the unbelievers. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mahomet; but he beheld with leſs jealouſy and affection the nations of the earth. The polytheiſts and idolaters who were ignorant of his name, might be lawfully extirpated by his votaries [196]; but a wiſe policy ſupplied the obligation of juſtice; and after

[194] Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at 130,000,000 of French livres. The entire picture of peace and proſperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Mooriſh annals.

[195] I am happy enough to poſſeſs a ſplendid and intereſting work, which has only been diſtributed in preſents by the court of Madrid: *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana Eſcurialenſis, operâ et ſtudio Michaelis Caſiri, Syro Maronitæ. Matriti, in folio, tomus prior*, 1760. *tomus poſterior*, 1770. The execution of this work does honour to the Spaniſh preſs; the MSS. to the number of MDCCCLI, are judiciouſly claſſed by the editor, and his copious extracts throw *ſome* light on the Mahometan literature and hiſtory of Spain. Theſe relics are now ſecure, but the taſk has been ſupinely delayed, till in the year 1671 a fire conſumed the greateſt part of the Eſcurial library, rich in the ſpoils of Grenada and Morocco.

[196] The *Harbii*, as they are ſtyled, qui tolerari nequeunt, are, 1. Thoſe who, *beſides* God, worſhip the ſun, moon, or idols. 2. Atheiſts. Utrique, quamdiu princeps aliquis inter Mohammedanos ſupereſt oppugnari debent

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after ſome acts of intolerant zeal, the Mahometan conquerors of Hindoſtan have ſpared the pagods of that devout and populous country. The diſciples of Abraham, of Moſes, and of Jeſus, were ſolemnly invited to accept the more *perfect* revelation of Mahomet; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conſcience and religious worſhip [197]. In a field of battle, the forfeit lives of the priſoners were redeemed by the profeſſion of *Iſlam*; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their maſters, and a race of ſincere proſelytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of African and Aſiatic converts, who ſwelled the native band of the faithful Arabs, muſt have been allured, rather than conſtrained, to declare their belief in one God and the apoſtle of God. By the repetition of a ſentence and the loſs of a foreſkin, the ſubject or the ſlave, the captive or the criminal, aroſe in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moſlems. Every ſin was expiated, every engagement was diſſolved: the vow of celibacy was ſuperſeded by the indulgence of nature; the active ſpirits who ſlept in the cloiſter were awakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and in the convulſion of the world, every member of a new ſociety aſcended to the natural level of his capacity and courage. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the inviſible as well as temporal bleſſings of the Arabian prophet; and charity will hope that many of his proſelytes entertained a ſerious conviction of the truth and ſanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an inquiſitive

Propagation of Mahometiſm.

debent donec religionem amplectantur, nec requies iis concedenda eſt, nec pretium acceptandum pro obtinendâ conſcientiæ libertate (Reland, Diſſertat. x. de Jure Militari Mohammedan. tom. iii. p. 14.): A rigid theory!

[197] The diſtinction between a proſcribed and a tolerated ſect, between the *Harbii* and the People of the Book, the believers in ſome divine revelation is correctly defined in the converſation of the caliph Al Mamun with the idolaters or Sabæans of Charræ. Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 107, 108.

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polytheiſt, it muſt appear worthy of the human and the divine nature. More pure than the ſyſtem of Zoroaſter, more liberal than the law of Moſes, the religion of Mahomet might ſeem leſs inconſiſtent with reaſon, than the creed of myſtery and ſuperſtition, which, in the ſeventh century, diſgraced the ſimplicity of the goſpel.

Fall of the Magians of Perſia.

In the extenſive provinces of Perſia and Africa, the national religion has been eradicated by the Mahometan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi ſtood alone among the ſects of the Eaſt: but the profane writings of Zoroaſter[198] might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dextrouſly connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the dæmon Ahriman, might be repreſented as the rival or as the creature of the God of light. The temples of Perſia were devoid of images; but the worſhip of the ſun and of fire might be ſtigmatized as a groſs and criminal idolatry[199]. The milder ſentiment was conſecrated by the practice of[200] Mahomet and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians or Ghebers were ranked with the Jews and Chriſtians among the people of the written law[201]; and as late as the third century of the Hegira, the city of

[198] The Zend or Pazend, the bible of the Ghebers, is reckoned by themſelves, or at leaſt by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their religion is honourably ſtyled the religion of Abraham (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 701.; Hyde, de Religione veterum Perſarum, c. iii. p. 27, 28, &c.). I much fear that we do not poſſeſs any pure and *free* deſcription of the ſyſtem of Zoroaſter. Dr. Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 300. octavo) adopts the opinion, that he had been the ſlave and ſcholar of ſome Jewiſh prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Perſians, who have been the maſters of the Jews, would aſſert the honour, a poor honour, of being *their* maſters.

[199] The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amuſing picture of the Oriental world, repreſent in the moſt odious colours the Magians, or worſhippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual ſacrifice of a Muſulman. The religion of Zoroaſter has not the leaſt affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the ſword of Timour was ſharpened by this miſtake (Hiſt. de Timour Bec, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. v.).

[200] Vie de Mahomet, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

[201] Hæ tres ſectæ, Judæi, Chriſtiani, et qui inter Perſas Magorum inſtitutis addicti ſunt, κατ' ἐξοχην, *populi libri* dicuntur (Reland, Diſſertat. tom. iii. p. 15.). The caliph Al Mamun

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of Herat will afford a lively contraſt of private zeal and public toleration [202]. Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law ſecured to the Ghebers of Herat, their civil and religious liberties: but the recent and humble moſch was overſhadowed by the antique ſplendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic Imam deplored, in his ſermons, the ſcandalous neighbourhood, and accuſed the weakneſs or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people aſſembled in tumult; the two houſes of prayer were conſumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new moſch. The injured Magi appealed to the ſovereign of Choraſan; he promiſed juſtice and relief; when, behold! four thouſand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimouſly ſwore that the idolatrous fane had *never* exiſted; the inquiſition was ſilenced, and their conſcience was ſatisfied (ſays the hiſtorian Mirchond) [203] with this holy and meritorious perjury [204]. But the greateſt part of the

Mamun confirms this honourable diſtinction in favour of the three ſects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient polytheiſts of Charræ were allowed to ſhelter their idolatrous worſhip (Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 167, 168.).

[202] This ſingular ſtory is related by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 448, 449.) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himſelf (Hiſt. priorum Regum Perſarum, &c. p. 9, 10. not. p. 88, 89.).

[203] Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah), a native of Herat, compoſed in the Perſian language a general hiſtory of the Eaſt, from the creation to the year of the Hegira 875 (A. D. 1471). In the year 904 (A. D. 1498) the hiſtorian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in ſeven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his ſon Khondemir, A. H. 927. A. D. 1520. The two writers moſt accurately diſtinguiſhed by Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Genghizcan, p. 537, 538. 544, 545.), are looſely confounded by d'Herbelot (p. 358. 410. 994, 995.): but his numerous extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the ſon. The hiſtorian of Genghizcan refers to a MS. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend d'Herbelot himſelf. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynaſties) has been lately publiſhed in Perſic and Latin (Viennæ, 1782, in 4to, cum notis Bernard de Jeniſch); and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

[204] Quo teſtimonio boni ſe quidpiam præſtitiſſe opinabantur. Yet Mirchond muſt have condemned their zeal, ſince he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto ſingulis annis cenſû, uti ſacra Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus moleſtiis ac oneribus libero eſſe licuit.

temples

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temples of Perſia were ruined by the inſenſible and general deſertion of their votaries. It was *inſenſible*, ſince it is not accompanied with any memorial of time or place, of perſecution or reſiſtance. It was *general*, ſince the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarcand, imbibed the faith of the Koran; and the preſervation of the native tongue reveals the deſcent of the Mahometans of Perſia[205]. In the mountains and deſerts, an obſtinate race of unbelievers adhered to the ſuperſtition of their fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony which, in the laſt century, was planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Iſpahan. The chief pontiff has retired to mount Elbourz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd: the perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inacceſſible to the profane; but his reſidence is the ſchool, the oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the Ghebers, whoſe hard and uniform features atteſt the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the juriſdiction of their elders, eighty thouſand families maintain an innocent and induſtrious life; their ſubſiſtence is derived from ſome curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ignorance withſtood the deſpotiſm of Shaw Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaſter; and this obſcure remnant of the Magians is ſpared by the moderation or contempt of their preſent ſovereigns[206].

[205] The laſt Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavige the Dilemite, who, in the beginning of the xth century, reigned in the northern provinces of Perſia, near the Caſpian Sea (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 355.). But his ſoldiers and ſucceſſors, the *Bowides*, either profeſſed or embraced the Mahometan faith; and under their dynaſty (A. D. 933—1020) I ſhould place the fall of the religion of Zoroaſter.

[206] The preſent ſtate of the Ghebers in Perſia, is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the moſt learned, but the moſt judicious and inquiſitive, of our modern travellers (Voyages en Perſe, tom. ii. p. 109. 179—187. in 4to). His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thevenot, Tavernier, &c. whom I have fruitleſsly ſearched, had neither eyes nor attention for this intereſting people.

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Decline and fall of Chriſtianity in Africa,

The northern coaſt of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Goſpel, after a long and perfect eſtabliſhment, has been totally extinguiſhed. The arts, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Auguſtin was no longer ſtudied. Five hundred epiſcopal churches were overturned by the hoſtile fury of the Donatiſts, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people, without diſcipline, or knowledge, or hope, A. D. 749. ſubmiſſively ſunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulſion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was aboliſhed by their converſion [207]; and, though he ſought to diſguiſe his fraud and rebellion, his ſpecious pretence was drawn from the rapid and ex- A. D. 837. tenſive progreſs of the Mahometan faith. In the next age, an extraordinary miſſion of five biſhops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cheriſh and revive the dying embers of Chriſtianity [208]: but the interpoſition of a foreign prelate, a ſtranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics, ſuppoſes the decay and diſſolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the ſucceſſor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous ſynod, could maintain an equal A. D. 1053—1076. conteſt with the ambition of the Roman pontiff. In the eleventh century, the unfortunate prieſt who was ſeated on the ruins of Carthage, implored the alms and the protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been ſcourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was diſputed by the four ſuffragans, the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epiſtles of Gregory the

[207] The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the firſt of the Abaſſides, is dated A. H. 132 (Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 168.).

[208] Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 66. Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

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seventh [209] are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moorish prince. The pope assures the sultan that they both worship the same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint, that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of *Mozarabes* [210] (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity [211]. About the middle of the twelfth century the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada [212]. The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their extraor-

and Spain, A. D. 1149, &c.

[209] Among the Epistles of the Popes, see Leo IX. epist. 3. Gregor. VII. l. i. epist. 22, 23. l. iii. epist. 19, 20, 21.; and the criticisms of Pagi (tom. iv. A. D. 1053, N° 14. A. D. 1073, N° 13.), who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudest of the Roman pontiffs so politely corresponds.

[210] Mozarabes, or Mostarabes, *adscititii*, as it is interpreted in Latin (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 18.). The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire (Marian. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. ix. c. 18. p. 378.). It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet in the xi^th century it was found necessary (A. Æ. C. 1687, A. D. 1039) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canons of the councils of Spain (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 547.), for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

[211] About the middle of the xth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz, in Secul. Benedict. V. N° 115. apud Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 91.).

[212] Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 1149, N° 8, 9. He justly observes, that when Seville, &c. were retaken by Ferdinand of Castille, no Christians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, described by James à Vitriaco, A. D. 1218 (Hist. Hierosol. c. 80. p. 1095. in Gest. Dei per Francos), are copied from some older book. I shall add, that the date of the Hegira 677 (A. D. 1278) must apply to the copy, not the composition, of a treatise of jurisprudence, which states the civil rights of the Christians of Cordova (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 471.); and that the Jews were the only dissenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada (A. D. 1313), could either discountenance or tolerate (tom. ii. p. 288.).

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dinary rigour might be provoked or juſtified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Caſtille, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was occaſionally revived by the papal miſſionaries; and, on the landing of Charles the fifth, ſome families of Latin Chriſtians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the ſeed of the goſpel was quickly eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has loſt all memory of the language and religion of Rome[213].

A. D. 1535.

Toleration of the Chriſtians.

After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews and Chriſtians of the Turkiſh empire enjoy the liberty of conſcience which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the firſt age of the conqueſt, they ſuſpected the loyalty of the Catholics, whoſe name of Melchites betrayed their ſecret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Neſtorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themſelves the ſincere and voluntary friends of the Mahometan government[214]. Yet this partial jealouſy was healed by time and ſubmiſſion: the churches of Egypt were ſhared with the Catholics[215]; and all the Oriental ſects were included in the common benefits of toleration. The rank, the immunities, the domeſtic juriſdiction, of the patriarchs, the biſhops, and the clergy, were protected by the civil magiſtrate: the learning of individuals recommended them to the employments of ſecretaries and phyſicians: they were enriched by the

[213] Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 288. Leo Africanus would have flattered his Roman maſters, could he have diſcovered any latent relics of the Chriſtianity of Africa.

[214] Abſit (ſaid the Catholic to the Vizir of Bagdad) ut pari loco habeas Neſtorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius rex eſt, et Græcos quorum reges amovendo Arabibus bello non deſiſtunt, &c. See in the Collections of Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94—101.), the ſtate of the Neſtorians under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more conciſely expoſed in the Preliminary Diſſertation of the ſecond volume of Aſſemannus.

[215] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 384. 387, 388. Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 205, 206. 257. 332. A taint of the Monothelite hereſy might render the firſt of theſe Greek patriarchs leſs loyal to the emperors and leſs obnoxious to the Arabs.

lucrative collection of the revenue; and their merit was sometimes raised to the command of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of Abbas was heard to declare that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia. "The Moslems," said he, "will abuse their present fortune; the Magians regret their "fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for their approach-"ing deliverance [216]." But the slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives of favour and disgrace. The captive churches of the East have been afflicted in every age by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride or the zeal of the Christians [217]. About two hundred years after Mahomet, they were separated from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle of a less honourable colour; instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings were measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets or the baths it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship: a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosch, or to seduce a Musulman, will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time however of tranquillity and justice the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of

Their hardships.

[216] Motadhed, who reigned from A. D. 892 to 902. The Magians still held their name and rank among the religions of the empire (Assemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 97.).

[217] Reland explains the general restraints of the Mahometan policy and jurisprudence (Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 16—20.). The oppressive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel (A. D. 847—861), which are still in force, are noticed by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 448.) and d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 640.). A persecution of the caliph Omar II. is related, and most probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes (Chron. p. 334.).

death

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death is inflicted for the apoſtates who have profeſſed and deſerted the law of Mahomet. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the ſentence of the cadhi, by the public confeſſion of their inconſtancy, or their paſſionate invectives againſt the perſon and religion of the prophet [218].

The empire of the caliphs, A. D. 718.

At the end of the firſt century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the moſt potent and abſolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumſcribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a ſenate, or the memory of a free conſtitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind, in the deſert, the ſpirit of equality and independence. The regal and ſacerdotal characters were united in the ſucceſſors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the ſupreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conqueſt over the nations of the Eaſt, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accuſtomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and ſeverity that were exerciſed at their own expence. Under the laſt of the Ommiades, the Arabian empire extended two hundred days journey from eaſt to weſt, from the confines of Tartary and India to the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean. And if we retrench the ſleeve of the robe, as it is ſtyled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the ſolid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarſus to Surat, will ſpread on every ſide to the meaſure of four or five months of

[218] The martyrs of Cordova (A. D. 850, &c.) are commemorated and juſtified by St. Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himſelf. A ſynod, convened by the caliph, ambiguouſly cenſured their raſhneſs. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the diſcipline of antiquity, toutefois l'autorité de l'egliſe, &c. (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 415—522. particularly p. 451. 508, 509.) Their authentic acts throw a ſtrong though tranſient light on the Spaniſh church in the ix^th century.

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the march of a caravan [219]. We ſhould vainly ſeek the indiſſoluble union and eaſy obedience that pervaded the government of Auguſtus and the Antonines; but the progreſs of the Mahometan religion diffuſed over this ample ſpace a general reſemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were ſtudied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the weſtward of the Tigris [220].

[219] See the article *Eſſamiah* (as we ſay Chriſtendom), in the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 325.). This chart of the Mahometan world is ſuited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385 (A. D. 995). Since that time, the loſſes in Spain have been overbalanced by the conqueſts in India, Tartary, and the European Turkey.

[220] The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Daniſh traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, &c. to the Provençal, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 74, &c.).

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The Two Sieges of Conſtantinople by the Arabs.—Their Invaſion of France, and Defeat by Charles Martel.—Civil War of the Ommiades and Abbaſſides.—Learning of the Arabs.—Luxury of the Caliphs.—Naval Enterpriſes on Crete, Sicily, and Rome.—Decay and Diviſion of the Empire of the Caliphs.—Defeats and Victories of the Greek Emperors.

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The limits of the Arabian conqueſts.

WHEN the Arabs firſt iſſued from the deſert, they muſt have been ſurpriſed at the eaſe and rapidity of their own ſucceſs. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the ſummit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their ſcymetars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally aſtoniſhed that any nation could reſiſt their invincible arms, that any boundary ſhould confine the dominion of the ſucceſſor of the prophet. The confidence of ſoldiers and fanatics may indeed be excuſed, ſince the calm hiſtorian of the preſent hour, who ſtrives to follow the rapid courſe of the Saracens, muſt ſtudy to explain by what means the church and ſtate were ſaved from this impending, and, as it ſhould ſeem, from this inevitable danger. The deſerts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern ſhepherds; China was remote and inacceſſible; but the greateſt part of the temperate zone was ſubject to the Mahometan conquerors, the

Greeks

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Greeks were exhauſted by the calamities of war and the loſs of their faireſt provinces, and the Barbarians of Europe might juſtly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this enquiry I ſhall unfold the events that reſcued our anceſtors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majeſty of Rome, and delayed the ſervitude of Conſtantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Chriſtians, and ſcattered among their enemies the ſeeds of diviſion and decay.

First ſiege of Conſtantinople by the Arabs, A. D. 668—675.

Forty-ſix years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his diſciples appeared in arms under the walls of Conſtantinople[1]. They were animated by a genuine or fictitious ſaying of the prophet, that, to the firſt army which beſieged the city of the Cæſars, their ſins were forgiven: the long ſeries of Roman triumphs would be meritoriouſly transferred to the conquerors of New Rome; and the wealth of nations was depoſited in this well-choſen ſeat of royalty and commerce. No ſooner had the caliph Moawiyah ſuppreſſed his rivals and eſtabliſhed his throne, than he aſpired to expiate the guilt of civil blood, by the ſucceſs and glory of this holy expedition[2]; his preparations by ſea and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his ſtandard was entruſted to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and preſence of Yezid the ſon and preſumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies

[1] Theophanes places the *ſeven* years of the ſiege of Conſtantinople in the year of *our* Chriſtian æra 673 (of the Alexandrian 665, Sept. 1.), and the peace of the Saracens, *four* years afterwards; a glaring inconſiſtency! which Petavius, Goar, and Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 63, 64.), have ſtruggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the Hegira 52 (A. D. 672, January 8.) is aſſigned by Elmacin, the year 48 (A. D. 668, Feb. 20.) by Abulfeda, whoſe teſtimony I eſteem the moſt convenient and creditable.

[2] For this firſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, ſee Nicephorus (Breviar. p. 21, 22.); Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 294.); Cedrenus (Compend. p. 437.); Zonaras (Hiſt. tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 89.); Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen, p. 56, 57.); Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 107, 108. verſ. Reiſke); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. Conſtantinah); Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 127, 128.

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any reaſons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who diſgraced the name of Conſtantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or oppoſition, the naval forces of the Saracens paſſed through the unguarded channel of the Helleſpont, which even now, under the feeble and diſorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital [3]. The Arabian fleet caſt anchor, and the troops were diſembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, ſeven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of aſſault was extended from the golden gate to the eaſtern promontory, and the foremoſt warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the ſucceeding columns. But the beſiegers had formed an inſufficient eſtimate of the ſtrength and reſources of Conſtantinople. The ſolid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and diſcipline: the ſpirit of the Romans was rekindled by the laſt danger of their religion and empire: the fugitives from the conquered provinces more ſucceſsfully renewed the defence of Damaſcus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were diſmayed by the ſtrange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual reſiſtance diverted their arms to the more eaſy attempts of plundering the European and Aſiatic coaſts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the ſea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourſcore miles from the capital, to the iſle of Cyzicus, in which they had eſtabliſhed their magazine of ſpoil and proviſions. So patient was their perſeverance, or ſo languid were their operations, that they repeated in the ſix follow-

[3] The ſtate and defence of the Dardannelles is expoſed in the memoirs of the Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 39—97.), who was ſent to fortify them againſt the Ruſſians. From a principal actor, I ſhould have expected more accurate details; but he ſeems to write for the amuſement, rather than the inſtruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the miniſter of Conſtantine was occupied, like that of Muſtapha, in finding two Canary birds, who ſhould ſing preciſely the ſame note.

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ing ſummers the ſame attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the miſchances of ſhipwreck and diſeaſe, of the ſword and of fire, compelled them to relinquiſh the fruitleſs enterpriſe. They might bewail the loſs or commemorate the martyrdom of thirty thouſand Moſlems, who fell in the ſiege of Conſtantinople; and the ſolemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curioſity of the Chriſtians themſelves. That venerable Arab, one of the laſt of the companions of Mahomet, was numbered among the *anſars*, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who ſheltered the head of the flying prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Ohud, under the holy ſtandard: in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the laſt remnant of his ſtrength and life was conſumed in a diſtant and dangerous war againſt the enemies of the Koran. His memory was revered; but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown, during a period of ſeven hundred and eighty years, till the conqueſt of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the ſecond. A ſeaſonable viſion (for ſuch are the manufacture of every religion) revealed the holy ſpot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the moſch of Ayub has been deſervedly choſen for the ſimple and martial inauguration of the Turkiſh ſultans[4].

Peace and tribute, A. D. 677.

The event of the ſiege revived, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, the reputation of the Roman arms, and caſt a momentary ſhade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambaſſador was favourably received at Damaſcus, in a general council of the emirs or Koreiſh: a peace, or truce, of thirty years was ratified between the two empires; and the ſtipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horſes of a noble breed, fifty ſlaves, and three thouſand pieces of gold, degraded the

[4] Demetrius Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire, p. 105, 106. Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 10, 11. Voyages de Thevenot, part i. p. 189. The Chriſtians, who ſuppoſe that the martyr Abu Ayub is vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

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majeſty of the commander of the faithful[5]. The aged caliph was deſirous of poſſeſſing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repoſe: while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damaſcus was inſulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of mount Libanus, the firmeſt barrier of the empire, till they were diſarmed and tranſplanted by the ſuſpicious policy of the Greeks[6]. After the revolt of Arabia and Perſia, the houſe of Ommiyah[7] was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt: their diſtreſs and fear enforced their compliance with the preſſing demands of the Chriſtians; and the tribute was encreaſed to a ſlave, an horſe, and a thouſand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and ſixty-five days of the ſolar year. But as ſoon as the empire was again united by the arms and policy of Abdalmalek, he diſclaimed a badge of ſervitude not leſs injurious to his conſcience than to his pride: he diſcontinued the payment of the tribute; and the reſentment of the Greeks was diſabled from action by the mad tyranny of the ſecond Juſtinian, the juſt rebellion of his ſubjects, and the frequent change of his antagoniſts and ſucceſſors. Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Saracens had been content with the free poſſeſſion of the Perſian and Roman treaſures, in the coin of Choſroes and Cæſar. By the command of that Caliph, a national mint was eſtabliſhed, both for ſilver and gold, and the inſcription of the Dinar, though it might be cenſured by ſome timorous caſuiſts, proclaimed

[5] Theophanes, though a Greek, deſerves credit for theſe tributes (Chronograph. p. 295, 296. 300, 301.), which are confirmed, with ſome variation, by the Arabic hiſtory of Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 128. verſ. Pocock).

[6] The cenſure of Theophanes is juſt and pointed, την Ρωμαικην δυναστειαν ακρωτηριασας .... πανδεινα κακα πεποιθεν ὁ Ρωμανια ὑπο των Αραβων μεχρι τυ νυν (Chronograph. p. 302, 303.). The ſeries of theſe events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abridgement of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 22. 24.

[7] Theſe domeſtic revolutions are related in a clear and natural ſtyle, in the ſecond volume of Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, p. 253—370. Beſides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply ſearched, had he been confined to the Bodleian library inſtead of the city jail; a fate how unworthy of the man and of his country!

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the unity of the God of Mahomet[8]. Under the reign of the caliph Waled, the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue[9]. If this change was productive of the invention or familiar uſe of our preſent numerals, the Arabic or Indian cyphers, as they are commonly ſtyled, a regulation of office has promoted the moſt important diſcoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical ſciences[10].

Second ſiege of Conſtantinople, A. D. 716—718.

Whilſt the caliph Walid ſat idle on the throne of Damaſcus, while his lieutenants atchieved the conqueſt of Tranſoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overſpread the provinces of Aſia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and diſgrace of the ſecond ſiege was reſerved for his brother Soliman, whoſe ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial ſpirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the tyrant Juſtinian had been puniſhed and avenged, an humble ſecretary, Anaſtaſius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant purple. He was alarmed

[8] Elmacin, who dates the firſt coinage A. H. 76, A. D. 695, five or ſix years later than the Greek hiſtorians, has compared the weight of the beſt or common gold dinar, to the drachm or dirhem of Egypt (p. 77.), which may be equal to two pennies (48 grains) of our Troy weight (Hooper's Enquiry into Ancient Meaſures, p. 24—36.), and equivalent to eight ſhillings of our ſterling money. From the ſame Elmacin and the Arabian phyſicians, ſome dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of ſilver was the dirhem, both in value and weight; but an old, though fair coin, ſtruck at Waſet, A. H. 88, and preſerved in the Bodleian library, wants four grains of the Cairo ſtandard (ſee the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, tom. i. p. 548. of the French tranſlation).

[9] Και εκωλυσε γραφεσθαι ἑλληνιστι τας δημοσιας των λογοθεσιων κωδικας, αλλ' Αραβιος αυτα παρασεμαινεσθαι χωρις των ψηφων, επειδη αδυνατον τη εκεινων γλωσση μοναδα, η δυαδα, η τριαδα, η οκτω ημιτυ η τρια γραφεσθαι. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 314. This defect, if it really exiſted, muſt have ſtimulated the ingenuity of the Arabs to invent or borrow.

[10] According to a new, though probable notion, maintained by M. de Villoiſon (Anecdota Græca, tom. ii. p. 152—157.), our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were uſed by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of ſcience in the Weſt, they were adopted by the Arabic verſions from the original MSS. and *reſtored* to the Latins about the xi^th century.

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by the ſound of war; and his ambaſſador returned from Damaſcus with the tremendous news, that the Saracens were preparing an armament by ſea and land, ſuch as would tranſcend the experience of the paſt, or the belief of the preſent, age. The precautions of Anaſtaſius were not unworthy of his ſtation, or of the impending danger. He iſſued a peremptory mandate, that all perſons who were not provided with the means of ſubſiſtence for a three years ſiege, ſhould evacuate the city: the public granaries and arſenals were abundantly repleniſhed; the walls were reſtored and ſtrengthened; and the engines for caſting ſtones, or darts, or fire, were ſtationed along the ramparts, or in the brigantines of war, of which an additional number was haſtily conſtructed. To prevent, is ſafer, as well as more honourable, than to repel, an attack; and a deſign was meditated, above the uſual ſpirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval ſtores of the enemy, the cypreſs timber that had been hewn in mount Libanus, and was piled along the ſea-ſhore of Phœnicia, for the ſervice of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterpriſe was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire, were ſtyled of the *Obſequian Theme* [11]. They murdered their chief, deſerted their ſtandard in the iſle of Rhodes, diſperſed themſelves over the adjacent continent, and deſerved pardon or reward by inveſting with the purple a ſimple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodoſius might recommend him to the ſenate and people; but, after ſome months, he ſunk into a cloyſter, and reſigned, to the firmer hand of Leo the Iſaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The moſt formidable of the Saracens, Moſlemah the brother of the caliph, was

[11] In the diviſion of the *Themes*, or provinces deſcribed by Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Thematibus, l. i. p. 9, 10.), the *Obſequium*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its juriſdiction extended from the Helleſpont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia (ſee the two maps prefixed by Deliſle to the Imperium Orientale of Banduri).

advancing

advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand Arabs and Perſians, the greater part mounted on horſes or camels; and the ſucceſsful ſieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of ſufficient duration to exerciſe their ſkill and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known paſſage of Abydus, on the Helleſpont, the Mahometan arms were tranſported, for the firſt time, from Aſia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moſlemah inveſted Conſtantinople on the land ſide, ſurrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of aſſault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient reſolution of expecting the return of ſeed-time and harveſt, ſhould the obſtinacy of the beſieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ranſomed their religion and empire, by a fine or aſſeſſment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city; but the liberal offer was rejected with diſdain, and the preſumption of Moſlemah was exalted by the ſpeedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are ſaid to have amounted to eighteen hundred ſhips: the number betrays their inconſiderable ſize; and of the twenty ſtout and capacious veſſels, whoſe magnitude impeded their progreſs, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy armed ſoldiers. This huge Armada proceeded on a ſmooth ſea and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Boſphorus; the ſurface of the ſtreight was overſhadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving foreſt, and the ſame fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general aſſault by ſea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aſide the chain that uſually guarded the entrance of the harbour; but while they heſitated whether they ſhould ſeize the opportunity, or apprehend the ſnare, the miniſters of deſtruction were at hand. The fireſhips of the Greeks were launched againſt them, the Arabs, their arms, and veſſels, were involved in the ſame

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flames, the diſorderly fugitives were daſhed againſt each other or overwhelmed in the waves; and I no longer find a veſtige of the fleet, that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A ſtill more fatal and irreparable loſs was that of the caliph Soliman, who died of an indigeſtion [12] in his camp near Kinniſrin or Chalcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead againſt Conſtantinople the remaining forces of the Eaſt. The brother of Moſlemah was ſucceeded by a kinſman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the uſeleſs and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he ſtarted and ſatisfied the ſcruples of a blind conſcience, the ſiege was continued through the winter by the neglect rather than by the reſolution of the caliph Omar [13]. The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep ſnow, and the natives of the ſultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almoſt lifeleſs in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of ſpring; a ſecond effort had been made in their favour; and their diſtreſs was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and ſoldiers, the firſt from Alexandria, of four hundred tranſports and gallies; the ſecond of three hundred and ſixty veſſels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the deſtruction was leſs complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moſlems to remain at a ſafe

[12] The caliph had emptied two baſkets of eggs and of figs, which he ſwallowed alternately, and the repaſt was concluded with marrow and ſugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman eat, at a ſingle meal, ſeventy pomgranates, a kid, ſix fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we muſt admire the appetite rather than the luxury of the ſovereign of Aſia (Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 126.). in the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 689, 690.), præferens, ſays Elmacin (p. 91.), religionem ſuam rebus ſuis mundanis. He was ſo deſirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own ſaying) to obtain a perfect cure of his laſt malady. The caliph had only one ſhirt, and in an age of luxury, his annual expence was no more than two drachms (Abulpharagius, p. 131.). Haud diu gaviſus eo principe fuit orbis Moſlemus (Abulfeda, p. 127.).

[13] See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz,

distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dextrously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land in the defence of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months[14], the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five gallies

Failure and retreat of the Saracens.

[14] Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree that the siege of Constantinople was raised the 15th of August (A. D. 718); but as the former, our best witness, affirms that it continued thirteen months, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the same day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked this inconsistency.

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entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almoſt incredible diſaſters [15].

Invention and uſe of the Greek fire.

In the two ſieges, the deliverance of Conſtantinople may be chiefly aſcribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the *Greek fire* [16]. The important ſecret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deſerted from the ſervice of the caliph to that of the emperor [17]. The ſkill of a chymiſt and engineer was equivalent to the ſuccour of fleets and armies; and this diſcovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reſerved for the diſtreſsful period, when the degenerate Romans of the Eaſt were incapable of contending with the warlike enthuſiaſm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The hiſtorian who preſumes to analize this extraordinary compoſition ſhould ſuſpect his own ignorance and that of his Byzantine guides, ſo prone to the marvellous, ſo careleſs, and, in this inſtance, ſo jealous of the truth. From their obſcure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it ſhould ſeem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naptha* [18], or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and

[15] In the ſecond ſiege of Conſtantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (Brev. p. 33—36.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 324—334.), Cedrenus (Compend. p. 449—452.), Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98—102.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 88.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 126.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 130.), the moſt ſatisfactory of the Arabs.

[16] Our ſure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine hiſtory, Charles du Freſne du Cange, has treated in ſeveral places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly Gloſſar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat. p. 1275. ſub voce Πυρ θαλασσιον, υγρον. Gloſſar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. *Ignis Græcus.* Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, p. 305, 306. Obſervations ſur Joinville, p. 71, 72.

[17] Theophanes ſtyles him αρχιτεκτων (p. 295.). Cedrenus (p. 437.) brings this artiſt from (the ruins of) Heliopolis in Egypt; and chemiſtry was indeed the peculiar ſcience of the Egyptians.

[18] The naptha, the oleum incendiarium of the hiſtory of Jeruſalem (Geſt. Dei per Francos, p. 1167.), the Oriental fountain of James de Vitry (l. iii. c. 84.), is introduced on ſlight evidence and ſtrong probability. Cinnamus (l. vi. p. 165.) calls the Greek fire πυρ Μηδικον; and the naptha is known to abound between the Tigris and the Caſpian Sea.

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and inflammable oil [19], which ſprings from the earth, and catches fire as ſoon as it comes in contact with the air. The naptha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with ſulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs [20]. From this mixture, which produced a thick ſmoke and a loud exploſion, proceeded a fierce and obſtinate flame, which not only roſe in perpendicular aſcent, but likewiſe burnt with equal vehemence in deſcent or lateral progreſs; inſtead of being extinguiſhed, it was nouriſhed and quickened, by the element of water; and ſand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was juſtly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid*, or the *maritime*, fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by ſea and land, in battles or in ſieges. It was either poured from the rampart in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of ſtone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twiſted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil: ſometimes it was depoſited in fire-ſhips, the victims and inſtruments of a more ample revenge, and was moſt commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on

Sea. According to Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. ii. 109.), it was ſubſervient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the ελαιον Μηδιας, or Μηδειας (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 11.), may fairly ſignify this liquid bitumen.

[19] On the different ſorts of oils and bitumens, ſee Dr. Watſon's (the preſent biſhop of Llandaff's) Chemical Eſſays, vol. iii. eſſay i. a claſſic book, the beſt adapted to infuſe the taſte and knowledge of chemiſtry. The leſs perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1078.) and Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. ii. 108, 109.). Huic *(Napthæ)* magna cognatio eſt ignium, tranſiliuntque protinus in eam undecunque viſam. Of our travellers I am beſt pleaſed with Otter (tom. i. p. 153. 158.).

[20] Anna Comnena has partly drawn aſide the curtain. Απο της πευκης, και αλλων τινων τοιυτων δενδρων αειθαλων συναγεται δακρυον ακαυστον. Τυτο μετα θειυ τριβομενον εμβαλλεται εις αυλισκυς καλαμων και εμφυσαται παρα τυ παιζοντος λαβρῳ και συνεχει πνευματι (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 383.). Elſewhere (l. xi. p. 336.) ſhe mentions the property of burning, κατα το πραπες και εφ' ικατερα. Leo, in the xix[th] chapter of his Tactics (Opera Meurſii, tom. vi. p. 843. edit. Lami, Florent. 1745), ſpeaks of the new invention of πυρ μετα βροντης και καπνυ. Theſe are genuine and *Imperial* teſtimonies.

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the prow of a galley, and fancifully ſhaped into the mouths of ſavage monſters, that ſeemed to vomit a ſtream of liquid and conſuming fire. This important art was preſerved at Conſtantinople, as the palladium of the ſtate: the gallies and *artillery* might occaſionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the compoſition of the Greek fire was concealed with the moſt jealous ſcruple, and the terror of the enemies was encreaſed and prolonged by their ignorance and ſurpriſe. In the treatiſe of the adminiſtration of the empire, the royal author[21] ſuggeſts the anſwers and excuſes that might beſt elude the indiſcreet curioſity and importunate demands of the Barbarians. They ſhould be told that the myſtery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the firſt and greateſt of the Conſtantines, with a ſacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, this peculiar bleſſing of the Romans, ſhould never be communicated to any foreign nation: that the prince and ſubject were alike bound to religious ſilence under the temporal and ſpiritual penalties of treaſon and ſacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the ſudden and ſupernatural vengeance of the God of the Chriſtians. By theſe precautions, the ſecret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the Eaſt; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Piſans, to whom every ſea and every art were familiar, ſuffered the effects, without underſtanding the compoſition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either diſcovered or ſtolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived againſt themſelves, on the heads of the Chriſtians. A knight, who deſpiſed the ſwords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt ſincerity, his own fears, and thoſe of his companions, at the ſight and ſound of the miſchievous engine that diſcharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregeois*, as it is ſtyled by the more early of the

[21] Conſtantin. Porphyrogenit. de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, c. xiii. p. 64, 65.

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French writers. It came flying through the air, ſays Joinville [22], like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickneſs of an hogſhead, with the report of thunder and the velocity of lightning; and the darkneſs of the night was diſpelled by this deadly illumination. The uſe of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen, fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century [23], when the ſcientific or caſual compound of nitre, ſulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war and the hiſtory of mankind [24].

Invaſion of France by the Arabs, A. D. 721, &c.

Conſtantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eaſtern entrance of Europe; but in the Weſt, on the ſide of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain [25]. The decline of the French mo-

[22] Hiſtoire de St. Louis, p. 39. Paris, 1668, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of theſe editions is precious for the obſervations of Ducange; the latter, for the pure and original text of Joinville. We muſt have recourſe to that text to diſcover, that the feu Gregeois was ſhot with a pile or javeline, from an engine that acted like a ſling.

[23] The vanity, or envy, of ſhaking the eſtabliſhed property of Fame, has tempted ſome moderns to carry gunpowder above the xiv^th^ (ſee Sir William Temple, Dutens, &c.), and the Greek fire above the vii^th^ century (ſee the Saluſte du Preſident des Broſſes, tom. ii. p. 381.). But their evidence, which precedes the vulgar æra of the invention, is ſeldom clear or ſatisfactory, and ſubſequent writers may be ſuſpected of fraud or credulity. In the earlieſt ſieges, ſome combuſtibles of oil and ſulphur have been uſed, and the Greek fire has *ſome* affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effects: for the antiquity of the firſt, a paſſage of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 11.); for that of the ſecond, ſome facts in the Arabic hiſtory of Spain (A. D. 1249, 1312, 1332. Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. ii. p. 6, 7, 8.), are the moſt difficult to elude.

[24] That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, ſaltpetre and ſulphur, and conceals the third in a ſentence of myſterious gibberiſh, as if he dreaded the conſequences of his own diſcovery (Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 430. new edition).

[25] For the invaſion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, ſee the Hiſtoria Arabum (c. 11, 12, 13, 14.) of Roderic Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, who had before him the Chriſtian chronicle of Iſidore Pacenſis, and the Mahometan hiſtory of Novairi. The Moſlems are ſilent or conciſe in the account of their loſſes, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129, 130, 131.) has given a *pure* and ſimple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halikan, Hidjazi, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of ſaints, are inſerted in the collection of Bouquet (tom iii.) and the Annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has reſtored the chronology, which is anticipated ſix years in the Annals of Baronius. The Dictionary of Bayle (*Abderame* and *Munuza*) has more merit for lively reflection than original reſearch.

narchy

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narchy invited the attack of theſe infatiate fanatics. The deſcendants of Clovis had loſt the inheritance of his martial and ferocious ſpirit; and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the laſt kings of the Merovingian race [26]. They aſcended the throne without power, and ſunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiegne [27], was allotted for their reſidence or priſon; but each year, in the month of March or May, they were conducted in a waggon drawn by oxen to the aſſembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambaſſadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domeſtic officer was become the miniſter of the nation and the maſter of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family: the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianſhip of his own widow and her child; and theſe feeble regents were forcibly diſpoſſeſſed by the moſt active of his baſtards. A government, half ſavage and half corrupt, was almoſt diſſolved; and the tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to deſpiſe the weakneſs of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor. Among theſe independent chiefs, one of the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful was Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who, in the ſouthern provinces of Gaul, uſurped the authority and even the title of king. The Goths, the Gaſcons, and the Franks, aſſembled under the ſtandard of this Chriſtian hero: he repelled the firſt invaſion of the Saracens; and Zama, lieutenant of

[26] Eginhart, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. ii. p. 13—18. edit. Schmink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuſe the miniſter of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakneſs of the Merovingians: but the general outline is juſt, and the French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's Lutrin.

[27] *Mamaccæ* on the Oyſe, between Compiegne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls perparvi reditûs villam (ſee the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom. Bouquet's Collection). Compendium, or Compiegne was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian Valeſii Notitia Galliarum, p. 152.), and that laughing philoſopher, the Abbé Galliani (Dialogues ſur le Commerce des Bleds), may truly affirm, that it was the reſidence of the rois très Chretiens et très chevelûs.

the caliph, loſt his army and his life under the walls of Tholouſe. The ambition of his ſucceſſors was ſtimulated by revenge; they repaſſed the Pyrenees with the means and the reſolution of conqueſt. The advantageous ſituation which had recommended Narbonne[28] as the firſt Roman colony, was again choſen by the Moſlems: they claimed the province of Septemania or Languedoc as a juſt dependence of the Spaniſh monarchy: the vineyards of Gaſcony and the city of Bourdeaux were poſſeſſed by the ſovereign of Damaſcus and Samarcand; and the ſouth of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhône, aſſumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

Expedition and victories of Abderame, A. D. 731.

But theſe narrow limits were ſcorned by the ſpirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been reſtored by the caliph Haſhem to the wiſhes of the ſoldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; and prepared to execute the ſentence, at the head of a formidable hoſt, in the full confidence of ſurmounting all oppoſition either of nature or of man. His firſt care was to ſuppreſs a domeſtic rebel, who commanded the moſt important paſſes of the Pyrenees: Munuza, a Mooriſh chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain; and Eudes, from a motive of private or public intereſt, devoted his beauteous daughter to the embraces of the African miſbeliever. But the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Cerdagne were inveſted by a ſuperior force; the rebel was overtaken and ſlain in the mountains; and his widow was ſent a captive to Damaſcus, to gratify the deſires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the

[28] Even before that colony, A. U. C. 630 (Velleius Patercul. i. 15.), in the time of Polybius (Hiſt. l. iii. p. 265. edit. Gronov.), Narbonne was a Celtic town of the firſt eminence, and one of the moſt northern places of the known world (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 473.).

Pyrenees,

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Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the paſſage of the Rhône and the ſiege of Arles. An army of Chriſtians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet viſible in the thirteenth century; and many thouſands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid ſtream into the Mediterranean ſea. The arms of Abderame were not leſs ſucceſsful on the ſide of the ocean. He paſſed without oppoſition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux; but he found, beyond thoſe rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a ſecond army, and ſuſtained a ſecond defeat, ſo fatal to the Chriſtians, that, according to their ſad confeſſion, God alone could reckon the number of the ſlain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whoſe Gallic names are diſguiſed, rather than loſt, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou: his ſtandards were planted on the walls, or at leaſt before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overſpread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Beſançon. The memory of theſe devaſtations, for Abderame did not ſpare the country or the people, was long preſerved by tradition; and the invaſion of France by the Moors or Mahometans, affords the ground-work of thoſe fables, which have been ſo wildly diſfigured in the romances of chivalry, and ſo elegantly adorned by the Italian muſe. In the decline of ſociety and art, the deſerted cities could ſupply a ſlender booty to the Saracens; their richeſt ſpoil was found in the churches and monaſteries, which they ſtripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames: and the tutelar ſaints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own ſepulchres [29]. A victorious line

[29] With regard to the ſanctuary of St. Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuſes the Saracens of the *deed*. Turonis civitatem, eccleſiam et palatia vaſtatione et incendio ſimili

line of march had been prolonged above a thouſand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal ſpace would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland: the Rhine is not more impaſſable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have ſailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the ſchools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonſtrate to a circumciſed people the ſanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet[30].

Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel, A. D. 732.

From ſuch calamities was Chriſtendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate ſon of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, but he deſerved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious adminiſtration of twenty-four years, he reſtored and ſupported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were ſucceſſively cruſhed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the ſame campaign, could diſplay his banner on the Elbe, the Rhône, and the ſhores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was ſummoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and ſuppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an in-" dignity! We have long heard of the name and conqueſts of the " Arabs: we were apprehenſive of their attack from the Eaſt; they

ſimili diruit et conſumpſit. The continuator of Fredegarius imputes to them no more than the *intention*. Ad domum beatiſſimi Martini evertendam deſtinant. At Carolus, &c. The French annaliſt was more jealous of the honour of the ſaint.

[30] Yet I ſincerely doubt whether the Oxford moſch would have produced a volume of controverſy ſo elegant and ingenious as the ſermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic profeſſor, at Mr. Bampton's lecture. His obſervations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reaſon. He ſuſtains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate; and ſometimes riſes to the merit of an hiſtorian and philoſopher.

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" have now conquered Spain, and invade our country on the ſide " of the Weſt. Yet their numbers, and (ſince they have no " buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." " If you follow " my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, " you will " not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They " are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to ſtem in its career. " The thirſt of riches, and the conſcioufneſs of ſucceſs, redouble " their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. " Be patient till they have loaded themſelves with the incumbrance " of wealth. The poſſeſſion of wealth will divide their counſels " and aſſure your victory." This ſubtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers; and the ſituation of Charles will ſuggeſt a more narrow and ſelfiſh motive of procraſtination; the ſecret deſire of humbling the pride, and waſting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A ſtanding army was unknown under the firſt and ſecond race: more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens: according to their reſpective ſituation, the Franks of Neuſtria and Auſtraſia were too conſcious or too careleſs of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidæ and Germans were ſeparated by a long interval from the ſtandard of the Chriſtian general. No ſooner had he collected his forces, than he ſought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been ſurpriſed by his unexpected preſence. The nations of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the hiſtory of the world. In the ſix firſt days of deſultory combat, the horſemen and archers of the Eaſt maintained their advantage: but in the cloſer onſet of the ſeventh day, the Orientals

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Orientals were oppreſſed by the ſtrength and ſtature of the Germans, who, with ſtout hearts and *iron* hands [31], aſſerted the civil and religious freedom of their poſterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *Hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expreſſive of his weighty and irreſiſtible ſtrokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by reſentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of hiſtory, are the true Peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was ſlain, the Saracens, in the cloſe of the evening, retired to their camp. In the diſorder and deſpair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damaſcus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms againſt each other: the remains of their hoſt were ſuddenly diſſolved, and each *emir* conſulted his ſafety by an haſty and ſeparate retreat. At the dawn of day, the ſtillneſs of an hoſtile camp was ſuſpected by the victorious Chriſtians: on the report of their ſpies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents; but, if we except ſome celebrated relics, a ſmall portion of the ſpoil was reſtored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were ſoon diffuſed over the Catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand of the Mahometans had been cruſhed by the hammer of Charles [32]; while no more than fifteen hundred Chriſtians were ſlain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is ſufficiently diſproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended

[31] Gens Auſtriæ membrorum pre-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana corde et corpore præſtantiſſima, quaſi in ictû occuli manû ferreâ et pectore arduo Arabes extinxerunt (Roderic. Toletan. c. xiv.).

[32] Theſe numbers are ſtated by Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Aquileia (de Geſtis Langobard. l. vi. p. 921. edit. Grot.), and Anaſtaſius, the librarian of the Roman church (in Vit. Gregorii II.), who tells a miraculous ſtory of three conſecrated ſpunges, which rendered invulnerable the French ſoldiers among whom they had been ſhared. It ſhould ſeem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes uſurped the honour of the victory, for which he is chaſtiſed by the French annaliſts, who, with equal falſehood, accuſe him of inviting the Saracens,

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the ſnares and accidents of a purſuit, and diſmiſſed his German allies to their native foreſts. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loſs of ſtrength and blood, and the moſt cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never reſumed the conqueſt of Gaul, and they were ſoon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race [33]. It might have been expected that the ſaviour of Chriſtendom would have been canonized, or at leaſt applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his ſword for their preſent exiſtence. But in the public diſtreſs, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at leaſt the revenues, of the biſhops and abbots, to the relief of the ſtate and the reward of the ſoldiers. His merits were forgotten, his ſacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epiſtle to a Carlovingian prince, a Gallic ſynod preſumes to declare that his anceſtor was damned; that on the opening of his tomb, the ſpectators were affrighted by a ſmell of fire and the aſpect of an horrid dragon; and that a ſaint of the times was indulged with a pleaſant viſion of the ſoul and body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyſs of hell [34].

They retreat before the Franks.

Elevation of the Abbaſſides, A. D. 746—750.

The loſs of an army, or a province, in the Weſtern world, was leſs painful to the court of Damaſcus than the riſe and progreſs of a domeſtic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the

[33] Narbonne, and the reſt of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the ſon of Charles Martel, A. D. 755 (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 300.). Thirty-ſeven years afterwards it was pillaged by a ſudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the conſtruction of the moſch of Cordova (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 354.).

[34] This paſtoral letter, addreſſed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandſon of Charlemagne, and moſt probably compoſed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 858, and ſigned by the biſhops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 741. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 514—516.). Yet Baronius himſelf, and the French critics, reject with contempt this epiſcopal fiction.

houſe

houſe of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perſeverance in idolatry and rebellion: their converſion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the moſt holy and noble blood of Arabia. The beſt of their race, the pious Omar, was diſſatisfied with his own title: their perſonal virtues were inſufficient to juſtify a departure from the order of ſucceſſion; and the eyes and wiſhes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Haſhem and the kindred of the apoſtle of God. Of theſe the Fatimites were either raſh or puſillanimous; but the deſcendants of Abbas cheriſhed, with courage and diſcretion, the hopes of their riſing fortunes. From an obſcure reſidence in Syria, they ſecretly diſpatched their agents and miſſionaries, who preached in the Eaſtern provinces their hereditary indefeaſible right; and Mohammed, the ſon of Ali, the ſon of Abdallah, the ſon of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Choraſan, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thouſand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was adminiſtered in the name of his ſon Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a ſignal and a leader; and the governor of Choraſan continued to deplore his fruitleſs admonitions and the deadly ſlumber of the caliphs of Damaſcus, till he himſelf with all his adherents was driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moſlem [35]. That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbaſſides, was at length rewarded for his preſumption of merit with the uſual gratitude of courts. A mean,

[35] The ſteed and the ſaddle which had carried any of his wives, were inſtantly killed or burnt, leſt they ſhould be afterwards mounted by a male. Twelve hundred mules, or camels, were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily conſumption amounted to three thouſand cakes, an hundred ſheep, beſides oxen, poultry, &c. (Abulpharagius, Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 140.)

perhaps

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perhaps a foreign, extraction could not repreſs the aſpiring energy of Abu Moſlem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boaſt with pleaſure, and poſſibly with truth, that he had deſtroyed ſix hundred thouſand of his enemies; and ſuch was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never ſeen to ſmile except on a day of battle. In the viſible ſeparation of parties the *green* was conſecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommiades were diſtinguiſhed by the *white*, and the *black*, as the moſt adverſe, was naturally adopted by the Abbaſſides. Their turbans and garments were ſtained with that gloomy colour: two black ſtandards, on pike-ſtaves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moſlem; and their allegorical names of the *night* and the *ſhadow* obſcurely repreſented the indiſſoluble union and perpetual ſucceſſion of the line of Haſhem. From the Indus to the Euphrates the Eaſt was convulſed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions: the Abbaſſides were moſt frequently victorious; but their public ſucceſs was clouded by the perſonal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damaſcus, awakening from a long ſlumber, reſolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a ſplendid retinue, to recommend himſelf at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arreſted his perſon; and the unhappy Ibrahim, ſnatched away from the promiſe of untaſted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almanſor, eluded the ſearch of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his eaſtern friends allowed them to expoſe their perſons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dreſs of a caliph, in the colours of the ſect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the moſch: aſcending the pulpit, he prayed and preached as the lawful ſucceſſor of Mahomet; and, after

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his departure, his kinſmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the moſch of Cufa, that this important controverſy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the ſide of the white faction: the authority of eſtabliſhed government; an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand ſoldiers, againſt a ſixth part of that number; and the preſence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the fourteenth and laſt of the houſe of Ommiyah. Before his acceſſion to the throne, he had deſerved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the aſs of Meſopotamia[36]; and he might have been ranked among the greateſt princes, had not, ſays Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family; a decree againſt which all human prudence and fortitude muſt ſtruggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were miſtaken or diſobeyed: the return of his horſe, from which he had diſmounted on a neceſſary occaſion, impreſſed the belief of his death; and the enthuſiaſm of the black ſquadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph eſcaped to Moſul; but the colours of the Abbaſſides were diſplayed from the rampart; he ſuddenly repaſſed the Tigris, caſt a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, croſſed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damaſcus, and, without halting in Paleſtine, pitched his laſt and fatal camp at Buſir on the banks of the Nile[37]. His ſpeed was

[36] *Al Hemar.* He had been governor of Meſopotamia, and the Arabic proverb praiſes the courage of that warlike breed of aſſes who never fly from an enemy. The ſurname of Mervan may juſtify the compariſon of Homer (Iliad A. 557, &c.), and both will ſilence the moderns, who conſider the aſs as a ſtupid and ignoble emblem (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 558.).

[37] Four ſeveral places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Buſir, or Buſiris, ſo famous in Greek fable. The firſt where Mervan was ſlain, was to the weſt of the Nile, in the province of Fium, or Arſinoe; the ſecond in the Delta, in the Sebennytic nome; the third, near the pyramids; the fourth, which was deſtroyed by Dioclefian (ſee above, vol. i. p. 439), in the Thebais. I ſhall here tranſcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: Videntur in pluribus Ægypti ſuperioris

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was urged by the inceſſant diligence of Abdallah, who in every ſtep of the purſuit acquired ſtrength and reputation: the remains of the white faction were finally vanquiſhed in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not leſs welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The mercileſs inquiſition of the conqueror eradicated the moſt diſtant branches of the hoſtile race: their bones were ſcattered, their memory was accurſed, and the martyrdom of Hoſſein was abundantly revenged on the poſterity of his tyrants. Fourſcore of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damaſcus. The laws of hoſpitality were violated by a promiſcuous maſſacre: the board was ſpread over their fallen bodies; and the feſtivity of the gueſts was enlivened by the muſic of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynaſty of the Abbaſſides was firmly eſtabliſhed; but the Chriſtians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loſs of the diſciples of Mahomet [38].

Fall of the Ommiades, A. D. 750, February 10.

Yet the thouſands who were ſwept away by the ſword of war might have been ſpeedily retrieved in the ſucceeding generation, if the conſequences of the revolution had not tended to diſſolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proſcription of the

Revolt of Spain, A. D. 1755.

oris urbibus Buſiri Coptoque arma ſumpſiſſe Chriſtiani, libertatemque de religione ſentiendi defendiſſe, ſed ſuccubuiſſe quo in bello Coptus et Buſiris diruta, et circa Eſnam magna ſtrages edita. Bellum narrant ſed cauſam belli ignorant ſcriptores Byzantini, alioqui Coptum et Buſirim non rebellaſſe dicturi, ſed cauſſam Chriſtianorum ſuſcepturi (Not. 211. p. 100.). For the geography of the four Buſirs, ſee Abulfeda (Deſcript. Ægypt. p. 9. verſ. Michaelis. Gottingæ, 1776, in 4to), Michaelis (Not. 122—127. p. 58—63.), and d'Anville (Memoire ſur l'Egypte, p. 85. 147. 205.).

[38] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 136—145.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 392. verſ. Pocock), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 109—121.), Abulpharagius (Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 134—140.), Roderic of Toledo (Hiſt. Arabum, c. 18. p. 33.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 356, 357. who ſpeaks of the Abbaſſides under the names of Χωρασανται and Μαυροφοροι), and the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, in the articles of *Ommiades*, *Abaſſides*, *Mærvan*, *Ibrahim*, *Saffah*, *Abou Moſlem*.

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Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone eſcaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the vallies of mount Atlas. His preſence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cauſe of the Abbaſſides had been firſt vindicated by the Perſians: the Weſt had been pure from civil arms; and the ſervants of the abdicated family ſtill held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandſon of the caliph Haſhem to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors; and in his deſperate condition, the extremes of raſhneſs and prudence were almoſt the ſame. The acclamations of the people ſaluted his landing on the coaſt of Andaluſia; and, after a ſucceſsful ſtruggle, Abdalrahman eſtabliſhed the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees [39]. He ſlew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbaſſides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army: the head of Ala, in ſalt and camphire, was ſuſpended by a daring meſſenger before the palace of Mecca; and the caliph Almanſor rejoiced in his ſafety, that he was removed by ſeas and lands from ſuch a formidable adverſary. Their mutual deſigns or declarations of offenſive war evaporated without effect; but inſtead of opening a door to the conqueſt of Europe, Spain was diſſevered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hoſtility with the Eaſt, and inclined to peace and friendſhip with the Chriſtian ſovereigns of Conſtantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali,

Triple diviſion of the caliphate.

[39] For the revolution of Spain, conſult Roderic of Toledo (c. xviii. p. 34, &c.), the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana (tom. ii. p. 30. 198.), and Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 180—197. 205. 272. 323, &c.).

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the Edriſſites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was diſputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of diſcord, that a ſectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever [40].

Magnificence of the caliphs, A. D. 750—960.

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Haſhem, yet the Abbaſſides were never tempted to reſide either in the birth-place or the city of the prophet. Damaſcus was diſgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Ommiades; and after ſome heſitation, Almanſor, the brother and ſucceſſor of Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad [41], the Imperial ſeat of his poſterity during a reign of five hundred years [42]. The choſen ſpot is on the eaſtern bank of the Tigris about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modain: the double wall was of a circular form; and ſuch was the rapid encreaſe of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular ſaint might be attended by eight hundred thouſand men and ſixty thouſand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this

[40] I ſhall not ſtop to refute the ſtrange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 371—374. octavo edition) and Voltaire (Hiſtoire Generale, c. xxviii. tom. ii. p. 124, 125. edition de Lauſanne), concerning the diviſion of the Saracen empire. The miſtakes of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but Sir William was deceived by a Spaniſh impoſtor, who has framed an apocryphal hiſtory of the conqueſt of Spain by the Arabs.

[41] The geographer d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 121—123.), and the Orientaliſt d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque, p. 167, 168.), may ſuffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 688—698.), Tavernier (tom. i. p. 230—238.), Thevenot (part ii. p. 209—212.), Otter (tom. i. p. 162—168.), and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 239—271.), have ſeen only its decay; and the Nubian geographer (p. 204.) and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (Itinerarium, p. 112—123. à Conſt. l'Empereur, apud Elzevir, 1633), are the only writers of my acquaintance, who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbaſſides.

[42] The foundations of Bagdad were laid A. H. 145, A. D. 762. Moſtaſem, the laſt of the Abbaſſides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A. H. 656, A. D. 1258, the 20th of February.

city

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city of peace[43], amidſt the riches of the Eaſt, the Abbaſſides ſoon diſdained the abſtinence and frugality of the firſt caliphs, and aſpired to emulate the magnificence of the Perſian kings. After his wars and buildings, Almanſor left behind him in gold and ſilver about thirty millions ſterling[44]; and this treaſure was exhauſted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His ſon Mahadi, in a ſingle pilgrimage to Mecca, expended ſix millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may ſanctify the foundation of ciſterns and caravanſeras, which he diſtributed along a meaſured road of ſeven hundred miles; but his train of camels, laden with ſnow, could ſerve only to aſtoniſh the natives of Arabia, and to refreſh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet[45]. The courtiers would ſurely praiſe the liberality of his grandſon Almamon, who gave away four fifths of the income of a province, a ſum of two millions four hundred thouſand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the ſtirrup. At the nuptials of the ſame prince, a thouſand pearls of the largeſt ſize were ſhowered on the head of the bride[46], and a lottery of lands and houſes diſplayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened rather than impaired in the decline of the empire; and a Greek ambaſſador might admire or pity the mag-

[43] Medinat al Salem, Dar al Salam. Urbs pacis, or as it more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, Ειρηνοπολις (Irenopolis). There is ſome diſpute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the firſt ſyllable is allowed to ſignify a garden in the Perſian tongue; the garden of Dad, a Chriſtain hermit, whoſe cell had been the only habitation on the ſpot.

[44] Reliquit in ærario ſexcenties millies mille ſtateres, et quater et vicies millies mille aureos aureos. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight ſhillings, and the proportion to the ſilver as twelve to one. But I will never anſwer for the numbers of Erpenius; and the Latins are ſcarcely above the ſavages in the language of arithmetic.

[45] D'Herbelot, p. 530. Abulfeda, p. 154. Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rariſſime viſam.

[46] Abulfeda, p. 184. 189. deſcribes the ſplendour and liberality of Almamon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental cuſtom:

—Or where the gorgeous Eaſt, with richeſt hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have uſed the modern word *lottery*, to expreſs the *Miſſilia* of the Roman emperors, which entitled to ſome prize the perſon who caught them, as they were thrown among the crowd.

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nificence of the feeble Moctader. "The caliph's whole army," ſays the hiſtorian Abulfeda, "both horſe and foot, was under arms, "which together made a body of one hundred and ſixty thouſand "men. His ſtate-officers, the favourite ſlaves, ſtood near him in "ſplendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near "them were ſeven thouſand eunuchs, four thouſand of them "white, the remainder black. The porters or door-keepers were "in number ſeven hundred. Barges and boats, with the moſt "ſuperb decorations, were ſeen ſwimming upon the Tigris. Nor "was the palace itſelf leſs ſplendid, in which were hung up thirty-"eight thouſand pieces of tapeſtry, twelve thouſand five hundred "of which were of ſilk embroidered with gold. The carpets on "the floor were twenty-two thouſand. An hundred lions were "brought out with a keeper to each lion[47]. Among the other ſpec-"tacles of rare and ſtupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and ſilver "ſpreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the "leſſer boughs, ſat a variety of birds made of the ſame precious "metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery "affected ſpontaneous motions, the ſeveral birds warbled their na-"tural harmony. Through this ſcene of magnificence, the Greek "ambaſſador was led by the viſir to the foot of the caliph's "throne[48]." In the Weſt, the Ommiades of Spain ſupported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite ſultana, the third and greateſt of the Abdalrahmans conſtructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions

[47] When Bell of Antermony (Travels, vol. i. p. 99.) accompanied the Ruſſian ambaſſador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah Huſſein of Perſia, *two* lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the fierceſt animals.

[48] Abulfeda, p. 237. d'Herbelot, p. 590. This embaſſy was received at Bagdad A.H. 305, A.D. 917. In the paſſage of Abulfeda, I have uſed, with ſome variations, the Engliſh tranſlation of the learned and amiable Mr. Harris of Saliſbury (Philological Enquiries, p. 363, 364.).

ſterling,

ſterling, were employed by the founder: his liberal taſte invited the artiſts of Conſtantinople, the moſt ſkilful ſculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were ſuſtained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spaniſh and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was encruſted with gold and pearls, and a great baſon in the centre, was ſurrounded with the curious and coſtly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of theſe baſons and fountains, ſo delightful in a ſultry climate, was repleniſhed not with water, but with the pureſt quick-ſilver. The ſeraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to ſix thouſand three hundred perſons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thouſand horſe, whoſe belts and ſcymetars were ſtudded with gold [49].

Its conſequences on private and public happineſs.

In a private condition, our deſires are perpetually repreſſed by poverty and ſubordination; but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the ſervice of a deſpotic prince, whoſe laws are blindly obeyed, and whoſe wiſhes are inſtantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the ſplendid picture; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reaſon, there are few among us who would obſtinately refuſe a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of ſome uſe to borrow the experience of the ſame Abdalrahman, whoſe magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to tranſcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the cloſet of the deceaſed caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty "years in victory or peace; beloved by my ſubjects, dreaded by "my enemies, and reſpected by my allies. Riches and honours, "power and pleaſure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly

[49] Cardonne, Hiſtoire de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 330—336. A juſt idea of the taſte and architecture of the Arabians of Spain, may be conceived from the deſcription and plates of the Alhambra of Grenada (Swinburne's Travels, p. 171—188).

"bleſſing

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"blefſing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this ſitua-
"tion, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine
"happineſs which have fallen to my lot: they amount to FOUR-
"TEEN:—O man! place not thy confidence in this preſent world[50]."
The luxury of the caliphs, ſo uſeleſs to their private happineſs, relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progreſs, of the Arabian empire. Temporal and ſpiritual conqueſt had been the ſole occupation of the firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet; and after ſupplying themſelves with the neceſſaries of life, the whole revenue was ſcrupulouſly devoted to that ſalutary work. The Abbaſſides were impoveriſhed by the multitude of their wants and their contempt of œconomy. Inſtead of purſuing the great object of ambition, their leiſure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleaſure: the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A ſimilar temper was diffuſed among the ſubjects of the caliph. Their ſtern enthuſiaſm was ſoftened by time and proſperity: they ſought riches in the occupations of induſtry, fame in the purſuits of literature, and happineſs in the tranquillity of domeſtic life. War was no longer the paſſion of the Saracens; and the encreaſe of pay, the repetition of donatives, were inſufficient to allure the poſterity of thoſe voluntary champions who had crowded to the ſtandard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of ſpoil and of paradiſe.

[50] Cardonne, tom. i. p. 329, 330. This confeſſion, the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world (read Prior's verboſe but eloquent poem), and the happy ten days of the emperor Seghed (Rambler, N° 204, 205.), will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate, their eſtimates are ſeldom impartial. If I may ſpeak of myſelf (the only perſon of whom I can ſpeak with certainty), *my* happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the ſcanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I ſhall not ſcruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleaſing labour of the preſent compoſition.

Under

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Introduction of learning among the Arabians, A. D. 754, &c. 813, &c.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the ſtudies of the Moſlems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually expoſed to the dangers of the field, muſt eſteem the healing powers of medicine or rather of ſurgery: but the ſtarving phyſicians of Arabia murmured a complaint, that exerciſe and temperance deprived them of the greateſt part of their practice[51]. After their civil and domeſtic wars, the ſubjects of the Abbaſſides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leiſure and felt curioſity for the acquiſition of profane ſcience. This ſpirit was firſt encouraged by the caliph Almanſor, who, beſides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himſelf with ſucceſs to the ſtudy of aſtronomy. But when the ſceptre devolved to Almamon, the ſeventh of the Abbaſſides, he completed the deſigns of his grandfather, and invited the muſes from their ancient ſeats. His ambaſſadors at Conſtantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian ſcience: at his command they were tranſlated by the moſt ſkilful interpreters into the Arabic language: his ſubjects were exhorted aſſiduouſly to peruſe theſe inſtructive writings; and the ſucceſſor of Mahomet aſſiſted with pleaſure and modeſty at the aſſemblies and diſputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," ſays Abulpharagius, "that "*they* are the elect of God, his beſt and moſt uſeful ſervants, "whoſe lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational fa- "culties. The mean ambition of the Chineſe or the Turks may "glory in the induſtry of their hands or the indulgence of their "brutal appetites. Yet theſe dextrous artiſts muſt view, with "hopeleſs emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a

[51] The Guliſtan (p. 239.) relates the converſation of Mahomet and a phyſician (Epiſtol. Renaudot. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 814.). The prophet himſelf was ſkilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 394—405.) has given an extract of the aphoriſms which are extant under his name.

"bee-

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" bee-hive [52]: theſe fortitudinous heroes are awed by the ſuperior " fierceneſs of the lions and tigers; and in their amorous enjoy- " ments, they are much inferior to the vigour of the groſſeſt and " moſt ſordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wiſdom are the true " luminaries and legiſlators of a world, which, without their aid, " would again ſink in ignorance and barbariſm [53]." The zeal and curioſity of Almamon were imitated by ſucceeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful: the ſame royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffuſed the taſte and the rewards of ſcience from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The viſir of a ſultan conſecrated a ſum of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thouſand dinars. The fruits of inſtruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to ſix thouſand diſciples of every degree, from the ſon of the noble to that of the mechanic: a ſufficient allowance was provided for the indigent ſcholars; and the merit or induſtry of the profeſſors was repaid with adequate ſtipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and

[52] See their curious architecture in Reaumur (Hiſt. des Inſectes, tom. v. Memoire viii.). Theſe hexagons are cloſed by a pyramid; the angles of the three ſides of a ſimilar pyramid, ſuch as would accompliſh the given end with the ſmalleſt quantity poſſible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 26 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the ſmaller. The actual meaſure is 109 degrees 28 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raiſes the work at the expence of the artiſt: the bees are not maſters of tranſcendant geometry.

[53] Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A. H. 462, A. D. 1069, has furniſhed Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 160.) with this curious paſſage, as well as with the text of Pocock's Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum. A number of literary anecdotes of philoſophers, phyſicians, &c. who have flouriſhed under each caliph, form the principal merit of the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius.

collected

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collected by the curioſity of the ſtudious and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refuſed the invitation of the ſultan of Bochara, becauſe the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites conſiſted of one hundred thouſand manuſcripts, elegantly tranſcribed and ſplendidly bound, which were lent, without jealouſy or avarice, to the ſtudents of Cairo. Yet this collection muſt appear moderate, if we can believe that the Ommiades of Spain had formed a library of ſix hundred thouſand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above ſeventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andaluſian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great eruption of the Moguls, and was coæval with the darkeſt and moſt ſlothful period of European annals; but ſince the ſun of ſcience has ariſen in the Weſt, it ſhould ſeem that the Oriental ſtudies have languiſhed and declined [54].

Their real progreſs in the ſciences.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in thoſe of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were poſſeſſed only of local value or imaginary merit [55]. The ſhelves were crowded with orators and poets, whoſe ſtyle was adapted to the taſte and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial hiſtories, which each revolving generation ſupplied with a new harveſt of perſons and events; with codes and commentaries of juriſprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the inter-

54 Theſe literary anecdotes are borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana (tom. ii. p. 38. 71. 201, 202.), Leo Africanus (de Arab. Medicis et Philoſophis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 259—298. particularly p. 274.), and Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 274, 275. 536, 537.), beſides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

55 The Arabic catalogue of the Eſcurial will give a juſt idea of the proportion of the claſſes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of aſtronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of braſs, the other of ſilver (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 417.).

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preters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, myſtics, ſcholaſtics, and moraliſts, the firſt or the laſt of writers, according to the different eſtimate of ſceptics or believers. The works of ſpeculation or ſcience may be reduced to the four claſſes of philoſophy, mathematics, aſtronomy, and phyſic. The ſages of Greece were tranſlated and illuſtrated in the Arabic language, and ſome treatiſes, now loſt in the original, have been recovered in the verſions of the Eaſt[56], which poſſeſſed and ſtudied the writings of Ariſtotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen[57]. Among the ideal ſyſtems, which have varied with the faſhion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philoſophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obſcure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too cloſely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obſcurity, prevailed in the controverſies of the Oriental ſects, and their founder was long afterwards reſtored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin ſchools[58]. The phyſics, both of the Academy and the Lycæum, as they are built, not on obſervation, but on argument, have retarded the progreſs of real know-

[56] As for inſtance, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books (the eighth is ſtill wanting) of the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MS. 1661 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 559.). Yet the fifth book had been previouſly reſtored by the mathematical divination of Viviani (ſee his eloge in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 59, &c.).

[57] The merit of theſe Arabic verſions is freely diſcuſſed by Renaudot (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 812—816.), and piouſly defended by Caſiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 238—240.). Moſt of the verſions of Plato, Ariſtotle, Hippocrates, Galen, &c. are aſcribed to Honain, a phyſician of the Neſtorian ſect, who flouriſhed at Bagdad in the court of the caliphs, and died A. D. 876. He was at the head of a ſchool or manufacture of tranſlations, and the works of his ſons and diſciples were publiſhed under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 88. 115. 171—174. and apud Aſſeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 438.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 456.), Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 164.), and Caſiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 238, &c. 251. 286—290. 302. 304, &c.).

[58] See Moſheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 181. 214. 236. 257. 315. 338. 396. 438, &c.

ledge.

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ledge. The metaphyſics of infinite, or finite, ſpirit, have too often been enliſted in the ſervice of ſuperſtition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Ariſtotle collect and methodiſe our ideas [59], and his ſyllogiſm is the keeneſt weapon of diſpute. It was dextrouſly wielded in the ſchools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the inveſtigation of truth, it is not ſurpriſing that new generations of maſters and diſciples ſhould ſtill revolve in the ſame circle of logical argument. The mathematics are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar privilege, that, in the courſe of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not miſinformed, was reſumed in the ſame ſtate by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the ſcience of algebra is aſcribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modeſt teſtimony of the Arabs themſelves [60]. They cultivated with more ſucceſs the ſublime ſcience of aſtronomy, which elevates the mind of man to diſdain his diminutive planet and momentary exiſtence. The coſtly inſtruments of obſervation were ſupplied by the caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldæans ſtill afforded the ſame ſpacious level, the ſame unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a ſecond time in thoſe of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately meaſured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thouſand miles the entire circumference of our globe [61]. From the reign of the Abbaſſides to that

[59] The moſt elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Ariſtotle, may be found in the Philoſophical Arrangements of Mr. James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the ſtudies of Grecian literature and philoſophy.

[60] Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 81. 222. Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 370, 371. In quem (ſays the primate of the Jacobites) ſi immiſerit ſe lector, oceanum hoc in genere *(algebræ)* inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his ſix books are ſtill extant, and have been illuſtrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv. p. 12—15.).

[61] Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 210, 211. verſ. Reiſke) deſcribes this operation according

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that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the ſtars, without the aid of glaſſes, were diligently obſerved; and the aſtronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand[62], correct ſome minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypotheſis of Ptolemy, without advancing a ſtep towards the diſcovery of the ſolar ſyſtem. In the eaſtern courts, the truths of ſcience could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the aſtronomer would have been diſregarded, had he not debaſed his wiſdom or honeſty by the vain predictions of aſtrology[63]. But in the ſcience of medicine, the Arabians have been deſervedly applauded. The names of Meſua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian maſters; in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and ſixty phyſicians were licenſed to exerciſe their lucrative profeſſion[64]: in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was entruſted to the ſkill of the Saracens[65], and the ſchool of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art[66]. The ſucceſs of each profeſſor muſt have been influenced by perſonal and accidental cauſes; but we may form a leſs fanciful eſtimate of their general knowledge of anatomy[67], botany,

ing to Ibn Challecan, and the beſt hiſtorians. This degree moſt accurately contains 200,000 royal or Haſhemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the ſacred and legal practice both of Paleſtine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated 400 times in each baſis of the great pyramid, and ſeems to indicate the primitive and univerſal meaſures of the Eaſt. See the Metrologie of the laborious M. Paucton, p. 101—195.

[62] See the Aſtronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the 1st volume of his Syntagma Diſſertationum, Oxon. 1767.

[63] The truth of aſtrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the beſt of the Arabian aſtronomers, who drew their moſt certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the ſun (Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 161—163.). For the ſtate and ſcience of the Perſian aſtronomers, ſee Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iii. p. 162—203.).

[64] Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a pleaſant tale, of an ignorant but harmleſs practitioner.

[65] In the year 956, Sancho the fat, king of Leon, was cured by the phyſicians of Cordova (Mariana, l. viii. c. 7. tom. i. p. 318.).

[66] The ſchool of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian ſciences into Italy, are diſcuſſed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 932—940.) and Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 119—127.).

[67] See a good view of the progreſs of anatomy

botany[68], and chemiſtry[69], the threefold baſis of their theory and practice. A ſuperſtitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the diſſection of apes and quadrupeds; the more ſolid and viſible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer ſcrutiny of the human frame was reſerved for the microſcope and the injections of modern artiſts. Botany is an active ſcience, and the diſcoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioſcorides with two thouſand plants. Some traditionary knowledge might be ſecreted in the temples and monaſteries of Egypt; much uſeful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the *ſcience* of chemiſtry owes its origin and improvement to the induſtry of the Saracens. They firſt invented and named the alembic for the purpoſes of diſtillation, analyſed the ſubſtances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the diſtinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poiſonous minerals into ſoft and ſalutary medicines. But the moſt eager ſearch of Arabian chemiſtry was the tranſmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reaſon and the fortunes of thouſands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the conſummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of myſtery, fable, and ſuperſtition.

tomy in Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 208—256.). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controverſy of Boyle and Bentley.

[68] Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpanica, tom. i. p. 275. Al Beithar of Malaga, their greateſt botaniſt, had travelled into Africa, Perſia, and India.

[69] Dr. Watſon (Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. i. p. 17, &c.) allows the *original* merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modeſt confeſſion of the famous Geber of the ix^th^ century (d'Herbelot, p. 387.), that he had drawn moſt of his ſcience, perhaps of the tranſmutation of metals, from the ancient ſages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemiſtry and alchymy appear to have been known in Egypt at leaſt three hundred years before Mahomet (Wotton's Reflections, p. 121—133. Pauw, Recherches ſur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. i. p. 376—429.).

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Want of erudition, taſte, and freedom.

But the Moſlems deprived themſelves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourſe with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taſte, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians diſdained the ſtudy of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were choſen among their Chriſtian ſubjects; they formed their tranſlations, ſometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac verſion: and in the crowd of aſtronomers and phyſicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an hiſtorian, being taught to ſpeak the language of the Saracens[70]. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of thoſe ſtern fanatics: they poſſeſſed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome: the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the hiſtory of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a ſhort legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Perſian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin ſchools may have fixed in our minds a ſtandard of excluſive taſte; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whoſe language I am ignorant. Yet I *know* that the claſſics have much to teach, and I *believe* that the Orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of ſtyle, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of viſible and intellectual beauty, the juſt delineation of character and paſſion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry[71]. The

[70] Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 26. 148.) mentions a *Syriac* verſion of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a Chriſtian Maronite of mount Libanus, who profeſſed aſtronomy at Roha or Edeſſa towards the end of the viiith century. His work would be a literary curioſity. I have read ſomewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were tranſlated into Turkiſh for the uſe of Mahomet the ſecond.

[71] I have peruſed, with much pleaſure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Aſiatic poetry (London, 1774, in octavo), which was compoſed in the youth of that wonderful linguiſt. At preſent, in the maturity of his taſte and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praiſe which he has beſtowed on the Orientals.

influence of truth and reaſon is of a leſs ambiguous complexion. The philoſophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the bleſſings, and aſſerted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eaſtern deſpotiſm, diffuſed a liberal ſpirit of enquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian ſages to ſuſpect that their caliph was a tyrant and their prophet an impoſtor[72]. The inſtinct of ſuperſtition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abſtract ſciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the raſh and pernicious curioſity of Almamon[73]. To the thirſt of martyrdom, the viſion of paradiſe, and the belief of predeſtination, we muſt aſcribe the invincible enthuſiaſm of the prince and people. And the ſword of the Saracens became leſs formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful preſumed to read and to reflect. Yet the fooliſh vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their ſtudies, and reluctantly imparted the ſacred fire to the Barbarians of the Eaſt[74].

Wars of Harun al Raſhid againſt the Romans, A. D. 781—805.

In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbaſſides, the Greeks had ſtolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a ſevere retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynaſty, who ſeized in his turn the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Conſtantine, were ſeated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thouſand Perſians and Arabs was ſent from the Tigris

[72] Among the Arabian philoſophers, Averroes has been accuſed of deſpiſing the religions of the Jews, the Chriſtians, and the Mahometans (ſee his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of theſe ſects would agree, that in two inſtances out of three, his contempt was reaſonable.

[73] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 546.

[74] Θεοφιλος; ατοπον κρινας ει την των οντων γνωσιν, δι ην το Ρωμαιων γενος θαυμαζεται εκδοτον ποιησει τοις εθνεσι, &c. Cedrenus, p. 548. who relates how manfully the emperor refuſed a mathematician to the inſtances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This abſurd ſcruple is expreſſed almoſt in the ſame words, by the continuator of Theophanes (Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p. 118.).

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to the Thracian Boſphorus, under the command of Harun[75], or Aaron, the ſecond ſon of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the oppoſite heights of Chryſopolis or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Conſtantinople, of the loſs of her troops and provinces. With the conſent or connivance of their ſovereign her miniſters ſubſcribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of ſome royal gifts could not diſguiſe the annual tribute of ſeventy thouſand dinars of gold, which was impoſed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too raſhly advanced into the midſt of a diſtant and hoſtile land: their retreat was ſolicited by the promiſe of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whiſper, that their weary forces might be ſurrounded and deſtroyed in their neceſſary paſſage between a ſlippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun aſcended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the moſt powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illuſtrious in the Weſt, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the moſt childiſh readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *Al Raſhid* (the *Juſt*) is ſullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barmecides; yet he could liſten to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a paſſage of the Koran, to threaten the inattentive deſpot with the judgment of God and poſterity. His court was adorned with luxury and ſcience; but, in a reign of three-and-twenty years, Harun repeatedly viſited his provinces from Choraſan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as

[75] See the reign and character of Harun al Raſhid, in the Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 431—433, under his proper title; and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has ſhewn much taſte in ſtripping the Oriental chronicles of their inſtructive and amuſing anecdotes.

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they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more coſtly than a year of ſubmiſſion. But when the unnatural mother of Conſtantine was depoſed and baniſhed, her ſucceſſor Nicephorus reſolved to obliterate this badge of ſervitude and diſgrace. The epiſtle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an alluſion to the game of cheſs, which had already ſpread from Perſia to Greece. "The queen (he ſpoke "of Irene) conſidered you as a rook and herſelf as a pawn. That "puſillanimous female ſubmitted to pay a tribute, the double of "which ſhe ought to have exacted from the Barbarians. Reſtore "therefore the fruits of your injuſtice, or abide the determination "of the ſword." At theſe words the ambaſſadors caſt a bundle of ſwords before the foot of the throne. The caliph ſmiled at the menace, and drawing his ſcymetar, *ſamſamah*, a weapon of hiſtoric or fabulous renown, he cut aſunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epiſtle of tremendous brevity: "In the name "of the moſt merciful God, Harun al Raſhid, commander of the "faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, "O thou ſon of an unbelieving mother. Thou ſhalt not hear, thou "ſhalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the ſhew of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Racca on the Euphrates [76]; but the diſtance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, encouraged his adverſary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was

[76] For the ſituation of Racca, the old Nicephorium, conſult d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 24—27.). The Arabian Nights repreſent Harun al Raſhid as almoſt ſtationary in Bagdad. He reſpected the royal ſeat of the Abbaſſides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (Abulfed. Annal. p. 167.).

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aſtoniſhed by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repaſſed, in the depth of winter, the ſnows of mount Taurus: his ſtratagems of policy and war were exhauſted; and the perfidious Greek eſcaped with three wounds from a field of battle overſpread with forty thouſand of his ſubjects. Yet the emperor was aſhamed of ſubmiſſion, and the caliph was reſolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thouſand regular ſoldiers received pay, and were inſcribed in the military roll; and above three hundred thouſand perſons of every denomination marched under the black ſtandard of the Abbaſſides. They ſwept the ſurface of Aſia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra, and inveſted the Pontic Heraclea [77], once a flouriſhing ſtate, now a paltry town; at that time capable of ſuſtaining in her antique walls a month's ſiege againſt the forces of the Eaſt. The ruin was complete, the ſpoil was ample; but if Harun had been converſant with Grecian ſtory, he would have regretted the ſtatue of Hercules, whoſe attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were ſculptured in maſſy gold. The progreſs of deſolation by ſea and land, from the Euxine to the iſle of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty, the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a leſſon and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and ſuperſcription of Harun and his three ſons [78]. Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the diſhonour of the Roman name. After the death of their father, the

[77] M. de Tournefort, in his coaſting voyage from Conſtantinople to Trebizond, paſſed a night at Heraclea or Eregri. His eye ſurveyed the preſent ſtate, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xvi. p. 23—35.). We have a ſeparate hiſtory of Heraclea in the fragments of Memnon, which are preſerved by Photius.

[78] The wars of Harun al Raſhid againſt the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (p. 384, 385. 391. 396. 407, 408.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 115. 124.), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 407.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 136. 151. 152.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 147. 151.), and Abulfeda (p. 156. 166—168.).

heirs

heirs of the caliph were involved in civil diſcord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was ſufficiently engaged in the reſtoration of domeſtic peace and the introduction of foreign ſcience. CHAP. LII.

Under the reign of Almamon at Bagdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Conſtantinople, the iſlands of Crete[79] and Sicily were ſubdued by the Arabs. The former of theſe conqueſts is diſdained by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine hiſtorians, who now begin to caſt a clearer light on the affairs of their own times[80]. A band of Andaluſian volunteers, diſcontented with the climate or government of Spain, explored the adventures of the ſea; but as they ſailed in no more than ten or twenty gallies, their warfare muſt be branded with the name of piracy. As the ſubjects and ſectaries of the *white* party, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the *black* caliphs. A rebellious faction introduced them into Alexandria[81]; they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the moſchs, ſold above ſix thouſand Chriſtian captives, and maintained their ſtation in the capital of Egypt, till they

The Arabs ſubdue the iſle of Crete, A. D. 823.

[79] The authors from whom I have learned the moſt of the ancient and modern ſtate of Crete, are Belon (Obſervations, &c. c. 3—20. Paris, 1555), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i. lettre ii. et iii.), and Meurſius (CRETA, in his works, tom. iii. p. 343—544.). Although Crete is ſtyled by Homer Πιειρα, by Dionyſius λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος, I cannot conceive that mountainous iſland to ſurpaſs, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.

[80] The moſt authentic and circumſtantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or the command of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, with the Life of his father Baſil the Macedonian (Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p. 1—162. à Franciſc. Combefis, Paris, 1685). The loſs of Crete and Sicily is related, l. ii. p. 46—52. To theſe we may add the ſecondary evidence of Joſeph Geneſius (l. ii. p. 21. Venet. 1733), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506—508.), and John Scylitzes Curopalata (apud Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 827. N° 24, &c.). But the modern Greeks are ſuch notorious plagiaries, that I ſhould only quote a plurality of names.

[81] Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 251—256. 268—270.) has deſcribed the ravages of the Andaluſian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conqueſt of Crete.

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were oppreſſed by the forces and the preſence of Almamon himſelf. From the mouth of the Nile to the Helleſpont, the iſlands and ſea-coaſts both of the Greeks and Moſlems were expoſed to their depredations; they ſaw, they envied, they taſted, the fertility of Crete, and ſoon returned with forty gallies to a more ſerious attack. The Andaluſians wandered over the land fearleſs and unmoleſted; but when they deſcended with their plunder to the ſea-ſhore, their veſſels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Caab, confeſſed himſelf the author of the miſchief. Their clamours accuſed his madneſs or treachery. "Of what do you complain?" replied the crafty emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. "Here is your true country; repoſe from your toils, and forget the "barren place of your nativity." "And our wives and children?" "Your beauteous captives will ſupply the place of your wives, and "in their embraces you will ſoon become the fathers of a new pro-"geny." The firſt habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Suda; but an apoſtate monk led them to a more deſirable poſition in the eaſtern parts; and the name of Candax, their fortreſs and colony, has been extended to the whole iſland, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Candia*. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminiſhed to thirty; and of theſe, only one, moſt probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the ſubſtance of freedom and the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. The Saracens of Crete ſoon repaired the loſs of their navy; and the timbers of mount Ida were launched into the main. During an hoſtile period, of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of Conſtantinople attacked theſe licentious corſairs with fruitleſs curſes and ineffectual arms.

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and of Sicily, A. D. 827—878.

The loſs of Sicily[82] was occaſioned by an act of ſuperſtitious rigour. An amorous youth who had ſtolen a nun from her cloyſter, was ſentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. Euphemius appealed to the reaſon and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and ſoon returned with the Imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ſhips, and an army of ſeven hundred horſe and ten thouſand foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus; but after ſome partial victories, Syracuſe[83] was delivered by the Greeks, the apoſtate was ſlain before her walls, and his African friends were reduced to the neceſſity of feeding on the fleſh of their own horſes. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforcement of their brethren of Andaluſia; the largeſt and weſtern part of the iſland was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was choſen for the ſeat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuſe preſerved about fifty years the faith which ſhe had ſworn to Chriſt and to Cæſar. In the laſt and fatal ſiege, her citizens diſplayed ſome remnant of the ſpirit which had formerly reſiſted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They ſtood above twenty days againſt the battering-rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoiſes of the beſiegers, and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the Imperial fleet had not been detained at Conſtantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodoſius, with the biſhop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, caſt into a ſubterraneous dungeon, and expoſed to the hourly peril of death or apoſtacy. His pathetic, and not inele-

[82] Δηλοι (ſays the continuator of Theophanes, l. ii. p. 51.) δε ταυτα σαφεςατα και πλατικωτερον ἡ τοτε γραφεισα Θεογνωςῳ και εις χειρας ελθουσα ἡμων. This hiſtory of the loſs of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 7. 19. 21, &c.) has added ſome circumſtances from the Italian chronicles.

[83] The ſplendid and intereſting tragedy of *Tancrede* would adapt itſelf much better to this epoch, than to the date (A. D. 1005) which Voltaire himſelf has choſen. But I muſt gently reproach the poet, for infuſing into the Greek ſubjects the ſpirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

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gant complaint, may be read as the epitaph of his country[84]. From the Roman conqueſt to this final calamity, Syracuſe, now dwindled to the primitive iſle of Ortygea, had inſenſibly declined. Yet the relics were ſtill precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thouſand pounds of ſilver; the entire ſpoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling), and the captives muſt out-number the ſeventeen thouſand Chriſtians, who were tranſported from the ſack of Tauromenium into African ſervitude. In Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and ſuch was the docility of the riſing generation, that fifteen thouſand boys were circumciſed and clothed on the ſame day with the ſon of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian ſquadrons iſſued from the harbours of Palermo, Biſerta, and Tunis; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the ſuburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæſars and apoſtles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy muſt have fallen an eaſy and glorious acceſſion to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had loſt their authority in the Weſt; the Aglabites and Fatimites uſurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aſpired to independence; and the deſign of conqueſt and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads[85].

Invaſion of Rome by the Saracens, A. D. 846.

In the ſufferings of proſtrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a ſolemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coaſt preſumed to enter the mouth of the Tyber, and to

[84] The narrative or lamentation of Theodoſius, is tranſcribed and illuſtrated by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 719, &c.). Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Baſil. c. 69, 70. p. 190—192.) mentions the loſs of Syracuſe and the triumph of the demons.

[85] The extracts from the Arabic hiſtories of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 271—273.), and in the firſt volume of Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicarum. M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364.) has added ſome important facts.

approach a city which even yet, in her fallen ſtate, was revered as the metropolis of the Chriſtian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left expoſed in the ſuburbs of the Vatican and of the Oſtian way. Their inviſible ſanctity had protected them againſt the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards; but the Arabs diſdained both the goſpel and the legend; and their rapacious ſpirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Chriſtian *idols* were ſtripped of their coſtly offerings; a ſilver altar was torn away from the ſhrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance muſt be imputed to the haſte, rather than the ſcruples, of the Saracens. In their courſe along the Appian way, they pillaged Fundi and beſieged Gayeta; but they had turned aſide from the walls of Rome, and, by their diviſions, the Capitol was ſaved from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The ſame danger ſtill impended on the heads of the Roman people; and their domeſtic force was unequal to the aſſault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin ſovereign; but the Carlovingian ſtandard was overthrown by a detachment of the Barbarians: they meditated the reſtoration of the Greek emperors; but the attempt was treaſonable, and the ſuccour remote and precarious[86]. Their diſtreſs appeared to receive ſome aggravation from the death of their ſpiritual and temporal chief; but the preſſing emergency ſuperſeded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of pope Leo the fourth[87] was the ſafety of the church and city. This pontiff was born

[86] One of the moſt eminent Romans (Gratianus, magiſter militum et Romani palatii ſuperiſta) was accuſed of declaring, Quia Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium præbent, ſed magis quæ noſtra ſunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Græcos, et cum eis fœdus pacis componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de noſtro regno et dominatione expellimus? Anaſtaſius in Leone IV. p. 199.

[87] Voltaire (Hiſt. Generale, tom. ii. c 38. p. 124.) appears to be remarkably ſtruck with

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born a Roman; the courage of the firſt ages of the republic glowed in his breaſt; and, amidſt the ruins of his country, he ſtood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The firſt days of his reign were conſecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and proceſſions, and to all the ſolemn offices of religion, which ſerved at leaſt to heal the imagination, and reſtore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the preſumption of peace, but from the diſtreſs and poverty of the times. As far as the ſcantineſs of his means, and the ſhortneſs of his leiſure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the moſt acceſſible ſtations, were built or renewed; two of theſe commanded on either ſide the Tyber; and an iron chain was drawn acroſs the ſtream to impede the aſcent of an hoſtile navy. The Romans were aſſured of a ſhort reſpite by the welcome news, that the ſiege of Gayeta had been raiſed, and that a part of the enemy, with their ſacrilegious plunder, had periſhed in the waves.

Victory and reign of Leo IV. A. D. 849.

But the ſtorm, which had been delayed, ſoon burſt upon them with redoubled violence. The Aglabite [88], who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treaſure and an army: a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a ſhort refreſhment in the harbours of Sardinia, caſt anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, ſixteen miles from the city; and their diſcipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a tranſient inroad, but a ſerious deſign of conqueſt and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vaſſals of

with the character of pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expreſſion, but the ſight of the forum has furniſhed me with a more diſtinct and lively image.

[88] De Guignes, Hiſt. Generale des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364. Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, ſous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 24, 25. I obſerve, and cannot reconcile, the difference of theſe writers in the ſucceſſion of the Aglabites.

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the Greek empire, the free and maritime ſtates of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Oſtia under the command of Cæſarius the ſon of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquiſhed the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæſarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dextrous pontiff affected to enquire their errand, and to accept with joy and ſurpriſe their providential ſuccour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Oſtia, where he reviewed and bleſſed his generous deliverers. They kiſſed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and liſtened to the prayer of Leo, that the ſame God who had ſupported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the ſea, would ſtrengthen the hands of his champions againſt the adverſaries of his holy name. After a ſimilar prayer, and with equal reſolution, the Moſlems advanced to the attack of the Chriſtian gallies, which preſerved their advantageous ſtation along the coaſt. The victory inclined to the ſide of the allies, when it was leſs glorioufly decided in their favour by a ſudden tempeſt, which confounded the ſkill and courage of the ſtouteſt mariners. The Chriſtians were ſheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were ſcattered and daſhed in pieces among the rocks and iſlands of an hoſtile ſhore. Thoſe who eſcaped from ſhipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deſerved mercy at the hands of their implacable purſuers. The ſword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more uſefully employed, to reſtore the ſacred edifices which they had attempted to ſubvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the ſhrines of the apoſtles; and, among the ſpoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and maſſy ſilver were ſuſpended round the altar of the fiſherman of Galilee. The reign of Leo the fourth was

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employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman ſtate. The churches were renewed and embelliſhed: near four thouſand pounds of ſilver were conſecrated to repair the loſſes of St. Peter; and his ſanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold of the weight of two hundred and ſixteen pounds; emboſſed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a ſtring of pearls. Yet this vain magnificence reflects leſs glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Horta and Ameria; and tranſported the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ to his new foundation of Leopolis, twelve miles from the ſea-ſhore[89]. By his liberality, a colony of Corſicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the ſtation of Porto at the mouth of the Tyber: the falling city was reſtored for their uſe, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new ſettlers: their firſt efforts were aſſiſted by a gift of horſes and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge againſt the Saracens, ſwore to live and die under the ſtandard of St. Peter. The nations of the weſt and north who viſited the threſhold of the apoſtles had gradually formed the large and populous ſuburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were diſtinguiſhed in the language of the times, as the *ſchools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable ſpot was ſtill open to ſacrilegious inſult: the deſign of incloſing it with walls and towers exhauſted all that authority could command, or charity would ſupply: and the pious labour of four years was animated in every ſeaſon, and at every hour, by the preſence of the indefatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly paſſion, may be detected in the name of the *Leonine city*, which he beſtowed on the Vatican, yet the pride of the dedication

Foundation of the Leonine city, A. D. 852.

[89] Beretti (Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, p. 106. 108.) has illuſtrated Centumcellæ, Leopolis, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman dutchy.

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was tempered with Chriſtian pennance and humility. The boundary was trod by the biſhop and his clergy, barefoot, in ſackcloth, and aſhes; the ſongs of triumph were modulated to pſalms and litanies; the walls were beſprinkled with holy water; and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that under the guardian care of the apoſtles and the angelic hoſt, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preſerved pure, proſperous, and impregnable[90].

The Amorian war between Theophilus and Motaſſem, A. D. 838.

The emperor Theophilus, ſon of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the moſt active and high-ſpirited princes who reigned at Conſtantinople during the middle age. In offenſive or defenſive war, he marched in perſon five times againſt the Saracens, formidable in his attack, eſteemed by the enemy in his loſſes and defeats. In the laſt of theſe expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and beſieged the obſcure town of Sozopetra; the caſual birth-place of the caliph Motaſſem, whoſe father Harun was attended in peace or war by the moſt favoured of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Perſian impoſtor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged ſome degree of filial affection. Theſe ſolicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in ſo ſenſible a part. Sozopetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian priſoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thouſand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among theſe a matron of the houſe of Abbas invoked, in an agony of deſpair, the name of Motaſſem; and the inſults of the Greeks en-

[90] The Arabs and the Greeks are alike ſilent concerning the invaſion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much inſtruction (ſee the Annals of Baronius and Pagi). Our authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the ix^th century, is Anaſtaſius, librarian of the Roman church. His Life of Leo IV. contains twenty-four pages (p. 175—199. edit. Paris); and if a great part conſiſts of ſuperſtitious trifles, we muſt blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

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gaged the honour of her kinſman to avenge his indignity, and to anſwer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the youngeſt had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circaſſia; this frontier ſtation had exerciſed his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Octonary* [91], the moſt meritorious are the *eight* battles which he gained or fought againſt the enemies of the Koran. In this perſonal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia and the Turkiſh hords: his cavalry might be numerous, though we ſhould deduct ſome myriads from the hundred and thirty thouſand horſes of the royal ſtables; and the expence of the armament was computed at four millions ſterling, or one hundred thouſand pounds of gold. From Tarſus, the place of aſſembly, the Saracens advanced in three diviſions along the high road of Conſtantinople: Motaſſem himſelf commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his ſon Abbas, who, in the trial of the firſt adventures, might ſucceed with the more glory, or fail with the leaſt reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a ſimilar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium [92] in Phrygia: the original ſeat of the Imperial houſe had been adorned with privileges and monuments; and, whatever might be the indifference of the people, Conſtantinople itſelf was ſcarcely of more value in the eyes of the ſovereign and his court. The name of AMORIUM was inſcribed on the ſhields of the Saracens; and their three

[91] The ſame number was applied to the following circumſtance in the life of Motaſſem: he was the *eighth* of the Abbaſſides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* ſons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thouſand ſlaves, *eight* millions of gold.

[92] Amorium is ſeldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the vi^th^ century, it became an epiſcopal ſee, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol. S^cto^ Paulo, Geograph. Sacra, p. 234.). The city roſe again from its ruins, if we ſhould read *Ammuria*, not *Anguria*, in the text of the Nubian geographer (p. 236.).

armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been propoſed by the wiſeſt counſellors, to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty ſtructures to the vain reſentment of the Barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous reſolution of defending, in a ſiege and battle, the country of his anceſtors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mahometan line appeared to a Roman eye more cloſely planted with ſpears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either ſide to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the ſwords of thirty thouſand Perſians, who had obtained ſervice and ſettlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulſed and vanquiſhed, but it was by the arrows of the Turkiſh cavalry; and had not their bow-ſtrings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Chriſtians could have eſcaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylæum, at the diſtance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling ſquadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this diſcovery of his weakneſs, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium: the inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promiſes; and detained the Roman ambaſſadors to be the witneſſes of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witneſſes of his ſhame. The vigorous aſſaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garriſon, and a deſperate people; and the Saracens muſt have raiſed the ſiege, if a domeſtic traitor had not pointed to the weakeſt part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the ſtatues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motaſſem was accompliſhed with unrelenting rigour: tired, rather than ſatiated, with deſtruction,

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ſtruction, he returned to his new palace of Samara, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate*[93] Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Weſtern rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the ſiege of Amorium above ſeventy thouſand Moſlems had periſhed: their loſs had been revenged by the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand Chriſtians, and the ſufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the moſt atrocious criminals. Mutual neceſſity could ſometimes extort the exchange or ranſom of priſoners[94]; but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was ſeldom given in the field; thoſe who eſcaped the edge of the ſword were condemned to hopeleſs ſervitude, or exquiſite torture; and a Catholic emperor relates, with viſible ſatisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into chaldrons of boiling oil[95]. To a point of honour Motaſſem had ſacrificed a flouriſhing city, two hundred thouſand lives, and the property of millions. The ſame caliph deſcended from his horſe, and dirtied his robe to relieve the diſtreſs of a decrepit old man, who, with his laden aſs, had tumbled into a ditch. On which

[93] In the Eaſt he was ſtyled Δυσυχης (Continuator Theophan. l. iii. p. 84.); but ſuch was the ignorance of the Weſt, that his ambaſſadors, in public diſcourſe, might boldly narrate, de victoriis, quas adverſus exteras bellando gentes cœlitus fuerat aſſecutus. (Annaliſt Bertinian, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 720.).

[94] Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 167, 168.) relates one of theſe ſingular tranſactions on the bridge of the river Lamus in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey weſtward of Tarſus (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 91.). Four thouſand four hundred and ſixty Moſlems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They paſſed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their reſpective friends, they ſhouted *Allah Acbar*, and *Kyrie Eleiſon*. Many of the priſoners of Amorium were probably among them, but in the ſame year (A. H. 231.), the moſt illuſtrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

[95] Conſtantin. Porphyrogenitus, in Vit. Baſil. c. 61. p. 186. Theſe Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar ſeverity as pirates and renegadoes.

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of theſe actions did he reflect with the moſt pleaſure, when he was ſummoned by the angel of death[96]?

Diſorders of the Turkiſh guards, A. D. 841—870, &c.

With Motaſſem, the eighth of the Abbaſſides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt, and were mingled with the ſervile crowds of Perſia, Syria, and Egypt, they inſenſibly loſt the freeborn and martial virtues of the deſert. The courage of the ſouth is the artificial fruit of diſcipline and prejudice; the active power of enthuſiaſm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in thoſe climates of the north, of which valour is the hardy and ſpontaneous production. Of the Turks[97] who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robuſt youths, either taken in war, or purchaſed in trade, were educated in the exerciſes of the field, and the profeſſion of the Mahometan faith. The Turkiſh guards ſtood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs uſurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motaſſem, the firſt author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thouſand Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the ſoldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and eſtabliſh his own reſidence and the camp of his Barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace[98]. His ſon Motawakkel was

[96] For Theophilus Motaſſem, and the Amorian war, ſee the Continuator of Theophanes (l. iii. p. 77—84.), Geneſius (l. iii. p. 24—34.), Cedrenus (p. 528—532.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 180.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 165, 166.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem, p. 191.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 639—640.).

[97] M. de Guignes, who ſometimes leaps, and ſometimes ſtumbles, in the gulph between Chineſe and Mahometan ſtory, thinks he can ſee, that theſe Turks are the *Hoei-ke*, alias the *Kao-tche*, or *high waggons*; that they were divided into fifteen hords, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samanides, &c. (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 1—33. 124—131.).

[98] He changed the old name of Sumere, or Samara, into the fanciful title of *Ser-mēn-raï*, that which gives pleaſure at firſt ſight (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 808. d'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 97, 98.).

a jealous

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a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his ſubjects, he caſt himſelf on the fidelity of the ſtrangers, and theſe ſtrangers, ambitious and apprehenſive, were tempted by the rich promiſe of a revolution. At the inſtigation, or at leaſt in the cauſe of his ſon, they burſt into his apartment at the hour of ſupper, and the caliph was cut into ſeven pieces by the ſame ſwords which he had recently diſtributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet ſtreaming with a father's blood, Montaſſer was triumphantly led; but in a reign of ſix months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conſcience. If he wept at the ſight of an old tapeſtry which repreſented the crime and puniſhment of the ſon of Choſroes; if his days were abridged by grief and remorſe, we may allow ſome pity to a paricide, who exclaimed in the bitterneſs of death, that he had loſt both this world, and the world to come. After this act of treaſon, the enſigns of royalty, the garment and walking-ſtaff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, depoſed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, theſe caliphs were dragged by the feet, expoſed naked to the ſcorching ſun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchaſe, by the abdication of their dignity, a ſhort reprieve of inevitable fate[99]. At length, however, the fury of the tempeſt was ſpent or diverted: the Abbaſſides returned to the leſs turbulent reſidence of Bagdad; the inſolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more ſkilful hand, and their numbers were divided and deſtroyed in foreign warfare.

[99] Take a ſpecimen, the death of the caliph Motaz, correptum pedibus pertrahunt, et fudibus probe permulcant, et ſpoliatum laceris veſtibus in ſole collocant, præ cujus, acerrimo æſtû pedes alternis attollebat et demittebat. Adſtantium aliquis miſero colaphos continuo ingerebat, quos ille objectis manibus avertere ſtudebat.... Quo facto traditus tortori fuit totoque triduo cibo potuque prohibitus.... Suffocatus, &c. (Abulfeda, p. 206.). Of the caliph Mohtadi, he ſays, cervices ipſi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, teſticuloſque pedibus conculcabant (p. 208.).

warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the ſucceſſors of the prophet; and the bleſſings of domeſtic peace were obtained by the relaxation of ſtrength and diſcipline. So uniform are the miſchiefs of military deſpotiſm, that I ſeem to repeat the ſtory of the prætorians of Rome[100].

Riſe and progreſs of the Carmathians, A. D. 890–951.

While the flame of enthuſiaſm was damped by the buſineſs, the pleaſure, and the knowledge, of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breaſts of the choſen few, the congenial ſpirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. However carefully ſoever the book of prophecy had been ſealed by the apoſtle of Mecca, the wiſhes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reaſon, of fanaticiſm, might believe that, after the ſucceſſive miſſions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moſes, Jeſus, and Mahomet, the ſame God, in the fulneſs of time, would reveal a ſtill more perfect and permanent law. In the two hundred and ſeventy-ſeventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, aſſumed the lofty and incomprehenſible ſtyle of the Guide, the Director, the Demonſtration, the Word, the Holy Ghoſt, the Camel, the Herald of the Meſſiah, who had converſed with him in a human ſhape, and the repreſentative of Mohammed the ſon of Ali, of St. John the Baptiſt, and of the angel Gabriel. In his myſtic volume, the precepts of the Koran were refined to a more ſpiritual ſenſe; he relaxed the duties of ablution, faſting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiſcriminate uſe of wine and forbidden food; and nouriſhed the fervour of his diſciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleneſs and ferment of the ruſtic crowd awakened the attention of the magiſtrates of Cufa; a timid perſecution aſſiſted the progreſs of the new ſect; and the

[100] See under the reigns of Motaſſem, Motawakkel, Moſtanſer, Moſtain, Motaz, Mohtadi, and Motamed, in the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, and the now familiar Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

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name of the prophet became more revered after his perſon had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apoſtles diſperſed themſelves among the Bedoweens, "a race of men," ſays Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reaſon and of religion;" and the ſucceſs of their preaching ſeemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for rebellion, ſince they diſclaimed the title of the houſe of Abbas, and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were ſuſceptible of diſcipline, ſince they vowed a blind and abſolute ſubmiſſion to their Imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Inſtead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their ſubſtance and ſpoil; the moſt flagitious ſins were no more than the type of diſobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of ſecreſy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Perſian Gulf: far and wide, the tribes of the deſert were ſubject to the ſceptre, or rather to the ſword, of Abu Said and his ſon Abu Taher; and theſe rebellious imams could muſter in the field an hundred and ſeven thouſand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were diſmayed at the approach of an enemy who neither aſked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expreſſive of the change which three centuries of proſperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were diſcomfited in every action; the cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Baſſora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with conſternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horſe. By the ſpecial order of Moctader, the bridges had been broken down, and the perſon or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, appriſed Abu Taher

Their military exploits, A. D. 900, &c.

of

of his danger, and recommended a ſpeedy eſcape. "Your maſter," ſaid the intrepid Carmathian to the meſſenger, "is at the head of "thirty thouſand ſoldiers: three ſuch men as theſe are wanting in "his hoſt:" at the ſame inſtant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the firſt to plunge a dagger into his breaſt, the ſecond to leap into the Tigris, and the third to caſt himſelf headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the imam, "what you have ſeen: before the "evening your general ſhall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening, the camp was ſurpriſed and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was ſanctified by their averſion to the worſhip of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thouſand devout Moſlems were abandoned on the burning ſands to a death of hunger and thirſt. Another year they ſuffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but, in the feſtival of devotion, Abu Taher ſtormed the holy city, and trampled on the moſt venerable relics of the Mahometan faith. Thirty thouſand citizens and ſtrangers were put to the ſword; the ſacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thouſand dead bodies; the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden ſpout was forced from its place; the veil of the Caaba was divided among theſe impious ſectaries; and the black ſtone, the firſt monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of ſacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infeſt the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthuſiaſm had withered at the root. Their ſcruples or their avarice again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and reſtored the black ſtone of the Caaba; and it is needleſs to enquire into what factions they were broken, or by whoſe ſwords they were finally extirpated. The ſect of the Carmathians

They pillage Mecca, A. D. 929.

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may be conſidered as the ſecond viſible cauſe of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs[101].

Revolt of the provinces, A. D. 800—936.

The third and moſt obvious cauſe was the weight and magnitude of the empire itſelf. The caliph Almamon might proudly aſſert, that it was eaſier for him to rule the Eaſt and the Weſt, than to manage a cheſs-board of two feet ſquare[102]; yet I ſuſpect, that in both thoſe games, he was guilty of many fatal miſtakes; and I perceive, that in the diſtant provinces, the authority of the firſt and moſt powerful of the Abbaſſides was already impaired. The analogy of deſpotiſm inveſts the repreſentative with the full majeſty of the prince; the diviſion and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the paſſive ſubject to enquire into the origin and adminiſtration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is ſeldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peaſant perhaps, or a ſlave, affords a ſtrong preſumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aſpires to ſecure the property and inheritance of his precarious truſt; the nations muſt rejoice in the preſence of their ſovereign; and the command of armies and treaſures are at once the object and the inſtrument of his ambition. A change was ſcarcely viſible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they ſolicited for themſelves or their ſons a renewal of the Imperial grant, and ſtill maintained on the coin, and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exerciſe

[101] For the ſect of the Carmathians, conſult Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 219. 224. 229. 231. 238. 241. 243.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 179—182.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 218, 219, &c. 245. 265. 274.), and d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 256—258. 635.). I find ſome inconſiſtencies of theology and chronology, which it would not be eaſy nor of much importance to reconcile.

[102] Hyde, Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 57. in Hiſt. Shahiludii.

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of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber [103].

The independent dynasties.

After the revolt of Spain, from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Aglabites* the inheritance of his name and power. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edrisites* [104], who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the western ocean [105]. In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites* [106]; the posterity of the valiant Taher, who, in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Al-

The Aglabites, A. D. 800—941.

The Edrisites, A. D. 829—907.

The Taherites, A. D. 813—872.

[103] The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be studied in the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the *proper* years, in the dictionary of d'Herbelot, under the *proper* names. The tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i.) exhibit a general chronology of the East, interspersed with some historical anecdotes; but his attachment to national blood has sometimes confounded the order of time and place.

[104] The Aglabites and Edrisites are the professed subject of M. de Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 1—63.).

[105] To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 359.) concerning the Edrisites. 1. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, since the founder was a *posthumous* child of a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 168. 2. This founder, Edris the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of 120 years, A. H. 313, died A. H. 214, in the prime of manhood. 3. The dynasty ended A. H. 307, twenty-three years sooner than it is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate Annals of Abulfeda, p. 158, 159. 185. 238.

[106] The dynasties of the Taherites and Soffarides, with the rise of that of the Samanides, are described in the original history and Latin version of Mirchond: yet the most interesting facts had already been drained by the diligence of M. d'Herbelot.

mamon

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mamon the younger brother. He was ſent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his ſucceſſors, who reigned in Choraſan till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modeſt and reſpectful demeanour, the happineſs of their ſubjects, and the ſecurity of their frontier. They were ſupplanted by one of thoſe adventurers ſo frequent in the annals of the Eaſt, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Soffarides*) for the profeſſion of a robber. In a nocturnal viſit to the treaſure of the prince of Siſtan, Jacob, the ſon of Leith, ſtumbled over a lump of ſalt, which he unwarily taſted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the ſymbol of hoſpitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without ſpoil or damage. The diſcovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and truſt; he led an army at firſt for his benefactor, at laſt for himſelf, ſubdued Perſia, and threatened the reſidence of the Abbaſſides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arreſted by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambaſſador of the caliph; and beſide him on a table were expoſed a naked ſcymetar, a cruſt of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," ſaid he, "your maſter "is delivered from his fears. If I live, *this* muſt determine between "us. If I am vanquiſhed, I can return without reluctance to the "homely fare of my youth." From the height where he ſtood, the deſcent would not have been ſo ſoft or harmleſs: a timely death ſecured his own repoſe and that of the caliph, who paid with the moſt laviſh conceſſions the retreat of his brother Amrou to the palaces of Shiraz and Iſpahan. The Abbaſſides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive; they invited the powerful dynaſty of the *Samanides*, who paſſed the Oxus with ten thouſand horſe, ſo poor, that their ſtirrups were of wood; ſo brave, that they vanquiſhed the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amrou was ſent in chains, a grateful offering to the

The Soffarides, A. D. 872—902.

The Samanides, A. D. 874—999.

court of Bagdad; and as the victor was content with the inheritance of Tranſoxiana and Choraſan, the realms of Perſia returned for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice diſmembered by their Turkiſh ſlaves, of the race of *Toulun* and *Ikſhid*[107]. Theſe Barbarians, in religion and manners the countrymen of Mahomet, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of theſe two potent dynaſties confeſſed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The firſt on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a ſinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power: the ſecond, in the midſt of four hundred thouſand ſoldiers and eight thouſand ſlaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to ſleep. Their ſons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and poſſeſſed by the Abbaſſides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Meſopotamia, with the important cities of Moſul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of *Hamadan*. The poets of their court could repeat without a bluſh, that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour: but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the *Hamadanites*, exhibits a ſcene of treachery, murder, and parricide. At the ſame fatal period, the Perſian kingdom was again uſurped by the dynaſty of the *Bowides*, by the ſword of three brothers, who, under various names, were ſtyled the ſupport and columns of the ſtate, and who, from the Caſpian ſea to the ocean, would ſuffer no tyrants but themſelves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Perſia revived,

The Toulonides, A. D. 868—905.

The Ikſhidites, A. D. 934—968.

The Hamadanites, A. D. 892—1001.

The Bowides, A. D. 933—1055.

[107] M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 124—154.) has exhauſted the Toulonides and Ikſhidites of Egypt, and thrown ſome light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

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vived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the ſceptre of the Eaſt.

Fallen ſtate of the caliphs of Bagdad, A. D. 936, &c.

Rahdi, the twentieth of the Abbaſſides, and the thirty-ninth of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, was the laſt who deſerved the title of commander of the faithful [108]: the laſt (ſays Abulfeda) who ſpoke to the people, or converſed with the learned: the laſt who, in the expence of his houſehold, repreſented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him, the lords of the Eaſtern world were reduced to the moſt abject miſery, and expoſed to the blows and inſults of a ſervile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumſcribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital ſtill contained an innumerable multitude, vain of their paſt fortune, diſcontented with their preſent ſtate, and oppreſſed by the demands of a treaſury which had formerly been repleniſhed by the ſpoil and tribute of nations. Their idleneſs was exerciſed by faction and controverſy. Under the maſk of piety, the rigid followers of Hanbal [109] invaded the pleaſures of domeſtic life, burſt into the houſes of plebeians and princes, ſpilt the wine, broke the inſtruments, beat the muſicians, and diſhonoured, with infamous ſuſpicions, the aſſociates of every handſome youth. In each profeſſion, which allowed room for two perſons, the one was a votary, the other an antagoniſt, of Ali; and

[108] Hic eſt ultimus chalifah qui multum atque ſæpius pro concione perorarit.... Fuit etiam ultimus qui otium cum eruditis et facetis hominibus fallere hilariterque agere ſoleret. Ultimus tandem chalifarum cui ſumtus, ſtipendia, reditus, et theſauri, culinæ, cæteraque omnis aulica pompa priorum chalifarum ad inſtar comparata fuerint. Videbimus enim paullo poſt quam indignis et ſervilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentiſſimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbis domini. Abulfed. Annal. Moſlem. p. 261. I have given this paſſage as the manner and tone of Abulfeda, but the caſt of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Reiſke. The Arabian hiſtorian (p. 255. 257. 261—269. 283, &c.) has ſupplied me with the moſt intereſting facts of this paragraph.

[109] Their maſter, on a ſimilar occaſion, ſhewed himſelf of a more indulgent and tolerating ſpirit. Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox ſects, was born at Bagdad A. H. 164, and died there A. H. 241. He fought and ſuffered in the diſpute concerning the creation of the Koran.

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the Abbaſſides were awakened by the clamorous grief of the ſectaries, who denied their title and curſed their progenitors. A turbulent people could only be repreſſed by a military force; but who could ſatisfy the avarice or aſſert the diſcipline of the mercenaries themſelves? The African and the Turkiſh guards drew their ſwords againſt each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs at Omra [110], impriſoned or depoſed their ſovereigns, and violated the ſanctuary of the moſch and haram. If the caliphs eſcaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of ſervitude, till they were prompted by deſpair to invite the Bowides, the ſultans of Perſia, who ſilenced the factions of Bagdad by their irreſiſtible arms. The civil and military powers were aſſumed by Moezaldowlat, the ſecond of the three brothers, and a ſtipend of ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling was aſſigned by his generoſity for the private expence of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambaſſadors of Choraſan, and in the preſence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the ſtranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbaſſides aſpired to the vacant ſtation of danger and diſgrace. In the ſchool of adverſity, the luxurious caliphs reſumed the grave and abſtemious virtues of the primitive times. Deſpoiled of their armour and ſilken robes, they faſted, they prayed, they ſtudied the Koran and the tradition of the Sonnites; they performed, with zeal and knowledge, the functions of their eccleſiaſtical character. The reſpect of nations ſtill waited on the ſucceſſors of the apoſtle, the oracles of the law and conſcience of

[110] The office of vizir was ſuperſeded by the emir al Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title firſt inſtituted by Rahdi, and which merged at length in the Bowides and Seljukides: vectigalibus, et tributis et curiis per omnes regiones præfecit, juſſitque in omnibus ſuggeſtis nominis ejus in concionibus mentionem fieri (Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 199.). It is likewiſe mentioned by Elmacin (p. 254, 255.).

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the faithful; and the weakneſs or diviſion of their tyrants ſometimes reſtored the Abbaſſides to the ſovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or ſpurious progeny of Ali. Ariſing from the extremity of Africa, theſe ſucceſsful rivals extinguiſhed, in Egypt and Syria, both the ſpiritual and temporal authority of the Abbaſſides; and the monarch of the Nile inſulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

Enterpriſes of the Greeks, A. D. 960.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapſed after the war of Theophilus and Motaſſem, the hoſtile tranſactions of the two nations were confined to ſome inroads by ſea and land, the fruits of their cloſe vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eaſtern world was convulſed and broken, the Greeks were rouſed from their lethargy by the hopes of conqueſt and revenge. The Byzantine empire, ſince the acceſſion of the Baſilian race, had repoſed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire ſtrength the front of ſome petty emir, whoſe rear was aſſaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mahometan faith. The lofty titles of the morning ſtar, and the death of the Saracens [111], were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city.

Reduction of Crete.

In the ſubordinate ſtation of great domeſtic, or general of the Eaſt, he reduced the iſland of Crete, and extirpated the neſt of pirates who had ſo long defied, with impunity, the majeſty of the empire [112]. His military genius was diſplayed in the conduct and ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, which had ſo often failed with loſs and

[111] Liutprand, whoſe choleric temper was embittered by his uneaſy ſituation, ſuggeſts the names of reproach and contempt more applicable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, Ecce venit ſtella matutina, ſurgit Eous, reverberat obtutû ſolis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μιαρὸν.

[112] Notwithſtanding the inſinuation of Zonaras, καὶ εἰ μὴ, &c. (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 197.), it is an undoubted fact, that Crete was completely and finally ſubdued by Nicephorus Phocas (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 873—875. Meurſius, Creta, l. iii. c. 7. tom. iii. p. 464, 465.).

diſhonour.

diſhonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on ſafe and level bridges, which he caſt from the veſſels to the ſhore. Seven months were conſumed in the ſiege of Candia; the deſpair of the native Cretans was ſtimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and, after the maſſy wall and double ditch had been ſtormed by the Greeks, an hopeleſs conflict was ſtill maintained in the ſtreets and houſes of the city. The whole iſland was ſubdued in the capital, and a ſubmiſſive people accepted, without reſiſtance, the baptiſm of the conqueror [113]. Conſtantinople applauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph; but the Imperial diadem was the ſole reward that could repay the ſervices, or ſatisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

The Eaſtern conqueſts of Nicephorus Phocas, and John Zimiſces, A.D. 963—975.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal deſcent of the Baſilian race, his widow Theophania ſucceſſively married Nicephorus Phocas and his aſſaſſin John Zimiſces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant ſons; and the twelve years of their military command form the moſt ſplendid period of the Byzantine annals. The ſubjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at leaſt in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thouſand ſtrong; and of theſe about thirty thouſand were armed with cuiraſſes [114]: a train of four thouſand mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an encloſure of iron ſpikes. A ſeries of bloody and undeciſive combats is nothing more than an anticipation

[113] A Greek life of St. Nicon the Armenian was found in the Sforza library, and tranſlated into Latin by the Jeſuit Sirmond for the uſe of cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend caſts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponneſus in the xth century. He found the newly recovered iſland, fœdis deteſtandæ Agarenorum ſuperſtitionis veſtigiis adhuc plenam ac refertam .... but the victorious miſſionary, perhaps with ſome carnal aid, ad baptiſmum omnes veræque fidei diſciplinam pepulit. Eccleſiis per totam inſulam ædificatis, &c. (Annal. Eccleſ. A.D. 961.)

[114] Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 278, 279. Liutprand was diſpoſed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led againſt Aſſyria an army of eighty thouſand men.

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of what would have been effected in a few years by the courſe of nature; but I ſhall briefly proſecute the conqueſts of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the deſert of Bagdad. The ſieges of Mopſueſtia and Tarſus in Cilicia firſt exerciſed the ſkill and perſeverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I ſhall not heſitate to beſtow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopſueſtia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thouſand Moſlems were predeſtined to death or ſlavery [115], a ſurpriſing degree of population, which muſt at leaſt include the inhabitants of the dependent diſtricts. They were ſurrounded and taken by aſſault; but Tarſus was reduced by the ſlow progreſs of famine; and no ſooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms than they were mortified by the diſtant and unprofitable view of the naval ſuccours of Egypt. They were diſmiſſed with a ſafe-conduct to the confines of Syria; a part of the old Chriſtians had quietly lived under their dominion; and the vacant habitations were repleniſhed by a new colony. But the moſch was converted into a ſtable; the pulpit was delivered to the flames; many rich croſſes of gold and gems, the ſpoil of Aſiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor; and he tranſported the gates of Mopſueſtia and Tarſus, which were fixed in the wall of Conſtantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and ſecured the narrow paſſes of mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, inſtead of aſſaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or ſuperſtition of Nicephorus appeared to reſpect the ancient metropolis of the Eaſt: he contented himſelf with drawing round the city a line of

Conqueſt of Cilicia.

Invaſion of Syria.

[115] Ducenta fere millia hominum numerabat urbs (Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 231.) of Mopſueſtia, or Maſifa, Mampſyſta, Manſiſta, Mamiſta, as it is corruptly, or perhaps more correctly, ſtyled in the middle ages (Weſſeling, Itinerar. p. 580.). Yet I cannot credit this extreme populouſneſs a few years after the teſtimony of the emperor Leo, ὁ γαρ πολυπληθια στρατῳ τοις Κιλιξι βαρβαροις ἐστιν (Tactica, c. xviii. in Meurſii Oper. tom. vi. p. 817.).

circumvallation; left a ſtationary army; and inſtructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of ſpring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous ſubaltern, with three hundred ſoldiers, approached the rampart, applied his ſcaling-ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, ſtood firm againſt the preſſure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his poſt till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, ſupport of his reluctant chief. The firſt tumult of ſlaughter and rapine ſubſided; the reign of Cæſar and of Chriſt was reſtored; and the efforts of an hundred thouſand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Afric, were conſumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was ſubject to Seifeddowlat, of the dynaſty of Hamadan, who clouded his paſt glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his ſtately palace that ſtood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully ſeized a well-furniſhed magazine of arms, a ſtable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of ſilver and gold. But the walls of the city withſtood the ſtrokes of their battering-rams; and the beſiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jauſhan. Their retreat exaſperated the quarrel of the townſmen and mercenaries; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deſerted; and, while they furiouſly charged each other in the market-place, they were ſurpriſed and deſtroyed by the ſword of a common enemy. The male ſex was exterminated by the ſword; ten thouſand youths were led into captivity; the weight of the precious ſpoil exceeded the ſtrength and number of the beaſts of burthen; the ſuperfluous remainder was burnt; and, after a licentious poſſeſſion of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads they commanded the huſbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themſelves, in the enſuing ſeaſon, might reap the benefit: more than an hundred cities were

Recovery of Antioch.

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were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpits of the principal moſchs were committed to the flames to expiate the ſacrilege of the diſciples of Mahomet. The claſſic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emeſa, revive for a moment in the liſt of conqueſt: the emperor Zimiſces encamped in the paradiſe of Damaſcus, and accepted the ranſom of a ſubmiſſive people; and the torrent was only ſtopped by the impregnable fortreſs of Tripoli, on the ſea-coaſt of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius, the Euphrates, below the paſſage of mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almoſt inviſible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free paſſage to the victorious Zimiſces; and the hiſtorian may imitate the ſpeed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samoſata, Edeſſa, Martyropolis, Amida [116], and Niſibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the deſire of graſping the virgin treaſures of Ecbatana [117], a well-known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbaſſides. The conſternation of the fugitives had already diffuſed the terror of his name; but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been diſſipated by the avarice and prodigality of domeſtic tyrants. The prayers of the people, and the ſtern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowides, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpleſs Mothi replied, that his arms, his

Paſſage of the Euphrates.

Danger of Bagdad.

[116] The text of Leo the deacon, in the corrupt names of Emeta and Myctarſim, reveals the cities of Amida and Martyropolis (Miafarekin. See Abulfeda Geograph. p. 245. verſ. Reiſke). Of the former, Leo obſerves, urbs munita et illuſtris; of the latter, clara atque conſpicua opibuſque et pecore, reliquis ejus provinciis urbibus atque oppidis longe præſtans.

[117] Ut et Ecbatana pergeret Agarenorumque regiam everteret....aiunt enim urbium quæ uſquam ſunt ac toto orbe exiſtunt feliciſſimam eſſe auroque ditiſſimam (Leo Diacon. apud Pagium, tom. iv. p. 34.). This ſplendid deſcription ſuits only with Bagdad, and cannot poſſibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Ecbatana (d'Anville, Geog. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 237.), or Tauris, which has been commonly miſtaken for that city. The name of Ecbatana, in the ſame indefinite ſenſe, is transferred by a more claſſic authority (Cicero pro Lege Maniliâ, c. 4.) to the royal ſeat of Mithridates king of Pontus.

revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to ſupport. The emir was inexorable; the furniture of the palace was ſold; and the paltry price of forty thouſand pieces of gold was inſtantly conſumed in private luxury. But the apprehenſions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks: thirſt and hunger guarded the deſert of Meſopotamia; and the emperor, ſatiated with glory, and laden with Oriental ſpoils, returned to Conſtantinople, and diſplayed, in his triumph, the ſilk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and ſilver. Yet the powers of the Eaſt had been bent, not broken, by this tranſient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the ſubjects diſclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the Moſlems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the ſaints and martyrs; the Neſtorians and Jacobites preferred a Saracen to an orthodox maſter; and the numbers and ſpirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the ſupport of the church and ſtate. Of theſe extenſive conqueſts, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the iſle of Cyprus, was alone reſtored, a permanent and uſeful acceſſion to the Roman empire [118].

[118] See the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A. H. 351, to A. H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimiſces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 199—l. xvii. 215.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649—684.). Their manifold defects are partly ſupplied by the MS. hiſtory of Leo the deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inſerted almoſt entire, in a Latin verſion (Critica, tom. iii. p. 873. tom. iv. p. 37.).

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State of the Eaſtern Empire in the Tenth Century.— Extent and Diviſion. — Wealth and Revenue. — Palace of Conſtantinople.—Titles and Offices.—Pride and Power of the Emperors.—Tactics of the Greeks, Arabs, and Franks.—Loſs of the Latin Tongue.— Studies and Solitude of the Greeks.

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Memorials of the Greek empire.

A RAY of hiſtoric light ſeems to beam from the darkneſs of the tenth century. We open with curioſity and reſpect the royal volumes of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus [1], which he compoſed at a mature age for the inſtruction of his ſon, and which promiſe to unfold the ſtate of the Eaſtern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the firſt of theſe works he minutely deſcribes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Conſtantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predeceſſors [2]. In the ſecond, he attempts an accurate ſurvey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Aſia [3]. The ſyſtem of Roman tactics, the diſcipline and order of

Works of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

[1] The epithet of Πορφυρογεννητος, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly defined by Claudian:

Ardua privatos neſcit fortuna Penates;
Et regnum cum luce dedit. Cognata poteſtas
Excepit Tyrio venerabile pignus in oſtro.

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Gloſſaries, produces many paſſages expreſſive of the ſame idea.

[2] A ſplendid MS. of Conſtantine, de Cæremoniis Aulæ et Eccleſiæ Byzantinæ, wandered from Conſtantinople to Buda, Frankfort and Leipſic, where it was publiſhed in a ſplendid edition by Leich and Reiſke (A. D. 1751, in folio), with ſuch laviſh praiſe as editors never fail to beſtow on the worthy or worthleſs object of their toil.

[3] See, in the firſt volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, Conſtantinius de Thematibus,

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of the troops, and the military operations by land and ſea, are explained in the third of theſe didactic collections, which may be aſcribed to Conſtantine or his father Leo[4]. In the fourth, of the adminiſtration of the empire, he reveals the ſecrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hoſtile intercourſe with the nations of the earth. The literary labours of the age, the practical ſyſtems of law, agriculture, and hiſtory, might redound to the benefit of the ſubject and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The ſixty books of the *Baſilics*[5], the code and pandects of civil juriſprudence, were gradually framed in the three firſt reigns of that proſperous dynaſty. The art of agriculture had amuſed the leiſure, and exerciſed the pens, of the beſt and wiſeſt of the ancients; and their choſen precepts are compriſed in the twenty books of the *Geoponics*[6] of Conſtantine. At his command, the hiſtorical examples of vice and virtue were methodiſed in fifty-three books[7], and every citizen might apply, to his contem-

bus, p. 1—24. de Adminiſtrando Imperio, p. 45—127. edit. Venet. The text of the old edition of Meurſius is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Iſaac Caſaubon had formerly ſeen (Epiſt. ad Polybium, p. 10.), and the ſenſe is illuſtrated by two maps of William Deſliſle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater d'Anville.

[4] The Tactics of Leo and Conſtantine are publiſhed with the aid of ſome new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Meurſius, by the learned John Lami (tom. vi. p. 531—920. 1211—1417. Florent. 1745), yet the text is ſtill corrupt and mutilated, the verſion is ſtill obſcure and faulty. The Imperial library of Vienna would afford ſome valuable materials to a new editor (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 369, 370.).

[5] On the ſubject of the *Baſilics*, Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425—514.), and Heineccius (Hiſt. Juris Romani, p. 396—399.), and Giannone (Iſtoria civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 450—458.), as hiſtorical civilians may be uſefully conſulted. XLI books of this Greek code have been publiſhed, with a Latin verſion, by Charles Annibal Fabrottus (Paris, 1647), in ſeven tomes in folio; IV other books have been ſince diſcovered, and are inſerted in Gerard Meerman's Novus Theſaurus Juris Civ. et Canon. tom. v. Of the whole work, the ſixty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Baſil, 1575) an *eclogue*, or ſynopſis. The CXIII novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis.

[6] I have uſed the laſt and beſt edition of the Geoponics (by Nicolas Niclas, Lipſiæ, 1781, 2 vols. in octavo). I read in the preface, that the ſame emperor reſtored the long-forgotten ſyſtems of rhetoric and philoſophy: and his two books of *Hippiatrica*, or Horſe-phyſic, were publiſhed at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 493—500.).

[7] Of theſe LIII books, or titles, only two have

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contemporaries or himſelf, the leſſon or the warning of paſt times. From the auguſt character of a legiſlator, the ſovereign of the Eaſt deſcends to the more humble office of a teacher and a ſcribe: and if his ſucceſſors and ſubjects were regardleſs of his paternal cares, *we* may inherit and enjoy the everlaſting legacy.

Their imperfections.

A cloſer ſurvey will indeed reduce the value of the gift, and the gratitude of poſterity: in the poſſeſſion of theſe Imperial treaſures, we may ſtill deplore our poverty and ignorance; and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by indifference or contempt. The Baſilics will ſink to a broken copy, a partial and mutilated verſion in the Greek language, of the laws of Juſtinian; but the ſenſe of the old civilians is often ſuperſeded by the influence of bigotry: and the abſolute prohibition of divorce, concubinage, and intereſt for money, enſlaves the freedom of trade and the happineſs of private life. In the hiſtorical book, a ſubject of Conſtantine might admire the inimitable virtues of Greece and Rome: he might learn to what a pitch of energy and elevation the human character had formerly aſpired. But a contrary effect muſt have been produced by a new edition of the lives of the ſaints, which the great logothete or chancellor of the empire was directed to prepare: and the dark fund of ſuperſtition was enriched by the fabulous and florid legends of Simon the *Metaphraſt*[8]. The merits and miracles of the whole calendar are of leſs account in the eyes of a ſage than the toil of a ſingle huſbandman, who multiplies the gifts of the Creator and ſupplies the food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of the *Geoponics* were more ſeriouſly employed in expounding the precepts of the deſtroying art,

have been preſerved and printed, de Legationibus (by Fulvius Urſinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hæſchelius, Auguſt. Vindel. 1603), and de Virtutibus et Vitiis (by Henry Valeſius, or de Valois, Paris, 1634).

[8] The life and writings of Simeon Metaphraſtes are deſcribed by Hankius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 418—460.). This biographer of the ſaints indulged himſelf in a looſe paraphraſe of the ſenſe or nonſenſe of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphraſed in the Latin verſion of Surius, and ſcarcely a thread can be now viſible of the original texture.

which

which has been taught ſince the days of Xenophon[9], as the art of heroes and kings. But the *Tactics* of Leo and Conſtantine are mingled with the baſer alloy of the age in which they lived. It was deſtitute of original genius; they implicitly tranſcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unſkilled in the propriety of ſtyle and method; they blindly confound the moſt diſtant and diſcordant inſtitutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedon, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Auguſtus and Theodoſius. Even the uſe, or at leaſt the importance, of theſe military rudiments may be fairly queſtioned: their general theory is dictated by reaſon; but the merit, as well as difficulty, conſiſts in the application. The diſcipline of a ſoldier is formed by exerciſe rather than by ſtudy: the talents of a commander are appropriated to thoſe calm though rapid minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won by leſſons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticiſm. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the deſpicable pageantry which had infected the church and ſtate ſince the gradual decay of the purity of the one and the power of the other. A review of the themes or provinces might promiſe ſuch authentic and uſeful information, as the curioſity of government only can obtain, inſtead of traditionary fables on the origin of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants[10]. Such information the hiſtorian would have been pleaſed to

[9] According to the firſt book of the Cyropædia, profeſſors of tactics, a ſmall part of the ſcience of war, were already inſtituted in Perſia, by which Greece muſt be underſtood. A good edition of all the Scriptores Tactici would be a taſk not unworthy of a ſcholar. His induſtry might diſcover ſome new MSS. and his learning might illuſtrate the military hiſtory of the ancients. But this ſcholar ſhould be likewiſe a ſoldier; and, alas! Quintus Icilius is no more.

[10] After obſerving that the demerit of the Cappadocians roſe in proportion to their rank and riches, he inſerts a more pointed epi-

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to record; nor ſhould his ſilence be condemned if the moſt intereſting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of ſubjects and ſtrangers who ſerved under the Imperial ſtandard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philoſopher, and his ſon Conſtantine. His treatiſe of the public adminiſtration is ſtained with the ſame blemiſhes; yet it is diſcriminated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nations may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and manners of the Barbaric world are delineated with curious accuracy. Of theſe nations, the Franks alone were qualified to obſerve in their turn, and to deſcribe, the metropolis of the Eaſt. The ambaſſador of the great Otho, a biſhop of Cremona, has painted the ſtate of Conſtantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his ſtyle is glowing, his narrative lively, his obſervation keen; and even the prejudices and paſſions of Liutprand are ſtamped with an original character of freedom and genius [11]. From this ſcanty fund of foreign and domeſtic materials I ſhall inveſtigate the form and ſubſtance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of ſix hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the ſucceſsful invaſion of the Franks or Latins.

Embaſſy of Liutprand.

The themes, or provinces of the empire, and its limits in every age.

After the final diviſion between the ſons of Theodoſius, the ſwarms of Barbarians from Scythia and Germany overſpread the provinces and extinguiſhed the empire of ancient Rome. The weakneſs of

gram, which is aſcribed to Demodocus:

Καππαδοκην ποτ' εχιδια κακη δακεν, αλλα και αυτη
Καθανε, γευσαμενη αιματος ιοβολου.

The ſting is preciſely the ſame with the French epigram againſt Freron: Un ſerpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le ſerpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are ſeldom read in the Anthology, I ſhould be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. de Themat. c. ii. Brunk. Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 56. Brodæi Anthologia, l. ii. p. 244.).

[11] The Legatio Liutprandi Epiſcopi Cremonenſis ad Nicephorum Phocam, is inſerted in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i.

Conſtanti-

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Conſtantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at leaſt entire; and the kingdom of Juſtinian was enlarged by the ſplendid acquiſition of Africa and Italy. But the poſſeſſion of theſe new conqueſts was tranſient and precarious; and almoſt a moiety of the Eaſtern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppreſſed by the Arabian caliphs; and, after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and ſubdued the Roman province which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The iſlands of the Mediterranean were not inacceſſible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme ſtations, the harbours of Crete and the fortreſſes of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs inſulted the majeſty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces under the obedience of the emperors, were caſt into a new mould; and the juriſdiction of the preſidents, the conſulars, and the counts, was ſuperſeded by the inſtitution of the *themes*[12], or military governments, which prevailed under the ſucceſſors of Heraclius, and are deſcribed by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and ſeventeen in Aſia, the origin is obſcure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating; but ſome particular names that ſound the moſt ſtrangely to our ear were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expence, and for the guard, of the reſpective diviſions. The vanity of the Greek princes moſt eagerly graſped the ſhadow of conqueſt and the memory of loſt dominion. A new Meſopotamia was created on the weſtern ſide of the Euphrates: the appella-

[12] See Conſtantine de Thematibus, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1—30. who owns, that the word is ουκ παλαια. Θεμα is uſed by Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii. c. 2.) for a legion, from whence the name was eaſily transferred to its poſt or province (Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 487, 488.). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opſician, Optimatian, Thraceſian, themes.

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tion and prætor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow ſlip of Calabria; and a fragment of the dutchy of Beneventum was promoted to the ſtyle and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine might indulge their pride in more ſolid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimiſces, and Baſil the ſecond, revived the fame and enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the iſlands of Crete and Cyprus, were reſtored to the allegiance of Chriſt and Cæſar: one third of Italy was annexed to the throne of Conſtantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was deſtroyed; and the laſt ſovereigns of the Macedonian dynaſty extended their ſway from the ſources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the proſpect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were ſwept away by the Norman adventurers; and almoſt all the Aſiatic branches were diſſevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkiſh conquerors. After theſe loſſes, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponeſus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding ſtream of the Meander. The ſpacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their ſceptre; the poſſeſſion of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty iſlands of the Ægean or Holy Sea [13]; and the remnant of their empire tranſcends the meaſure of the largeſt of the European kingdoms.

[13] Αγιος πελαγος, as it is ſtyled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, l'Archipel, and the Arches, have been transformed by geographers and ſeamen (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 281. Analyſe de la Carte de la Grece, p. 60.). The numbers of monks or caloyers in all the iſlands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (Obſervations de Belon, fol. 32. verſo), monte ſanto, might juſtify the epithet of holy, αγιος, a ſlight alteration from the original αιγαιος, impoſed by the Dorians, who, in their dialect, gave the figurative name of αιγες, or goats, to the bounding waves (Voſſius, apud Cellarium, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 829.).

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General wealth and populouſneſs.

The ſame princes might aſſert, with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Chriſtendom they poſſeſſed the greateſt city [14], the moſt ample revenue, the moſt flouriſhing and populous ſtate. With the decline and fall of the empire, the cities of the Weſt had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts, of Paris and London, prepare the Latin ſtranger to contemplate the ſituation and extent of Conſtantinople, her ſtately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treaſures might attract, but her virgin ſtrength had repelled, and ſtill promiſed to repel, the audacious invaſion of the Perſian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Ruſſian. The provinces were leſs fortunate and impregnable; and few diſtricts, few cities, could be diſcovered which had not been violated by ſome fierce Barbarian, impatient to deſpoil, becauſe he was hopeleſs to poſſeſs. From the age of Juſtinian the Eaſtern empire was ſinking below its former level: the powers of deſtruction were more active than thoſe of improvement; and the calamities of war were embittered by the more permanent evils of civil and eccleſiaſtical tyranny. The captive who had eſcaped from the Barbarians was often ſtripped and impriſoned by the miniſters of his ſovereign: the Greek ſuperſtition relaxed the mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by faſting; and the multitude of convents and feſtivals diverted many hands and many days from the temporal ſervice of mankind. Yet the ſubjects of the Byzantine empire were ſtill the moſt dextrous and diligent of nations; their country was bleſſed by nature with every advantage of ſoil, climate, and ſituation; and, in the ſupport and reſtoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more uſeful than the warlike ſpirit and feudal anarchy of Europe.

[14] According to the Jewiſh traveller who had viſited Europe and Aſia, Conſtantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Iſmaelites (Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, par Baratier, tom. i. c. 5. p. 46.).

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The provinces that ſtill adhered to the empire were repeopled and enriched by the misfortunes of thoſe which were irrecoverably loſt. From the yoke of the caliphs, the Catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, retired to the allegiance of their prince, to the ſociety of their brethren: the moveable wealth, which eludes the ſearch of oppreſſion, accompanied and alleviated their exile; and Conſtantinople received into her boſom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hoſtile or religious perſecution, were hoſpitably entertained: their followers were encouraged to build new cities and to cultivate waſte lands; and many ſpots, both in Europe and Aſia, preſerved the name, the manners, or at leaſt the memory, of theſe national colonies. Even the tribes of Barbarians, who had ſeated themſelves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and ſtate; and as long as they were ſeparated from the Greeks, their poſterity ſupplied a race of faithful and obedient ſoldiers. Did we poſſeſs ſufficient materials to ſurvey the twenty-nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curioſity might be ſatisfied with a choſen example: it is fortunate enough that the cleareſt light ſhould be thrown on the moſt intereſting province, and the name of PELOPONESUS will awaken the attention of the claſſic reader.

State of Peloponeſus: Sclavonians.

As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclaſts, Greece, and even Peloponeſus[15], were overrun by ſome Sclavonian bands who outſtripped the royal ſtandard of Bulgaria. The ſtrangers of old, Cadmus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in

[15] Εϛθλαβωθη δε παϛα ἡ χωρα και γεγονε βαρβαρος, ſays Conſtantine (Thematibus, l. ii. c. 6. p. 25.), in a ſtyle as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as uſual, by a fooliſh epigram. The epitomizer of Strabo likewiſe obſerves, και νυν δε παϛαν Ηπειρον, και Ελλαδαϛχεδον και Μακεδονιαν, και Πελοποννησον Σκυθαι Σκλαβοι νεμονται (l. vii. p. 98. edit. Hudſon): a paſſage which leads Dodwell a weary dance (Geograph. Minor. tom. ii. diſſert. vi. p. 170—191.), to enumerate the inroads of the Sclavi, and to fix the date (A. D. 980) of this petty geographer.

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that fruitful ſoil, the ſeeds of policy and learning; but the ſavages of the north eradicated what yet remained of their ſickly and withered roots. In this irruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed; the Grecian blood was contaminated; and the proudeſt nobles of Peloponeſus were branded with the names of foreigners and *ſlaves*. By the diligence of ſucceeding princes, the land was in ſome meaſure purified from the Barbarians; and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military ſervice, which they often renewed and often violated. The ſiege of Patras was formed by a ſingular concurrence of the Sclavonians of Peloponeſus and the Saracens of Africa. In their laſt diſtreſs, a pious fiction of the approach of the prætor of Corinth, revived the courage of the citizens. Their ſally was bold and ſucceſsful; the ſtrangers embarked, the rebels ſubmitted, and the glory of the day was aſcribed to a phantom or a ſtranger, who fought in the foremoſt ranks under the character of St. Andrew the apoſtle. The ſhrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was for ever devoted to the ſervice and vaſſalage of the Metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Sclavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Helos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninſula was often diſturbed. They ſometimes inſulted the weakneſs, and ſometimes reſiſted the oppreſſion, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hoſtile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the Ezzerites and Milengi, whoſe annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From theſe ſtrangers the Imperial geographer has accurately diſtinguiſhed a domeſtic and perhaps original race, who, in ſome degree, might derive their blood from the much injured Helots. The liberality of the Romans, and eſpecially of Auguſtus, had enfranchiſed the maritime cities from the

Freemen of Laconia.

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dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the ſame benefit ennobled them with the title of *Eleuthero*- or free-Laconians[16]. In the time of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Mainotes*, under which they diſhonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is ſhipwrecked on their rocky ſhores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the Cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine prætor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia aſſumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Baſil, they were baptized in the faith of Chriſt: but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by theſe ruſtic votaries five hundred years after they were proſcribed in the Roman world.

Cities and revenue of Peloponeſus.

In the theme of Peloponeſus[17], forty cities were ſtill numbered, and the declining ſtate of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be ſuſpended in the tenth century, at an equal diſtance, perhaps, between their antique ſplendour and their preſent deſolation. The duty of military ſervice either in perſon or by ſubſtitute, was impoſed on the lands or benefices of the province: a ſum of five pieces of gold was aſſeſſed on each of the ſubſtantial tenants; and the ſame capitation was ſhared among ſeveral heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponeſians excuſed themſelves by a voluntary oblation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thouſand pounds ſterling), and a thouſand horſes with their arms and trappings. The churches and monaſteries furniſhed their contingent; a ſacrilegious profit was extorted from the ſale of eccleſiaſtical honours,

[16] Strabon. Geograph. l. viii. p. 562. Pauſanias, Græc. Deſcriptio, l. iii. c. 21. p. 264, 265. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. iv. c. 8.

[17] Conſtantin. de Adminiſtrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 50, 51, 52.

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and the indigent biſhop of Leucadia [18] was made reſponſible for a penſion of one hundred pieces of gold [19].

Manufactures, eſpecially of ſilk,

But the wealth of the province, and the truſt of the revenue, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures: and ſome ſymptoms of liberal policy may be traced in a law which exempts from all perſonal taxes the mariners of Peloponeſus, and the workmen in parchment and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woollen, and more eſpecially of ſilk: the two former of which had flouriſhed in Greece ſince the days of Homer; and the laſt was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Juſtinian. Theſe arts, which were exerciſed at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women, and children, were diſtributed according to their age and ſtrength; and if many of theſe were domeſtic ſlaves, their maſters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponeſus preſented to the emperor Baſil, her adopted ſon, were doubtleſs fabricated in the Grecian looms. Danielis beſtowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the ſpots of a peacock's tail, of a magnitude to overſpread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name of Chriſt, of Michael the archangel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave ſix hundred pieces of ſilk and linen, of various uſe and denomination: the ſilk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was ſo exquiſitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane [20]. In his deſcription

[18] The rock of Leucate, was the ſouthern promontory of his iſland and dioceſe. Had he been the excluſive guardian of the Lover's Leap, ſo well known to the readers of Ovid (Epiſt. Sappho) and the Spectator, he might have been the richeſt prelate of the Greek church.

[19] Leucatenſis mihi juravit epiſcopus, quotannis eccleſiam ſuam debere Nicephoro aureos centum perſolvere, ſimiliter et ceteras plus minuſve ſecundum vires ſuas (Liutprand in Legat. p. 489.).

[20] See Conſtantine (in Vit. Baſil, c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195. 197. in Script. poſt Theophanem)

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deſcription of the Greek manufactures, an hiſtorian of Sicily diſcriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the ſilk, the cloſeneſs of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taſte and materials of the embroidery. A ſingle, or even a double or treble thread was thought ſufficient for ordinary ſale; but the union of ſix threads compoſed a piece of ſtronger and more coſtly workmanſhip. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the ſcarlet, and the ſofter luſtre of the green. The embroidery was raiſed either in ſilk or gold: the more ſimple ornament of ſtripes or circles was ſurpaſſed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the veſtments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious ſtones; and the figures were delineated in ſtrings of Oriental pearls [21]. Till the twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Chriſtendom, was poſſeſſed of the inſect who is taught by nature, and of the workmen who are inſtructed by art, to prepare this elegant luxury. But the ſecret had been ſtolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the Eaſt and Weſt ſcorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel; and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Liſbon, were famous for the manufacture, the uſe, and perhaps the exportation, of ſilk. It was firſt introduced into Sicily by the Normans; and this emigration of trade diſtinguiſhes the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitleſs hoſtilities of every age. After the ſack of Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenant embarked

tranſported from Greece to Sicily.

phanem) who allows himſelf to uſe many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, ſays he, τῃ των πολλων αμαθια καλον γαρ επι τουτοις κοινολεκτειν. Ducange labours on ſome; but he was not a weaver.

[21] The manufactures of Palermo, as they are deſcribed by Hugo Falcandus (Hiſt. Sicula in proem. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 256.) is a copy of thoſe of Greece. Without tranſcribing his declamatory ſentences, which I have ſoftened in the text, I ſhall obſerve, that in this paſſage, the ſtrange word *exarentaſmata* is very properly changed for *exanthemata* by Cariſius, the firſt editor. Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

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with a captive train of weavers and artificers of both ſexes, a trophy glorious to their maſter, and diſgraceful to the Greek emperor[22]. The king of Sicily was not inſenſible of the value of the preſent; and, in the reſtitution of the priſoners, he excepted only the male and female manufacturers of Thebes and Corinth, who labour, ſays the Byzantine hiſtorian, under a barbarous lord, like the old Eretrians in the ſervice of Darius[23]. A ſtately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the uſe of this induſtrious colony[24]; and the art was propagated by their children and diſciples to ſatisfy the encreaſing demand of the weſtern world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be aſcribed to the troubles of the iſland, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her ſiſter republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly[25]. A domeſtic revolution diſperſed the manufacturers to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the ſtatutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry trees, and regulate the duties on raw ſilk[26]. The northern climates are leſs propitious to the education of the ſilk-worm; but the induſtry of

[22] Inde ad interiora Græciæ progreſſi Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiquâ nobilitate celebres expugnant; et maxima ibidem prædâ direptâ, opifices etiam qui Sericos pannos texere ſolent, ob ignominiam Imperatoris illius, ſuique principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palermo Siciliæ metropoli colloçans, artem texendi ſuos edocere præcepit; et exhinc prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantum inter Chriſtianos habita, Romanis patere cœpit ingeniis (Otho Friſingen. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 33. in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 668.). This exception allows the biſhop to celebrate Liſbon and Almeria in ſericorum pannorum opificio prænobiliſſimæ (in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 415.).

[23] Nicetas in Manuel, l. ii. c. 8. p. 65. He deſcribes theſe Greeks as ſkilled συντριβεις οθονας ὑφαινειν, as ισῳ προσαναισχοντας των ἑξαμιτων και χρυσοπαςων ςολων.

[24] Hugo Falcandus ſtyles them nobiles officinas. The Arabs had not introduced ſilk, though they had planted canes and made ſugar in the plain of Palermo.

[25] See the Life of Caſtruccio Caſticani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrimi. Muratori, who has inſerted it in the xi[th] volume of his Scriptores, quotes this curious paſſage in his Italian Antiquities (tom. i. diſſert. xxv. p. 378.).

[26] From the MS. ſtatutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his Italian Antiquities (tom. ii. diſſert. xxx. p. 46–48.).

France

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France and England[27] is ſupplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

Revenue of the Greek empire.

I muſt repeat the complaint that the vague and ſcanty memorials of the times will not afford any juſt eſtimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the reſources, of the Greek empire. From every province of Europe and Aſia, the rivulets of gold and ſilver diſcharged into the Imperial reſervoir a copious and perennial ſtream. The ſeparation of the branches from the trunk encreaſed the relative magnitude of Conſtantinople; and the maxims of deſpotiſm contracted the ſtate to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal perſon. A Jewiſh traveller, who viſited the Eaſt in the twelfth century, is loſt in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," ſays Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of "cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually depoſited, "and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of ſilk, "purple, and gold. It is ſaid, that Conſtantinople pays each day "to her ſovereign twenty thouſand pieces of gold; which are levied "on the ſhops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Perſia "and Egypt, of Ruſſia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who "frequent the capital by ſea and land[28]." In all pecuniary matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtleſs reſpectable; but as the three hundred and ſixty-five days would produce a yearly income exceeding ſeven millions ſterling, I am tempted to retrench at leaſt the numerous feſtivals of the Greek calendar. The maſs of treaſure that was ſaved by Theodora and Baſil the ſecond, will ſuggeſt a ſplendid, though indefinite, idea of their ſupplies and reſources. The mother

[27] The broad ſilk manufacture was eſtabliſhed in England in the year 1620 (Anderſon's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4.): but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that we owe the Spitalfields colony.

[28] Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, tom. i. c. 5. p. 44—52. The Hebrew text has been tranſlated into French by that marvellous child Baratier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewiſh rabbi, are not a ſufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

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of Michael, before ſhe retired to a cloiſter, attempted to check or expoſe the prodigality of her ungrateful ſon, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited; one hundred and nine thouſand pounds of gold, and three hundred thouſand of ſilver, the fruits of her own œconomy and that of her deceaſed huſband [29]. The avarice of Baſil is not leſs renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the maſs of two hundred thouſand pounds of gold (about eight millions ſterling), which he had buried in the ſubterraneous vaults of the palace [30]. Such accumulation of treaſure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the uſe and abuſe of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are ſtill embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies; by a republic reſpectable to her allies; and both have attained their reſpective ends, of military power, and domeſtic tranquillity.

Pomp and luxury of the emperors.

Whatever might be conſumed for the preſent wants, or reſerved for the future uſe, of the ſtate, the firſt and moſt ſacred demand was for the pomp and pleaſure of the emperor; and his diſcretion only could define the meaſure of his private expence. The princes of Conſtantinople were far removed from the ſimplicity of nature; yet, with the revolving ſeaſons, they were led by taſte or faſhion to withdraw to a purer air, from the ſmoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed, or affected to enjoy, the ruſtic feſtival of the vintage: their leiſure was amuſed by the exerciſe of the chace and the calmer occupation of fiſhing, and, in the ſummer heats, they were ſhaded from the ſun, and refreſhed by the cooling breezes from the ſea. The coaſts and iſlands of Aſia and Europe were covered with

[29] See the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 107.), Cedrenus (p. 544.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 157.).

[30] Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 225.), inſtead of pounds, uſes the more claſſic appellation of talents, which, in a literal ſenſe and ſtrict computation, would multiply ſixty fold the treaſure of Baſil.

their

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their magnificent villas: but, inſtead of the modeſt art which ſecretly ſtrives to hide itſelf and to decorate the ſcenery of nature, the marble ſtructure of their gardens ſerved only to expoſe the riches of the lord, and the labours of the architect. The ſucceſſive caſualties of inheritance and forfeiture, had rendered the ſovereign proprietor of many ſtately houſes in the city and ſuburbs, of which twelve were appropriated to the miniſters of ſtate; but the great palace [31], the centre of the Imperial reſidence, was fixed during eleven centuries to the ſame poſition, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the gardens, which deſcended by many a terrace to the ſhores of the Propontis. The primitive edifice of the firſt Conſtantine was a copy or rival of ancient Rome; the gradual improvements of his ſucceſſors aſpired to emulate the wonders of the old world [32], and in the tenth century, the Byzantine palace excited the admiration, at leaſt of the Latins, by an unqueſtionable pre-eminence of ſtrength, ſize, and magnificence [33]. But the toil and treaſure of ſo many ages had produced a vaſt and irregular pile: each ſeparate building was marked with the character of the times and of the founder; and the want of ſpace might excuſe the reigning monarch who demoliſhed, perhaps with ſecret ſatisfaction, the works of his predeceſſors. The œconomy of the emperor Theophilus allowed a more free and ample ſcope for his domeſtic luxury and ſplendour. A favourite ambaſſador who had aſtoniſhed the Abbaſſides themſelves by his pride and liberality, preſented on his re-

The palace of Conſtantinople.

[31] For a copious and minute deſcription of the Imperial palace, ſee the Conſtantinop. Chriſtiana (l. ii. c. 4. p. 113—123.) of Ducange, the Tillemont of the middle ages. Never has laborious Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate, than theſe two natives of lively France.

[32] The Byzantine palace ſurpaſſes the Capitol, the palace of Pergamus, the Rufinian wood (δαιδρου αγαλμα), the temple of Adrian at Cyzicus, the pyramids, the Pharus, &c. according to an epigram (Anthelog. Græc. l. iv. p. 488, 489. Brodæi, apud Wechel) aſcribed to Julian, ex-præfect of Egypt. Seventy-one of his epigrams, ſome lively, are collected in Brunck (Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 493—510.); but this is wanting.

[33] Conſtantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine ſolum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quas unquam videram munitionibus præſtat (Liutprand, Hiſt. l. v. c. 9. p. 465.).

turn,

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turn the model of a palace, which the caliph of Bagdad had recently conſtructed on the banks of the Tigris. The model was inſtantly copied and ſurpaſſed: the new buildings of Theophilus [34] were accompanied with gardens, and with five churches, one of which was conſpicuous for ſize and beauty: it was crowned with three domes, the roof of gilt braſs repoſed on columns of Italian marble, and the walls were incruſted with marbles of various colours. In the face of the church, a ſemi-circular portico, of the figure and name of the Greek *ſigma* was ſupported by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the ſubterraneous vaults were of a ſimilar conſtruction. The ſquare before the ſigma was decorated with a fountain, and the margin of the baſon was lined and encompaſſed with plates of ſilver. In the beginning of each ſeaſon, the baſon, inſtead of water, was repleniſhed with the moſt exquiſite fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for the entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this tumultuous ſpectacle from a throne reſplendent with gold and gems, which was raiſed by a marble ſtair-caſe to the height of a lofty terrace. Below the throne were ſeated the officers of his guards, the magiſtrates, the chiefs of the factions of the circus; the inferior ſteps were occupied by the people, and the place below was covered with troops of dancers, ſingers, and pantomimes. The ſquare was ſurrounded by the hall of juſtice, the arſenal, and the various offices of buſineſs and pleaſure; and the *purple* chamber was named from the annual diſtribution of robes of ſcarlet and purple by the hand of the empreſs herſelf. The long ſeries of the apartments was adapted to the ſeaſons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, ſculpture, and moſaics, with a profuſion of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. His fanciful magnificence employed the ſkill and

[34] See the anonymous continuator of Theophanes (p. 59. 61. 86.), whom I have followed in the neat and conciſe abſtract of Le Beau (Hiſt. du Bas-Empire, tom. xiv. p. 436. 438.).

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patience of ſuch artiſts as the times could afford: but the taſte of Athens would have deſpiſed their frivolous and coſtly labours; a golden tree, with its leaves and branches, which ſheltered a multitude of birds, warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of maſſy gold, and of the natural ſize, who looked and roared like their brethren of the foreſt. The ſucceſſors of Theophilus, of the Baſilian and Comnenian dynaſties, were not leſs ambitious of leaving ſome memorial of their reſidence; and the portion of the palace moſt ſplendid and auguſt, was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium* [35]. With becoming modeſty, the rich and noble Greeks aſpired to imitate their ſovereign, and when they paſſed through the ſtreets on horſeback, in their robes of ſilk and embroidery, they were miſtaken by the children for kings [36]. A matron of Peloponeſus [37], who had cheriſhed the infant fortunes of Baſil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderneſs or vanity to viſit the greatneſs of her adopted ſon. In a journey of five hundred miles from Patras to Conſtantinople, her age or indolence declined the fatigue of an horſe or carriage: the ſoft litter or bed of Danielis was tranſported on the ſhoulders of ten robuſt ſlaves; and as they were relieved at eaſy diſtances, a band of three hundred was ſelected for the performance of this ſervice. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already deſcribed the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponeſus,

Furniture and attendants.

[35] In aureo triclinio quæ præſtantior eſt pars potentiſſimus *(the uſurper Romanus)* degens cæteras partes *(filiis)* diſtribuerat (Liutprand. Hiſt. l. v. c. 9. p. 469.). For this lax ſignification of Triclinium (ædificium tri- vel plura κλινη ſcilicet στεγη complectens), ſee Ducange (Gloſſ. Græc. et Obſervations ſur Joinville, p. 240.) and Reiſke (ad Conſtantinum de Ceremoniis, p. 7.).

[36] In equis vecti (ſays Benjamin of Tudela) regum filiis videntur perſimiles. I prefer the Latin verſion of Conſtantine l'Empereur (p. 46.), to the French of Baratier (tom. i. p. 49.).

[37] See the account of her journey, munificence, and teſtament, in the Life of Baſil, by his grandſon Conſtantine (c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195—197.).

of

of linen, ſilk, and woollen; but the moſt acceptable of her preſents conſiſted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one hundred were eunuchs[38]; "for ſhe was not ignorant," ſays the hiſtorian, "that the air of the palace is more congenial to ſuch "inſects, than a ſhepherd's dairy to the flies of the ſummer." During her lifetime, ſhe beſtowed the greater part of her eſtates in Peloponeſus, and her teſtament inſtituted Leo the ſon of Baſil her univerſal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourſcore villas or farms were added to the Imperial domain; and three thouſand ſlaves of Danielis were enfranchiſed by their new lord, and tranſplanted as a colony to the Italian coaſt. From this example of a private matron, we may eſtimate the wealth and magnificence of the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle; and, whatſoever may be its value, the luxury of life is poſſeſſed with more innocence and ſafety by the maſter of his own, than by the ſteward, of the public fortune.

Honours and titles of the Imperial family.

In an abſolute government, which levels the diſtinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the ſovereign is the ſole fountain of honour; and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are beſtowed and reſumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thouſand years, from Veſpaſian to Alexius Comnenus[39], the *Cæſar* was the ſecond perſon, or at leaſt the ſecond degree, after the ſupreme title of *Auguſtus* was more freely communicated to the ſons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude without violating

[38] *Carſamatium* (χαρξιμαδες, Ducange, Gloſſ.) Græci vocant, amputatis virilibus et virgâ, puerum eunuchum quos Verdunenſes mercatores ob immenſum lucrum facere ſolent et in Hiſpaniam ducere (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 3. p. 470.)—The laſt abomination of the abominable ſlave-trade! Yet I am ſurpriſed to find in the xth century, ſuch active ſpeculations of commerce in Lorraine.

[39] See the Alexiad (l. iii. p. 78, 79.) of Anna Comnena, who, except in filial piety, may be compared to Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, ſhe ſtyles her father Επιστημοναρχης, the inventor of this royal art, the τεχνη τεχνων, and επιστημη επιστημων.

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his promiſe to a powerful aſſociate, the huſband of his ſiſter; and, without giving himſelf an equal, to reward the piety of his brother Iſaac, the crafty Alexius interpoſed a new and ſupereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Auguſtus and emperor (Sebaſtos and Autocrator), and the union produced the ſonorous title of *Sebaſtocrator*. He was exalted above the Cæſar on the firſt ſtep of the throne: the public acclamations repeated his name; and he was only diſtinguiſhed from the ſovereign by ſome peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The emperor alone could aſſume the purple or red buſkins, and the cloſe diadem or tiara, which imitated the faſhion of the Perſian kings [40]. It was an high pyramidal cap of cloth or ſilk, almoſt concealed by a profuſion of pearls and jewels: the crown was formed by an horizontal circle and two arches of gold: at the ſummit, the point of their interſection was placed a globe or croſs, and two ſtrings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Inſtead of red, the buſkins of the Sebaſtocrator and Cæſar were green; and on their *open* coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more ſparingly diſtributed. Beſide and below the Cæſar, the fancy of Alexius created the *Panhyperſebaſtos* and the *Protoſebaſtos*, whoſe ſound and ſignification will ſatisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a ſuperiority and a priority above the ſimple name of Auguſtus; and this ſacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinſmen and ſervants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applauds, with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the ſcience of words is acceſſible to the meaneſt capacity; and this vain dictionary was eaſily enriched by the pride of his ſucceſſors. To their favourite ſons or brothers, they

[40] Στεμμα, στεφανος, διαδημα, ſee Reiſke, ad Ceremoniale, p. 14, 15. Ducange has given a learned diſſertation on the crowns of Conſtantinople, Rome, France, &c. (ſur Joinville xxv. p. 289—303.): but of his thirty-four models, none exactly tally with Anne's deſcription.

imparted

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imparted the more lofty appellation of Lord or *Deſpot*, which was illuſtrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the perſon of the emperor himſelf. The five titles of, 1. *Deſpot*; 2. *Sebaſtocrator*; 3. *Cæſar*; 4. *Panhyperſebaſtor*; and, 5. *Protoſebaſtos*; were uſually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majeſty; but as they exerciſed no regular functions, their exiſtence was uſeleſs, and their authority precarious.

Offices of the palace, the ſtate, and the army.

But in every monarchy the ſubſtantial powers of government muſt be divided and exerciſed by the miniſters of the palace and treaſury, the fleet and amy. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and præfects, the prætor and quæſtor, inſenſibly deſcended, while their ſervants roſe above their heads to the firſt honours of the ſtate. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the perſon of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the moſt reſpectable department. The *Curopalata* [41], ſo illuſtrious in the age of Juſtinian, was ſupplanted by the *Protoveſtiare*, whoſe primitive functions were limited to the cuſtody of the wardrobe. From thence his juriſdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he preſided with his ſilver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient ſyſtem of Conſtantine, the name of *Logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were diſtinguiſhed as the Logothetes of the domain, of the poſts, the army, the private and public treaſure; and the *great Logothete*, the ſupreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the

[41] Par exſtans curis, ſolo diademate diſpar
Ordine pro rerum vocitatus *Cura-Palati*;
ſays the African Corippus (de Laudibus Juſtini, l. i. 136.); and in the ſame century (the vi^th^), Caſſiodorius repreſents him, who, virgâ aureâ decoratus, inter numeroſa obſequia primus ante pedes regis incederet (Variar. vii. 5.). But this great officer, unknown, ανεπιγνωστος, exerciſing no function, νυν δε αξιμιαν, was caſt down by the modern Greeks to the xv^th^ rank (Codin. c. 5. p. 65.).

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Latin monarchies[42]. His diſcerning eye pervaded the civil adminiſtration; and he was aſſiſted, in due ſubordination, by the eparch or præfect of the city, the firſt ſecretary, and the keepers of the privy ſeal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reſerved for the ſacred ſignature of the emperor alone[43]. The introductor and interpreter of foreign ambaſſadors were the great *Chiauſs*[44] and the *Dragoman*[45], two names of Turkiſh origin, and which are ſtill familiar to the ſublime Porte. 3. From the humble ſtyle and ſervice of guards, the *Domeſtics* inſenſibly roſe to the ſtation of generals; the military themes of the Eaſt and Weſt, the legions of Europe and Aſia, were often divided, till the *great Domeſtic* was finally inveſted with the univerſal and abſolute command of the land forces. The *Protoſtrator*, in his original functions, was the aſſiſtant of the emperor when he mounted on horſeback: he gradually became the lieutenant of the great Domeſtic in the field; and his juriſdiction extended over the ſtables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The *Stratopedarch* was the great judge of the camp; the *Protoſpathaire* commanded the guards; the *Conſtable*[46], the *great Æteriarch*, and the *Acolyth*, were the ſeparate chiefs of the Franks,

[42] Nicetas (in Manuel, l. vii. c. 1.) defines him ως ὴ Λατινων φωνη Καγκελαριον, ως δ' Ελληνες ειποιεν Λογοθετην. Yet the epithet of μεγας was added by the elder Andronicus (Ducange, tom. i. p. 822, 823.).

[43] From Leo I. (A. D. 470) the Imperial ink, which is ſtill viſible on ſome original acts, was a mixture of vermillion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperor's guardians, who ſhared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction, and the month. See the Dictionaire Diplomatique (tom. i. p. 511—513.), a valuable abridgment.

[44] The ſultan ſent a Σιαυς to Alexius (Anna Comnena, l. vi. p. 170. Ducange ad loc.); and Pachymer often ſpeaks of the μεγας τζαυς (l. vii. c. 1. l. xii. c. 30. l. xiii. c. 22.). The Chiaouſh baſha is now at the head of 700 officers (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 349. octavo edition).

[45] *Tagerman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (d'Herbelot, p. 854, 855.), πρωτος των ερμηνευων ὁς κοινως ονομαζουσι δραγομανους, ſays Codinus (c. 5. N° 70. p. 67.). See Villehardouin (N° 96.), Buſbequius (Epiſt. iv. p. 338.), and Ducange (Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, and Gloſſ. Græc. et Latin.).

[46] Κονοσταυλος, or κοντοσταυλος, a corruption from the Latin Comes ſtabuli, or the French Connêtable. In a military ſenſe, it was uſed by the Greeks in the xi[th] century, at leaſt as early as in France.

the

the Barbarians, and the Varangi, or Engliſh, the mercenary ſtrangers, who, in the decay of the national ſpirit, formed the nerve of the Byzantine armies. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great Duke*; in his abſence they obeyed the *great Drungaire* of the fleet; and, in *his* place, the *Emir*, or *admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction [47], but which has been naturalized in all the modern languages of Europe. Of theſe officers, and of many more whom it would be uſeleſs to enumerate, the civil and military hierarchy was framed. Their honours and emoluments, their dreſs and titles, their mutual ſalutations and reſpective pre-eminence, were balanced with more exquiſite labour, than would have fixed the conſtitution of a free people; and the code was almoſt perfect when this baſeleſs fabric, the monument of pride and ſervitude, was for ever buried in the ruins of the empire [48].

Adoration of the emperor.

The moſt lofty titles, and the moſt humble poſtures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been proſtituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the ſame nature with ourſelves. The mode of *adoration* [49], of falling proſtrate on the ground, and kiſſing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Perſian ſervitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the laſt age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waved, from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal preſence, from the

[47] It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the xii[th] century, Giannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great officers.

[48] This ſketch of honours and offices is drawn from George Codinus Curopalata, who ſurvived the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks: his elaborate though trifling work (de Officiis Eccleſiæ et Aulæ C. P.) has been illuſtrated by the notes of Goar, and the three books of Gretſer, a learned Jeſuit.

[49] The reſpectful ſalutation of carrying the hand to the mouth, *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro adorare*. See our learned Selden (vol.iii.p.143—145.942.), in his Titles of Honour. It ſeems, from the 1[st] book of Herodotus, to be of Perſian origin.

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princes inveſted with the diadem and purple, and from the ambaſſadors who repreſented their independent ſovereigns, the caliphs of Aſia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his tranſactions of buſineſs, Liutprand, biſhop of Cremona [50], aſſerted the free ſpirit of a Frank and the dignity of his maſter Otho. Yet his ſincerity cannot diſguiſe the abaſement of his firſt audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions, Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall proſtrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He aroſe, but in the ſhort interval, the throne had been hoiſted by an engine from the floor to the cieling, the Imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majeſtic ſilence. In this honeſt and curious narrative, the biſhop of Cremona repreſents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are ſtill practiſed in the ſublime Porte, and which were preſerved in the laſt age by the dukes of Muſcovy or Ruſſia. After a long journey by the ſea and land, from Venice to Conſtantinople, the ambaſſador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hoſpitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a priſon, and his jealous keepers prohibited all ſocial intercourſe either with ſtrangers or natives. At his firſt audience, he offered the gifts of his maſter, ſlaves, and golden vaſes, and coſtly armour. The oſtentatious payment of the officers and troops diſplayed before his eyes the riches of the empire: he was entertained at a royal banquet [51], in which the ambaſſadors of the

Reception of ambaſſadors.

[50] The two embaſſies of Liutprand to Conſtantinople, all that he ſaw or ſuffered in the Greek capital, are pleaſantly deſcribed by himſelf (Hiſt. l. vi. c. 1—4. p. 469—471. Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam, p. 479—489.).

[51] Among the amuſements of the feaſt, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-

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the nations were marſhalled by the eſteem or contempt of the Greeks: from his own table, the emperor, as the moſt ſignal favour, ſent the plates which he had taſted; and his favourites were diſmiſſed with a robe of honour[52]. In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military ſervants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the ſight, perhaps by the ſmile, of their lord; his commands were ſignified by a nod or a ſign: but all earthly greatneſs *ſtood* ſilent and ſubmiſſive in his preſence. In his regular or extraordinary proceſſions through the capital, he unveiled his perſon to the public view: the rites of policy were connected with thoſe of religion, and his viſits to the principal churches were regulated by the feſtivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of theſe proceſſions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The ſtreets were cleared and purified; the pavement was ſtrewed with flowers; the moſt precious furniture, the gold and ſilver plate, and ſilken hangings, were diſplayed from the windows and balconies, and a ſevere diſcipline reſtrained and ſilenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops; they were followed in long order by the magiſtrates and miniſters of the civil government: the perſon of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domeſtics, and at the church-door, he was ſolemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The taſk of applauſe was not abandoned to the rude and ſpontaneous voices of the crowd. The moſt convenient ſtations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious conflicts, which had ſhaken the capital, were inſenſibly ſunk to an emulation of ſervitude. From either ſide they

Proceſſions and acclamations.

twenty-four feet long, with a croſs bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though cinctured (*campeſtrati*) together, and ſingly, climbed, ſtood, played, deſcended, &c. ita me ſtupidum redidit: utrum mirabilius neſcio (p. 470.). At another repaſt an homily of Chryſoſtom on the Acts of the Apoſtles was read elata voce non Latine (p. 483.).

[52] *Gala* is not improbably derived from Cala, or Caloat, in Arabic, a robe of honour (Reiſke, Not. in Ceremon. p. 84.).

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echoed in reſponſive melody the praiſes of the emperor; their poets and muſicians directed the choir, and long life [53] and victory were the burthen of every ſong. The ſame acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church; and as an evidence of boundleſs ſway, they were repeated in the Latin [54], Gothic, Perſian, French, and even Engliſh language [55], by the mercenaries who ſuſtained the real or fictitious character of thoſe nations. By the pen of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, this ſcience of form and flattery has been reduced into a pompous and trifling volume [56], which the vanity of ſucceeding times might enrich with an ample ſupplement. Yet the calmer reflection of a prince would ſurely ſuggeſt, that the ſame acclamations were applied to every character and every reign: and if he had riſen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudeſt and moſt eager in applauſe, at the very moment, when he envied the fortune, or conſpired againſt the life, of his predeceſſor [57].

Marriage of the Cæſars with foreign nations.

The princes of the North, of the nations, ſays Conſtantine, without faith or fame, were ambitious of mingling their blood with the blood of the Cæſars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince [58]. The aged monarch, in his inſtructions to his ſon, reveals the ſecret maxims of

[53] Πολυχρονιζειν is explained by ευφημιζειν (Codin, c. 7. Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 1199.).

[54] Κωνσερβετ Δευς ημπεριυμ βεστρυμ—βικτορ σις σεμπερ—βιβητε Δομινι Ημπερατορες ην μυλτος αινος (Ceremon. c. 75. p. 215.). The want of the Latin V, obliged the Greeks to employ their β; nor do they regard quantity. Till he recollected the true language, theſe ſtrange ſentences might puzzle a profeſſor.

[55] Βαραγγοι κατα την πατριαν γλωσσαν και υτοι, ηγουν Ινκλινισι πολυχρονιζυσι (Codin. p. 90.). I wiſh he had preſerved the words, however corrupt, of their Engliſh acclamation.

[56] For all theſe ceremonies, ſee the profeſſed work of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather diſſertations, of his German editors, Leich and Reiſke. For the rank of the *ſtanding* courtiers, p. 80. not. 23. 62.; for the adoration, except on Sundays, p. 95. 240. not. 131.; the proceſſions, p. 2, &c. not. p. 3, &c. the acclamations, paſſim. not. 25, &c.; the factions and Hippodrome, p. 177—214. not. 9. 93, &c.; the Gothic games, p. 221. not. 111.; vintage, p. 217. not. 109.: much more information is ſcattered over the work.

[57] Et privato Othoni et nuper eadem dicenti nota adulatio (Tacit. Hiſt. i. 85.).

[58] The xiii^th^ chapter, de Adminiſtratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the Famiilæ Byzantine of Ducange.

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policy and pride; and ſuggeſts the moſt decent reaſons for refuſing theſe inſolent and unreaſonable demands. Every animal, ſays the diſcreet emperor, is prompted by nature to ſeek a mate among the animals of his own ſpecies; and the human ſpecies is divided into various tribes, by the diſtinction of language, religion, and manners. A juſt regard to the purity of deſcent preſerves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful ſource of diſorder and diſcord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the ſage Romans: their juriſprudence proſcribed the marriage of a citizen and a ſtranger: in the days of freedom and virtue, a ſenator would have ſcorned to match his daughter with a king: the glory of Mark Anthony was ſullied by an Egyptian wife[59]; and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular cenſure, to diſmiſs with reluctance the reluctant Berenice[60]. This perpetual interdict was ratified by the fabulous ſanction of the great Conſtantine. The ambaſſadors of the nations, more eſpecially of the unbelieving nations, were ſolemnly admoniſhed, that ſuch ſtrange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the church and city. The irrevocable law was inſcribed on the altar of St. Sophia; and the impious prince who ſhould ſtain the majeſty of the purple was excluded from the civil and eccleſiaſtical communion of the Romans. If the ambaſſadors were inſtructed by any falſe brethren in the Byzantine hiſtory, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father Conſtantine the fourth, with the daughter of the king

Imaginary law of Conſtantine.

[59] Sequiturque nefas Ægyptia conjunx (Virgil, Æneid viii. 688.). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quid te mutavit (ſays Antony in a private letter to Auguſtus) an quod reginam ineo? Uxor mea eſt (Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 69.). Yet I much queſtion (for I cannot ſtay to enquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

[60] Berenicem invitus invitam dimiſit (Sueton. in Tito, c. 7.). Have I obſerved elſewhere, that this Jewiſh beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Racine has moſt diſcreetly ſuppreſſed both her age and her country.

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of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the ſon of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus himſelf. To theſe objections, three anſwers were prepared, which ſolved the difficulty and eſtabliſhed the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Conſtantine Copronymus were acknowledged. The Iſaurian heretic, who ſullied the baptiſmal font, and declared war againſt the holy images, had indeed embraced a Barbarian wife. By this impious alliance, he accompliſhed the meaſure of his crimes, and was devoted to the juſt cenſure of the church and of poſterity. II. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian uſurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardleſs of the honour, of the monarchy. His ſon Chriſtopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the ſubject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were ſincere and devout Chriſtians; and the ſafety of the empire, with the redemption of many thouſand captives, depended on this prepoſterous alliance. Yet no conſideration could diſpenſe from the law of Conſtantine; the clergy, the ſenate, and the people, diſapproved the conduct of Romanus; and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public diſgrace. III. For the marriage of his own ſon with the daughter of Hugo king of Italy, a more honourable defence is contrived by the wiſe Porphyrogenitus. Conſtantine, the great and holy, eſteemed the fidelity and valour of the Franks[61]; and his prophetic ſpirit beheld the viſion of their future greatneſs. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo king of France was the lineal deſcendant of Charlemagne[62]; and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogа-

The firſt exception, A. D. 733.

The ſecond, A. D. 941.

The third, A. D. 943.

[61] Conſtantine was made to praiſe the συγγενεια and περιφανεια of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Iſaac Caſaubon in Dedicat. Polybii) are highly delighted with theſe compliments.

[62] Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtrat. Imp. c. 26.) exhibits a pedigree and life

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prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice inſenſibly betrayed the fraud or error of the Imperial court. The patrimonial eſtate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the ſimple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that, in the confuſion of the times, he had uſurped the ſovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female deſcent from the Carlovingian line, every ſtep was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the ſecond Lothair; whoſe adultery, divorce, and ſecond nuptials, had provoked againſt him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as ſhe was ſtyled the great Bertha, was ſucceſſively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuſcany: France and Italy were ſcandaliſed by her gallantries; and, till the age of threeſcore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous ſervants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the claſſic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele [63]. The daughter of Venus was granted to the ſolicitations of the Byzantine court: her name of Bertha was changed to that of Eudoxia; and ſhe was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the Eaſt. The conſummation of this foreign alliance was ſuſpended by the tender age of the two parties; and, at the end of five years, the union was diſſolved by the death of the virgin

life of the illuſtrious king Hugo περιβλεπτου ρηγος Ουγωνως). A more correct idea may be formed from the Criticiſm of Pagi, the Annals of Muratori, and the Abridgement of St. Marc, A. D. 925—946.

[63] After the mention of the three goddeſſes, Liutprand very naturally adds, et quoniam non rex ſolus iis abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt (Hiſt. l. iv. c. 6.): for the marriage of the younger Bertha, ſee Hiſt. l. v. c. 5.; for the incontinence of the elder, dulcis exercitio Hymenæi, l. ii. c. 15.; for the virtues and vices of Hugo, l. iii. c. 5. Yet it muſt not be forgot, that the biſhop of Cremona was a lover of ſcandal.

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ſpouſe. The ſecond wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman, birth; and their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldeſt was beſtowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldeſt ſon of the great Otho, who had ſolicited this alliance with arms and embaſſies. It might legally be queſtioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation: but every ſcruple was ſilenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had reſtored the empire of the Weſt. After the death of her father-in-law and huſband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, during the minority of her ſon, the third Otho; and the Latins have praiſed the virtues of an empreſs, who ſacrificed to a ſuperior duty the remembrance of her country [64]. In the nuptials of her ſiſter Anne, every prejudice was loſt, and every conſideration of dignity was ſuperſeded, by the ſtronger argument of neceſſity and fear. A Pagan of the north, Wolodomir, great prince of Ruſſia, aſpired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promiſe of converſion, and the offer of a powerful ſuccour againſt a domeſtic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princeſs was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a ſavage reign and an hopeleſs exile on the banks of the Boryſthenes, or in the neighbourhood of the Polar circle [65]. Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandſon Jeroſlaus was recommended by her Imperial deſcent; and the king of France, Henry I. ſought a wife on the laſt borders of Europe and Chriſtendom [66].

Otho of Germany, A. D. 972.

Wolodomir of Ruſſia, A. D. 988.

In

[64] Licet illa Imperatrix Græca ſibi et aliis fuiſſet ſatis utilis et optima, &c. is the preamble of an inimical writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv. A. D. 989, N° 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Marc, under the proper years.

[65] Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 699. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 221. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracenica, l. iii. c. 6. Neſtor apud Leveſque, tom. ii. p. 112. Pagi, Critica, A. D. 987, N° 6. a ſingular concourſe! Wolodomir and Anne are ranked among the ſaints of the Ruſſian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant of her virtues.

[66] Henricus primus duxit uxorem Scythicam,

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Deſpotic power.

In the Byzantine palace, the emperor was the firſt ſlave of the ceremonies which he impoſed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and geſture, beſieged him in the palace, and violated the leiſure of his rural ſolitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his arbitrary will: and the firmeſt minds, ſuperior to the allurements of pomp and luxury, may be ſeduced by the more active pleaſure of commanding their equals. The legiſlative and executive power were centered in the perſon of the monarch, and the laſt remains of the authority of the ſenate, were finally eradicated by Leo the philoſopher [67]. A lethargy of ſervitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks; in the wildeſt tumults of rebellion they never aſpired to the idea of a free conſtitution; and the private character of the prince was the only ſource and meaſure of their public happineſs. Superſtition rivetted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia, he was ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their paſſive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his ſide he engaged to abſtain as much as poſſible from the capital puniſhments of death and mutilation; his orthodox creed was ſubſcribed with his own hand, and he promiſed to obey the decrees of the ſeven ſynods, and the canons of the holy church [68]. But the aſſurance of mercy was looſe and indefinite: he ſwore, not to his people, but to an inviſible judge, and except in the inexpiable guilt of hereſy, the miniſters of heaven were always prepared to preach the indefeaſible right, and to abſolve the

Coronation oath.

cam, Ruſſam, filiam regis Jeroſlai. An embaſſy of biſhops was ſent into Ruſſia, and the father gratanter filiam cum multis donis miſit. This event happened in the year 1051. See the paſſages of the original chronicles in Bouquet's Hiſtorians of France (tom. xi. p. 29. 159. 161. 319. 384. 481.). Voltaire might wonder at this alliance; but he ſhould not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, &c. of Jeroſlaus—a name ſo conſpicuous in the Ruſſian annals.

[67] A conſtitution of Leo the Philoſopher (lxxviii.) ne ſenatuſconſulta amplius fiant, ſpeaks the language of naked deſpotiſm, εξ ὁ το μοναρχον κρατος την τετων αινηπται διοικησιν, και ακαιρον και ματαιον το αχρηστον μετα των χρειαν παρεχομενων συναπτεσθαι.

[68] Codinus (de Officiis, c. xvii. p. 120, 121.) gives an idea of this oath ſo ſtrong to the church πιστος και γνησιος δουλος και υιος της ἁγιας εκκλησιας, ſo weak to the people και απεχεσθαι φονων και ακρωτηριασμων και ὁμοιως τετοις κατα το δυνατον.

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venial tranſgreſſions, of their ſovereign. The Greek eccleſiaſtics were themſelves the ſubjects of the civil magiſtrate: at the nod of a tyrant, the biſhops were created, or transferred, or depoſed, or puniſhed, with an ignominious death: whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never ſucceed like the Latin clergy in the eſtabliſhment of an independent republic; and the patriarch of Conſtantinople condemned, what he ſecretly envied, the temporal greatneſs of his Roman brother. Yet the exerciſe of boundleſs deſpotiſm is happily checked by the laws of nature and neceſſity. In proportion to his wiſdom and virtue, the maſter of an empire is confined to the path of his ſacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the ſceptre too weighty for his hands; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of ſome miniſter or favourite, who undertakes for his private intereſt to exerciſe the taſk of the public oppreſſion. In ſome fatal moment, the moſt abſolute monarch may dread the reaſon or the caprice of a nation of ſlaves; and experience has proved, that whatever is gained in the extent, is loſt in the ſafety and ſolidity, of regal power.

Military force of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks.

Whatever titles a deſpot may aſſume, whatever claims he may aſſert, it is on the ſword that he muſt ultimately depend to guard him againſt his foreign and domeſtic enemies. From the age of Charlemagne to that of the Cruſades, the world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and diſputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. Their military ſtrength may be aſcertained by a compariſon of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a ſupreme head, who might call into action all the energies of the ſtate. The Greeks, far inferior to their rivals in the firſt, were ſuperior to the Franks, and at leaſt equal to the Saracens, in the ſecond and third of theſe warlike qualifications,

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Navy of the Greeks.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchaſe the ſervice of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coaſts and the annoyance of their enemies[69]. A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Conſtantinople for the blood of the Sclavonians and Turks, the Bulgarians and Ruſſians: their valour contributed to the victories of Nicephorus and Zimiſces; and if an hoſtile people preſſed too cloſely on the frontier, they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the deſire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more diſtant tribe[70]. The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often poſſeſſed, by the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine. Their capital was filled with naval ſtores and dextrous artificers: the ſituation of Greece and Aſia, the long coaſts, deep gulfs, and numerous iſlands, accuſtomed their ſubjects to the exerciſe of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalfi ſupplied a nurſery of ſeamen to the Imperial fleet[71]. Since the time of the Peloponeſian and Punic wars, the ſphere of action had not been enlarged; and the ſcience of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of conſtructing thoſe ſtupendous machines which diſplayed three, or ſix, or ten, ranges of oars, riſing above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ſhip-builders of Conſtantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days[72]. The *Dromones*,

[69] If we liſten to the threats of Nicephorus, to the ambaſſador of Otho, Nec eſt in mari domino tuo claſſium numerus. Navigantium fortitudo mihi ſoli ineſt, qui eum claſſibus aggrediar, bello maritimas ejus civitates demoliar; et quæ fluminibus ſunt vicina redigam in favillam. (Liutprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori Scriptores rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.). He obſerves in another place, qui cæteris præſtant Venetici ſunt et Amalphitani.

[70] Nec ipſa capiet eum (the emperor Otho) in quâ ortus eſt pauper et pellicea Saxonia: pecuniâ quâ pollemus omnes nationes ſuper eum invitabimus; et quaſi Keramicum confringemus (Liutprand in Legat. p. 487.). The two books, de adminiſtrando Imperio, perpetually inculcate the ſame policy.

[71] The xixth chapter of the Tactics of Leo (Meurſ. Opera, tom. vi. p. 825—848.), which is given more correct from a manuſcript of Gudius, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 372—379.), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

[72] Even of fifteen and ſixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Theſe were

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mones[73], or light gallies of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tire of oars; each tire was compoſed of five and twenty benches; and two rowers were ſeated on each bench, who plyed their oars on either ſide of the veſſel. To theſe we muſt add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, ſtood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two ſteerſmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play againſt the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double ſervice of mariners and ſoldiers; they were provided with defenſive and offenſive arms, with bows and arrows, which they uſed from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they puſhed through the port holes of the lower tire. Sometimes indeed the ſhips of war were of a larger and more ſolid conſtruction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between ſeventy ſoldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the moſt part they were of the light and manageable ſize; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponeſus was ſtill clothed with its ancient terrors, an Imperial fleet was tranſported five miles over land acroſs the Iſthmus of Corinth[74]. The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change ſince the time of Thucydides: a ſquadron of gallies ſtill advanced in a creſcent, charged to the front, and ſtrove to impel their ſharp beaks againſt the feeble ſides of their antagoniſts. A machine for caſting ſtones and darts was built of ſtrong timbers in the midſt of the deck; and

were for real uſe: the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whoſe tonnage, according to Dr. Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 231—236.), is compared as $4\frac{1}{2}$ to one, with an Engliſh 100 gun ſhip.

[73] The Dromones of Leo, &c. are ſo clearly deſcribed with two tire of oars, that I muſt cenſure the verſion of Meurſius and Fabricius, who pervert the ſenſe by a blind attachment to the claſſic appellation of *Triremes*. The Byzantine hiſtorians are ſometimes guilty of the ſame inaccuracy.

[74] Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. in Vit. Baſil. c. lxi. p. 185. He calmly praiſes the ſtratagem as a βελην συνετην και σοφην; but the ſailing round Peloponeſus is deſcribed by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thouſand miles.

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the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoiſted baſkets of armed men. The language of ſignals, ſo clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expreſſed by the various poſitions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkneſs of the night the ſame orders to chace, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire ſignals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight ſtations commanded a ſpace of five hundred miles; and Conſtantinople in a few hours was apprized of the hoſtile motions of the Saracens of Tarſus[75]. Some eſtimate may be formed of the power of the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve gallies, and ſeventy-five veſſels of the Pamphylian ſtyle, was equipped in the capital, the iſlands of the Ægæan ſea, and the ſea-ports of Aſia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thouſand mariners, ſeven thouſand three hundred and forty ſoldiers, ſeven hundred Ruſſians, and five thouſand and eighty-ſeven Mardaites, whoſe fathers had been tranſplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, moſt probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endleſs recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horſes, and of ſtores and utenſils of every deſcription, inadequate to the conqueſt of a petty iſland, but amply ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of a flouriſhing colony[76].

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[75] The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 122, 123.) names the ſucceſſive ſtations, the caſtle of Lulum near Tarſus, mount Argæus, Iſamus, Ægilus, the hill of Mamas, Cyriſus, Mocilus, the hill of Auxentius, the ſun-dial of the Pharus of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were tranſmitted εν ακαρει in an indiviſible moment of time. Miſerable amplification, which, by ſaying too much, ſays nothing. How much more forcible and inſtructive would have been the definition of three, or ſix, or twelve hours.

[76] See the Ceremoniale of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii. c. 44. p. 176—192. A critical reader will diſcern ſome inconſiſtencies in different parts of this account; but they are

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Tactics and character of the Greeks.

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To theſe liquid combuſtibles, the city and empire of Conſtantine owed their deliverance; and they were employed in ſieges and ſea-fights with terrible effect. But they were either leſs improved, or leſs ſuſceptible of improvement: the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, baliſtæ, and battering-rams, were ſtill of moſt frequent and powerful uſe in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the deciſion of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *fire* of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitleſs to protect with armour againſt a ſimilar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were ſtill the common inſtruments of deſtruction and ſafety; and the helmets, cuiraſſes, and ſhields, of the tenth century did not, either in form or ſubſtance, eſſentially differ from thoſe which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles[77]. But inſtead of accuſtoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the conſtant and eaſy uſe of this ſalutary weight; their armour was laid aſide in light chariots, which followed the march, till, on the approach of an enemy, they reſumed with haſte and reluctance the unuſual incumbrance. Their offenſive weapons conſiſted of ſwords, battle-axes, and ſpears; but the Macedonian pike was ſhortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient meaſure of twelve cubits or feet. The ſharpneſs of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been ſeverely felt; and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cauſe of the public misfortunes, and recommend, as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, ſhould aſſiduouſly practiſe the exerciſe of the bow[78]. The *bands*,

are not more obſcure or more ſtubborn than the eſtabliſhment and effectives, the preſent and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern return, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of theſe profitable myſteries.

[77] See the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters, περι οπλων, περι οπλισεως, and περι γυμνασιας in the Tactics of Leo, with the correſponding paſſages in thoſe of Conſtantine.

[78] They obſerve της γαρ τοξειας παντελως αμεληθεισης .... εν τοις Ρωμαιοις τα πολλα νυν ειωθε σφαλματα γινεσθαι (Leo, Tactic, p. 581. Conſtantin. p. 1216.). Yet ſuch were not the maxims

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bands, or regiments, were uſually three hundred ſtrong; and, as a medium between the extremes of four and ſixteen, the foot ſoldiers of Leo and Conſtantine were formed eight, deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks from the reaſonable conſideration, that the weight of the front could not be encreaſed by any preſſure of the hindmoſt horſes. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were ſometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a ſecret diſtruſt of the courage of the troops, whoſe numbers might ſwell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a choſen band would dare to encounter the ſpears and ſwords of the Barbarians. The order of battle muſt have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adverſary; but their ordinary diſpoſition, in two lines and a reſerve, preſented a ſucceſſion of hopes and reſources moſt agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks [79]. In caſe of a repulſe, the firſt line fell back into the intervals of the ſecond; and the reſerve, breaking into two diviſions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accompliſhed, at leaſt in theory, by the camps and marches, the exerciſes and evolutions, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch [80]. Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly ſupplied by the riches of the prince, and the induſtry of his numerous workmen. But neither authority nor art could frame the moſt important machine, the ſoldier himſelf; and if the *ceremonies* of Conſtantine always ſuppoſe the ſafe and triumphal return of the emperor [81], his *tactics* ſeldom

maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who deſpiſed the looſe and diſtant practice of archery.

[79] Compare the paſſages of the Tactics, p. 669, and 721, and the xi.th with the xviii.th chapter.

[80] In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deplores the loſs of diſcipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats, without ſcruple (proem. p. 537.), the reproaches of αμελεια, αταξια, αγυμνασια, δειλια, &c. nor does it appear that the ſame cenſures were leſs deſerved in the next generation by the diſciples of Conſtantine.

[81] See in the Ceremonial (l. ii. c. 19. p. 353.) the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the ſingers chanted, "thou haſt made my enemies my "footſtool!" and the people ſhouted forty times the kyrie eleiſon.

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ſoar above the means of eſcaping a defeat, and procraſtinating the war [82]. Notwithſtanding ſome tranſient ſucceſs, the Greeks were ſunk in their own eſteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar deſcription of the nation: the author of the tactics was beſieged in his capital; and the laſt of the Barbarians, who trembled at the name of the Saracens, or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and ſilver which they had extorted from the feeble ſovereign of Conſtantinople. What ſpirit their government and character denied, might have been inſpired in ſome degree by the influence of religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to ſuffer and to yield. The emperor Nicephorus, who reſtored for a moment the diſcipline and glory of the Roman name, was deſirous of beſtowing the honours of martyrdom on the Chriſtians who loſt their lives in an holy war againſt the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the oppoſition of the patriarch, the biſhops, and the principal ſenators; and they ſtrenuouſly urged the canons of St. Baſil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a ſoldier, ſhould be ſeparated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful [83].

Character and tactics of the Saracens.

Theſe ſcruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive Moſlems when they were held back from battle; and this contraſt of baſe ſuperſtition, and high-ſpirited enthuſiaſm, unfolds to a philoſophic eye the hiſtory of the rival nations. The ſubjects of the laſt caliphs [84] had undoubtedly degenerated from the zeal and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their martial

[82] Leo obſerves (Tactic. p. 668.), that a fair open battle againſt any nation whatſoever, is επισφαλες and επικινδυνον; the words are ſtrong, and the remark is true; yet if ſuch had been the opinion of the old Romans, Leo had never reigned on the ſhores of the Thracian Boſphorus.

[83] Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 202, 203.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 668.), who relate the deſign of Nicephorus, muſt unfortunately apply the epithet of γενναιως to the oppoſition of the patriarch.

[84] The xviiith chapter of the tactics of the different nations, is the moſt hiſtorical and uſeful of the whole Collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactic. p. 809—817. and a fragment from the Medicean MS. in the preface of the vith volume of Meurſius), the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to ſtudy.

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creed ſtill repreſented the deity as the author of war[85]: the vital though latent ſpark of fanaticiſm ſtill glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens who dwelt on the Chriſtian borders, it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant ſlaves who had been educated to guard the perſon and accompany the ſtandard of their lord; but the Muſulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed an holy war againſt the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cauſe of God; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder, and the old, the infirm, and the women, aſſumed their ſhare of meritorious ſervice by ſending their ſubſtitutes, with arms and horſes, into the field. Theſe offenſive and defenſive arms were ſimilar in ſtrength and temper to thoſe of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horſe and the bow; the maſſy ſilver of their belts, their bridles, and their ſwords, diſplayed the magnificence of a proſperous nation, and except ſome black archers of the ſouth, the Arabs diſdained the naked bravery of their anceſtors. Inſtead of waggons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and aſſes; the multitude of theſe animals, whom they bedecked with flags and ſtreamers, appeared to ſwell the pomp and magnitude of their hoſt; and the horſes of the enemy were often diſordered by the uncouth figure and odious ſmell of the camels of the Eaſt. Invincible by their patience of thirſt and heat, their ſpirits were frozen by a winter's cold, and the conſciouſneſs of their propenſity to ſleep exacted the moſt rigorous precautions againſt the ſurpriſes of the night. Their order of battle was a long ſquare of two deep and ſolid lines; the firſt of archers, the ſecond of cavalry. In their engagements by ſea and land, they ſuſtained with patient firmneſs the fury of the

[85] Παντος δε και κακω εργω τον Θεον αιτιον ὑπο κορπιζοντα εθνη τα τως πολεμως θελοπα. Leon. Tactic. p. 809.

attack,

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attack, and ſeldom advanced to the charge till they could diſcern and oppreſs the laſſitude of their foes. But if they were repulſed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their diſmay was heightened by the ſuperſtitious prejudice, that God had declared himſelf on the ſide of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced this fearful opinion; nor were there wanting, among the Mahometans and Chriſtians, ſome obſcure prophecies[86] which prognoſticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was diſſolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no deſpicable fund of ſkill and induſtry and treaſure. In their tranſactions of peace and war with the Saracens, the princes of Conſtantinople too often felt that theſe Barbarians had nothing barbarous in their diſcipline; and that if they were deſtitute of original genius, they had been endowed with a quick ſpirit of curioſity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy: their ſhips, and engines, and fortifications, were of a leſs ſkilful conſtruction; and they confeſs, without ſhame, that the ſame God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely faſhioned the hands of the Chineſe, and the heads of the Greeks[87].

The Franks or Latins.

A name of ſome German tribes between the Rhine and the Weſer had ſpread its victorious influence over the greateſt part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of FRANKS[88] was

[86] Liutprand (p. 484, 485.) relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens, in which, after the faſhion of prophecy, the paſt is clear and hiſtorical, the future is dark, ænigmatical, and erroneous. From this boundary of light and ſhade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the compoſition.

[87] The ſenſe of this diſtinction is expreſſed by Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 2. 62. 101.), but I cannot recollect the paſſage in which it is conveyed by this lively apothegm.

[88] Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit (Liutprand. in Legat. ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484.). This extenſion of the name may be confirmed from Conſtantine (de adminiſtrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 27, 28.) and Eutychius

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was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the Chriſtians of the Latin church, the nations of the Weſt, who ſtretched beyond *their* knowledge to the ſhores of the Atlantic Ocean. The vaſt body had been inſpired and united by the ſoul of Charlemagne; but the diviſion and degeneracy of his race ſoon annihilated the Imperial power, which would have rivalled the Cæſars of Byzantium, and revenged the indignities of the Chriſtian name. The enemies no longer feared, nor could the ſubjects any longer truſt, the application of a public revenue, the labours of trade and manufactures in the military ſervice, the mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval ſquadrons which were regularly ſtationed from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tyber. In the beginning of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne had almoſt diſappeared; his monarchy was broken into many hoſtile and independent ſtates; the regal title was aſſumed by the moſt ambitious chiefs; their revolt was imitated in a long ſubordination of anarchy and diſcord, and the nobles of every province diſobeyed their ſovereign, oppreſſed their vaſſals, and exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt their equals and neighbours. Their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial ſpirit of the nation. In the ſyſtem of modern Europe, the power of the ſword is poſſeſſed, at leaſt in fact, by five or ſix mighty potentates; their operations are conducted on a diſtant frontier, by an order of men who devote their lives to the ſtudy and practice of the military art: the reſt of the country and community enjoys in the midſt of war the tranquillity of peace, and is only made ſenſible of the change by the aggravation or decreaſe of the public taxes. In the diſorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peaſant was a ſoldier, and every village a fortification; each wood or valley was a ſcene of murder and rapine; and the lords of each caſtle were compelled to aſſume the character of princes and

Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 55, 56.), who both lived before the cruſades. The teſtimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 69.) and Abulfeda (Præfat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

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warriors. To their own courage and policy, they boldly truſted for the ſafety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the revenge of their injuries; and, like the conquerors of a larger ſize, they were too apt to tranſgreſs the privilege of defenſive war. The powers of the mind and body were hardened by the preſence of danger and neceſſity of reſolution: the ſame ſpirit refuſed to deſert a friend and to forgive an enemy; and, inſtead of ſleeping under the guardian care of the magiſtrate, they proudly diſdained the authority of the laws. In the days of feudal anarchy, the inſtruments of agriculture and art were converted into the weapons of bloodſhed: the peaceful occupations of civil and eccleſiaſtical ſociety were aboliſhed or corrupted; and the biſhop who exchanged his mitre for an helmet, was more forcibly urged by the manners of the times than by the obligation of his tenure [89].

Their character and tactics.

The love of freedom and of arms was felt, with conſcious pride, by the Franks themſelves, and is obſerved by the Greeks with ſome degree of amazement and terror. "The Franks," ſays the emperor Conſtantine, "are bold and valiant to the verge of temerity; and "their dauntleſs ſpirit is ſupported by the contempt of danger and "death. In the field and in cloſe onſet, they preſs to the front, "and ruſh headlong againſt the enemy, without deigning to com-"pute either his numbers or their own. Their ranks are formed "by the firm connections of conſanguinity and friendſhip; and "their martial deeds are prompted by the deſire of ſaving or re-"venging their deareſt companions. In their eyes, a retreat is a "ſhameful flight; and flight is indelible infamy [90]." A nation endowed

[89] On this ſubject of eccleſiaſtical and beneficiary diſcipline, father Thomaſſin (tom. iii. l. i. c. 40. 45, 46, 47.) may be uſefully conſulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the biſhops from perſonal ſervice, but the oppoſite practice, which prevailed from the ix[th] to the xv[th] century, is countenanced by the example or ſilence of ſaints and doctors.... You juſtify your cowardice by the holy canons, ſays Ratherius of Verona; the canons likewiſe forbid you to whore, and yet——

[90] In the xviii[th] chapter of his Tactics, the emperor Leo has fairly ſtated the military vices

dowed with ſuch high and intrepid ſpirit, muſt have been ſecure of victory, if theſe advantages had not been counterbalanced by many weighty defects. The decay of their naval power, left the Greeks and Saracens in poſſeſſion of the ſea, for every purpoſe of annoyance and ſupply. In the age which preceded the inſtitution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unſkilful in the ſervice of cavalry [91]; and, in all perilous emergencies, their warriors were ſo conſcious of their ignorance, that they choſe to diſmount from their horſes and fight on foot. Unpractiſed in the uſe of pikes, or of miſſile weapons, they were encumbered by the length of their ſwords, the weight of their armour, the magnitude of their ſhields, and, if I may repeat the ſatire of the meagre Greeks, by their unwieldy intemperance. Their independent ſpirit diſdained the yoke of ſubordination, and abandoned the ſtandard of their chief, if he attempted to keep the field beyond the term of their ſtipulation or ſervice. On all ſides they were open to the ſnares of an enemy, leſs brave, but more artful, than themſelves. They might be bribed, for the Barbarians were venal; or ſurpriſed in the night, for they neglected the precautions of a cloſe encampment or vigilant centinels. The fatigues of a ſummer's campaign exhauſted their ſtrength and patience, and they ſunk in deſpair if their voracious appetite was diſappointed of a plentiful ſupply of wine and of food. This general character of the Franks was marked with ſome national and local ſhades, which I ſhould aſcribe to accident, rather than to climate, but which were viſible both to natives and to foreigners. An am-

vices and virtues of the Franks (whom Meurſius ridiculouſly tranſlates by *Galli)*, and the Lombards, or Langobards. . See likewiſe the xxvi[th] Diſſertation of Muratori de Antiquitatibus Italiæ medii Ævi.

[91] Domini tui milites (ſays the proud Nicephorus) equſitandi ignari pedeſtris pugnæ ſunt inſcii: ſcutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, enſium longitudo, galearumque pondus neutrâ parte pugnare eos ſinit; ac ſubridens, impedit, inquit, et eos gaſtrimargia hoc eſt ventris ingluvies, &c. Liutprand. in Legat. p. 480, 481.

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baſſador of the great Otho declared, in the palace of Conſtantinople, that the Saxons could diſpute with ſwords better than with pens; and that they preferred inevitable death to the diſhonour of turning their backs to an enemy[92]. It was the glory of the nobles of France, that, in their humble dwellings, war and rapine were the only pleaſure, the ſole occupation, of their lives. They affected to deride the palaces, the banquets, the poliſhed manners, of the Italians, who, in the eſtimate of the Greeks themſelves, had degenerated from the liberty and valour of the ancient Lombards[93].

Oblivion of the Latin language.

By the well-known edict of Caracalla, his ſubjects, from Britain to Egypt, were entitled to the name and privileges of Romans, and their national ſovereign might fix his occaſional or permanent reſidence in any province of their common country. In the diviſion of the Eaſt and Weſt, an ideal unity was ſcrupulouſly preſerved, and in their titles, laws, and ſtatutes, the ſucceſſors of Arcadius and Honorius announced themſelves as the inſeparable colleagues of the ſame office, as the joint ſovereigns of the Roman world and city, which were bounded by the ſame limits. After the fall of the Weſtern monarchy, the majeſty of the purple reſided ſolely in the princes of Conſtantinople; and of theſe, Juſtinian was the firſt, who after a divorce of ſixty years regained the dominion of ancient Rome, and aſſerted, by the right of conqueſt, the auguſt title of em-

[92] In Saxonia certe ſcio .... decentius enſibus pugnare quam calamis et prius mortem obire quam hoſtibus terga dare (Liutprand, p. 482.).

[93] Φραγγοι τοινυν και Λογιβαρδοι λογον ελευθεριας περι πολλω ποιουνται, αλλ' οι μεν Λογιβαρδοι το πλεον της τοιαυτης αρετης νυν απωλεσαν. Leonis Tactica, c. 18. p. 805. The emperor Leo died A. D. 911: an hiſtorical poem, which ends in 916, and appears to have been compoſed in 940, by a native of Venetia, diſcriminates in theſe verſes the manners of Italy and France:

——Quid inertia bello
Pectora (Ubertus ait) duris prætenditis armis
O Itali? Potius vobis ſacra pocula cordi;
Sæpius et ſtomachum nitidis laxare ſaginis
Elataſque domos rutilo fulcire metallo.
Non eadem Gallos ſimilis vel cura remordet;
Vicinas quibus eſt ſtudium devincere terras
Depreſſumque larem ſpoliis hinc inde coactis
Suſtentare.——

(Anonym. Carmen Panegyricum de Laudibus Berengarii Auguſti, l. ii. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ii. pars i. p. 393.)

peror

peror of the Romans[94]. A motive of vanity or diſcontent ſolicited one of his ſucceſſors, Conſtans the ſecond, to abandon the Thracian Boſphorus, and to reſtore the priſtine honours of the Tyber: an extravagant project (exclaims the malicious Byzantine), as if he had deſpoiled a beautiful and blooming virgin, to enrich, or rather to expoſe, the deformity of a wrinkled and decrepit matron[95]. But the ſword of the Lombards oppoſed his ſettlement in Italy: he entered Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and after a viſit of twelve days, he pillaged, and for ever deſerted, the ancient capital of the world[96]. The final revolt and ſeparation of Italy was accompliſhed about two centuries after the conqueſts of Juſtinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legiſlator had compoſed his Inſtitutes, his Code, and his Pandects, in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public ſtyle of the Roman government, the conſecrated idiom of the palace and ſenate of Conſtantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the Eaſt[97]. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and ſoldiers of the Aſiatic provinces, it was imperfectly underſtood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the miniſters of the ſtate. After a ſhort conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obſolete inſtitutions of human power: for the general benefit of his ſubjects, Juſtinian promulgated his novels in the two languages; the ſeveral parts of his voluminous juriſprudence were ſucceſſively

[94] Juſtinian, ſays the hiſtorian Agathias (l. v. p. 157.), πρωτος Ρωμαιων αυτοκρατωρ ονοματι και πραγματι. Yet the ſpecific title of emperor of the Romans was not uſed at Conſtantinople, till it had been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome.

[95] Conſtantine Manaſſes reprobates this deſign in his barbarous verſe:

Την πολιν την βασιλειαν αποκοσμησαι θελων,
Και την αρχην χαρισασθαι τριπεμπελῳ Ρωμῃ,
Ως ειτις αβροβιοτον αποκοσμησει νυμφην,
Και γραυν τινα τρικορωνον ὡς κορην ωραϊσει.

and it is confirmed by Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the Hiſtoria Miſcella: voluit in urbem Romam Imperium transferre (l. xix. p. 157. in tom. i. pars i. of the Scriptores Rer. Ital. of Muratori).

[96] Paul. Diacon. l. v. c. 11. p. 480. Anaſtaſius in Vitis Pontificum, in Muratori's Collection, tom. iii. pars i. p. 141.

[97] Conſult the preface of Ducange (ad Gloſſ. Græc. medii Ævi), and the novels of Juſtinian (vii. lxvi.). The Greek language was κοινος, the Latin was πατριος to himſelf, κυριωτατος to the πολιτειας σχημα, the ſyſtem of government.

tranſlated:

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tranſlated[98]: the original was forgotten, the verſion was ſtudied, and the Greek, whoſe intrinſic merit deſerved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular eſtabliſhment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and reſidence of ſucceeding princes eſtranged them from the Roman idiom: Tiberius by the Arabs[99], and Maurice by the Italians[100], are diſtinguiſhed as the firſt of the Greek Cæſars, as the founders of a new dynaſty and empire: the ſilent revolution was accompliſhed before the death of Heraclius; and the ruins of the Latin ſpeech were darkly preſerved in the terms of juriſprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the reſtoration of the Weſtern empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal ſignification and extent; and theſe haughty Barbarians aſſerted, with ſome juſtice, their ſuperior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They inſulted the aliens of the Eaſt who had renounced the dreſs and idiom of Romans; and their reaſonable practice will juſtify the frequent appellation of Greeks[101]. But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is ap-

The Greek emperors and their ſubjects

[98] Ου μεν αλλα και Λατινικη λεξις και Φρασις εις επι τους νομους τους συνειναι ταυτην μη δυναμενους απετειχιζε (Matth. Blaſtares, Hiſt. Juris, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 369.). The Code and Pandects (the latter by Thalelæus) were tranſlated in the time of Juſtinian (p. 358. 366.). Theophilus, one of the original triumvirs, has left an elegant, though diffuſe, paraphraſe of the Inſtitutes. On the other hand, Julian, anteceſſor of Conſtantinople (A.D. 570), cxx. Novellas Græcas eleganti Latinitate donavit (Heineccius, Hiſt. J.R. p. 396.) for the uſe of Italy and Africa.

[99] Abulpharagius aſſigns the viiith Dynaſty to the Franks or Romans, the viiith to the Greeks, the ixth to the Arabs. A tempore Auguſti Cæſaris donec imperaret Tiberius Cæſar ſpatio circiter annorum 600 fuerunt Imperatores C. P. Patricii, et præcipua pars exercitûs Romani: extra quod, conſiliarii, ſcribæ et populus, omnes Græci fuerunt: deinde regnum etiam Græcanicum factum eſt (p. 96. verſ. Pocock). The Chriſtian and eccleſiaſtical ſtudies of Abulpharagius gave him ſome advantage over the more ignorant *Moſlems*.

[100] Primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio confirmatus eſt; or, according to another MS. of Paulus Diaconus (l. iii. c. 15. p. 443.), in Græcorum Imperio.

[101] Quia linguam, mores, veſteſque mutâſtis, putavit Sanctiſſimus Papa (an audacious irony), ita vos (vobis) diſplicere Romanorum nomen. His nuncios, rogabant Nicephorum Imperatorem Græcorum, ut cum Othone Imperatore Romanorum amicitiam faceret (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 486.).

plied.

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plied. Whatſoever changes had been introduced by the lapſe of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken ſucceſſion from Auguſtus and Conſtantine; and, in the loweſt period of degeneracy and decay, the name of ROMANS adhered to the laſt fragments of the empire of Conſtantinople [102].

retain and aſſert the name of Romans.

Period of ignorance.

While the government of the Eaſt was tranſacted in Latin, the Greek was the language of literature and philoſophy; nor could the maſters of this rich and perfect idiom be tempted to envy the borrowed learning and imitative taſte of their Roman diſciples. After the fall of Paganiſm, the loſs of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the ſchools of Alexandria and Athens, the ſtudies of the Greeks inſenſibly retired to ſome regular monaſteries, and above all to the royal college of Conſtantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Iſaurian [103]. In the pompous ſtyle of the age, the preſident of that foundation was named the Sun of Science: his twelve aſſociates, the profeſſors in the different arts and faculties, were the twelve ſigns of the zodiac; a library of thirty-ſix thouſand five hundred volumes was open to their enquiries; and they could ſhew an ancient manuſcript of Homer, on a roll of parchment one hundred and twenty feet in length, the inteſtines, as it was fabled, of a prodigious ſerpent [104]. But the ſeventh and eighth centuries were a period of diſcord and darkneſs; the library was burnt, the college was aboliſhed, the Iconoclaſts are repreſented as the foes of

[102] By Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who ſurvived the laſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, the account is thus ſtated (l. i. p. 3.). Conſtantine tranſplanted his Latins of Italy to a Greek city of Thrace: they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Conſtantinople, ſays the hiſtorian, επι το σφας αυτους σεμνυνεσθαι Ρωμαιων βασιλεις τε και αυτοκρατορας αποκαλειν, Ελληνων δε βασιλεις ουκετι αδαμη αξιουν.

[103] See Ducange (C. P. Chriſtiana, l. ii. p. 150, 151.), who collects the teſtimonies, not of Theophanes, but at leaſt of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104.), Cedrenus (p. 454.), Michael Glycas (p. 281.), Conſtantine Manaſſes (p. 87.). After refuting the abſurd charge againſt the emperor, Spanheim (Hiſt. Imaginum, p. 99—111.), like a true advocate, proceeds to doubt or deny the reality of the fire, and almoſt of the library.

[104] According to Malchus (apud Zonar. l. xiv. p. 53.), this Homer was burnt in the time of Baſiliſcus. The MS. might be renewed—But on a ſerpent's ſkin? Moſt ſtrange and incredible!

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antiquity; and a ſavage ignorance and contempt of letters has diſgraced the princes of the Heraclean and Iſaurian dynaſties [105].

Revival of Greek learning.

In the ninth century, we trace the firſt dawnings of the reſtoration of ſcience [106]. After the fanaticiſm of the Arabs had ſubſided, the caliphs aſpired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire: their liberal curioſity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, bruſhed away the duſt from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philoſophers, whoſe labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleaſure of ſtudy and the purſuit of truth. The Cæſar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preſerved his memory and excuſed his ambition. A particle of the treaſures of his nephew was ſometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a ſchool was opened in the palace of Magnaura; and the preſence of Bardas excited the emulation of the maſters and ſtudents. At their head was the philoſopher Leo, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica: his profound ſkill in aſtronomy and the mathematics was admired by the ſtrangers of the Eaſt; and this occult ſcience was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modeſtly ſuppoſes that all knowledge ſuperior to its own muſt be the effect of inſpiration or magic. At the preſſing entreaty of the Cæſar, his friend, the celebrated Photius [107], renounced the freedom of a ſecular and ſtudious life, aſcended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and abſolved by the ſynods of the Eaſt and Weſt. By the confeſſion even of prieſtly hatred, no art or ſcience, except poetry, was foreign to this univerſal

[105] The αλογια of Zonaras, the αγρια και αμαθια of Cedrenus, are ſtrong words, perhaps not ill-ſuited to theſe reigns.

[106] See Zonaras (l. xvi. p. 160, 161.) and Cedrenus (p. 549, 550.). Like friar Bacon, the philoſopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer: yet not ſo undeſervedly, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly aſcribed to the emperor of the ſame name. The phyſics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 366. tom. xii. p. 781.). Quieſcant!

[107] The eccleſiaſtical and literary character of Photius, is copiouſly diſcuſſed by Hanckius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269—396.) and Fabricius.

ſcholar,

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ſcholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilſt he exerciſed the office of protoſpathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was ſent ambaſſador to the caliph of Bagdad [108]. The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the haſty compoſition of his *Library*, a living monument of erudition and criticiſm. Two hundred and fourſcore writers, hiſtorians, orators, philoſophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method: he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their ſtyle and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a diſcreet freedom, which often breaks through the ſuperſtition of the times. The emperor Baſil, who lamented the defects of his own education, entruſted to the care of Photius his ſon and ſucceſſor Leo the philoſopher; and the reign of that prince and of his ſon Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the moſt proſperous æras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treaſures of antiquity were depoſited in the Imperial library; by their pens, or thoſe of their aſſociates, they were imparted in ſuch extracts and abridgments as might amuſe the curioſity, without oppreſſing the indolence, of the public. Beſides the *Baſilics*, or code of laws, the arts of huſbandry and war, of feeding or deſtroying the human ſpecies, were propagated with equal diligence; and the hiſtory of Greece and Rome was digeſted into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embaſſies, and of virtues and vices) have eſcaped the injuries of time. In every ſtation, the reader might contemplate the image of the paſt world, apply the leſſon or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the ex-

[108] Εις Ασσυριους can only mean Bagdad, the ſeat of the caliph; and the relation of his embaſſy might have been curious and inſtructive. But how did he procure his books? A library ſo numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor tranſported with his baggage, nor preſerved in his memory. Yet the laſt, however incredible, ſeems to be affirmed by Photius himſelf, οσας αυτων ἡ μνημη διεσωζε. Camuſat (Hiſt. Critique des Journaux, p. 87—94.) gives a good account of the Myriobiblon.

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amples of a brighter period. I ſhall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the aſſiduous ſtudy of the ancients, have deſerved in ſome meaſure the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The ſcholars of the preſent age may ſtill enjoy the benefit of the philoſophical common-place book of Stobæus, the grammatical and hiſtoric lexicon of Suidas, the Chiliads of Tzetzes, which compriſe ſix hundred narratives in twelve thouſand verſes, and the commentaries on Homer of Euſtathius archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From theſe originals, and from the numerous tribe of ſcholiaſts and critics [109], ſome eſtimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Conſtantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demoſthenes, of Ariſtotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our preſent riches, we muſt envy the generation that could ſtill peruſe the hiſtory of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander [110], and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illuſtration atteſts not only the exiſtence but the popularity of the Grecian claſſics: the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empreſs

[109] Of theſe modern Greeks, ſee the reſpective articles in the Bibliotheca Greca of Fabricius; a laborious work, yet ſuſceptible of a better method and many improvements: of Euſtathius (tom. i. p. 289—292. 306—329.), of the Pſelli (a diatribe of Leo Allatius, ad calcem tom. v.), of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi. p. 486—509.), of John Stobæus (tom. viii. 665—728.), of Suidas (tom. ix. p. 620—827.), John Tzetzes (tom. xii. p. 245—273.). Mr. Harris, in his Philological Arrangements, opus ſenile, has given a ſketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 287—300.).

[110] From obſcure and hearſay evidence, Gerard Voſſius (de Poetis Græcis, c. 6.) and le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choiſie, tom. xix. p. 285.) mention a commentary of Michael Pſellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, ſtill extant in MS. at Conſtantinople. Yet ſuch claſſic ſtudies ſeem incompatible with the gravity or dulneſs of a ſchoolman, who pored over the categories (de Pſellis, p. 42.): and Michael has probably been confounded with Homerus *Sellius*, who wrote arguments to the comedies of Menander. In the xth century, Suidas quotes fifty plays, but he often tranſcribes the old ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes.

Eudocia,

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Eudocia, and the princeſs Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philoſophy [111]. The vulgar dialect of the city was groſs and barbarous: a more correct and elaborate ſtyle diſtinguiſhed the diſcourſe, or at leaſt the compoſitions, of the church and palace, which ſometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic models.

Decay of taſte and genius.

In our modern education, the painful though neceſſary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may conſume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful ſtudent. The poets and orators were long impriſoned in the barbarous dialects of our Weſtern anceſtors, devoid of harmony or grace; and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to the rude and native powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Conſtantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar ſpeech, acquired the free uſe of their ancient language, the moſt happy compoſition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the ſublime maſters who had pleaſed or inſtructed the firſt of nations. But theſe advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and ſhame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeleſs hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the ſpirit which had created and improved that ſacred patrimony: they read, they praiſed, they compiled, but their languid ſouls ſeemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a ſingle diſcovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happineſs of mankind. Not a ſingle idea has been added to the ſpeculative ſyſtems of antiquity, and a ſucceſſion of patient diſciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next ſervile generation. Not a

[111] Anna Comnena may boaſt of her Greek ſtyle (το Ελληνιζειν ες ακρον εσπουδακνια), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her flatterer, may add with truth, γλωτταν ειχεν ακριβως Αττικιζουσαν. The princeſs was conſant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and had ſtudied the τετρακυς, or *quadrivium* of aſtrology, geometry, arithmetic, and muſic (ſee her preface to the Alexiad, with Ducange's notes).

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ſingle compoſition of hiſtory, philoſophy, or literature, has been ſaved from oblivion by the intrinſic beauties of ſtyle or ſentiment, of original fancy, or even of ſucceſsful imitation. In proſe, the leaſt offenſive of the Byzantine writers are abſolved from cenſure by their naked and unpreſuming ſimplicity: but the orators, moſt eloquent[112] in their own conceit, are the fartheſt removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taſte and reaſon are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obſolete words, a ſtiff and intricate phraſeology, the diſcord of images, the childiſh play of falſe or unſeaſonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themſelves, to aſtoniſh the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the ſmoke of obſcurity and exaggeration. Their proſe is ſoaring to the vicious affectation of poetry: their poetry is ſinking below the flatneſs and inſipidity of proſe. The tragic, epic, and lyric muſes, were ſilent and inglorious: the bards of Conſtantinople ſeldom roſe above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of proſody; and with the melody of Homer yet ſounding in their ears, they confound all meaſure of feet and ſyllables in the impotent ſtrains which have received the name of *political* or city verſes[113]. The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a baſe and imperious ſuperſtition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane ſcience. Their underſtandings were bewildered in metaphyſical controverſy: in the belief of viſions and miracles, they had loſt all principles of moral evidence, and their taſte was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an abſurd medley of declamation and ſcripture. Even theſe contemptible ſtudies were no longer dig-

[112] To cenſure the Byzantine taſte, Ducange (Prefat. Gloſſ. Græc. p. 17.) ſtrings the authorities of Aulus Gellius, Jerom Petronius, George Hamartolus, Longinus; who give at once the precept and the example.

[113] The *verſus politici*, thoſe common proſtitutes, as, from their eaſineſs, they are ſtyled by Leo Allatius, uſually conſiſt of fifteen ſyllables. They are uſed by Conſtantine Manaſſes, John Tzetzes, &c. (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. iii. p. i. p. 345, 346. edit. Baſil, 1762.)

nified

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nified by the abuſe of ſuperior talents: the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the ſchools or pulpit produce any rivals of the fame of Athanaſius and Chryſoſtom[114].

Want of national emulation.

In all the purſuits of active and ſpeculative life, the emulation of ſtates and individuals is the moſt powerful ſpring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were caſt in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger ſcale, but in a looſer form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the ſpectators and judges of each others merit[115]: the independence of government and intereſt, which aſſerts their ſeparate freedom, and excites them to ſtrive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The ſituation of the Romans was leſs favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a ſimilar emulation was kindled among the ſtates of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and ſciences, they aſpired to equal or ſurpaſs their Grecian maſters. The empire of the Cæſars undoubtedly checked the activity and progreſs of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow ſome ſcope for domeſtic competition; but when it was gradually reduced, at firſt to the Eaſt and at laſt to Greece and Conſtantinople, the Byzantine ſubjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their ſolitary and inſulated ſtate. From the North they were oppreſſed by nameleſs tribes of Barbarians, to whom they ſcarcely imparted the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more poliſhed Arabs were an inſurmountable bar to all ſocial intercourſe. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the Chriſtian faith; but the ſpeech of

[114] As St. Bernard of the Latin, ſo St. John Damaſcenus in the viiith century, is revered as the laſt father of the Greek, church.

[115] Hume's Eſſays, vol. i. p. 125.

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the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the ſucceſſors of Heraclius. Alone in the univerſe, the ſelf-ſatisfied pride of the Greeks was not diſturbed by the compariſon of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they fainted in the race, ſince they had neither competitors to urge their ſpeed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Aſia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy Land; and it is under the Comnenian dynaſty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was rekindled in the Byzantine empire.

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Origin and Doctrine of the Paulicians.—Their Perſecution by the Greek Emperors.—Revolt in Armenia, &c. —Tranſplantation into Thrace.—Propagation in the Weſt.—The Seeds, Character, and Conſequences of the Reformation.

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Supine ſuperſtition of the Greek church.

IN the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly diſtinguiſhed. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: Rome again aſpired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was conſumed in the diſputes of metaphyſical theology. The incomprehenſible myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, inſtead of commanding their ſilent ſubmiſſion, were agitated in vehement and ſubtle controverſies, which enlarged their faith at the expence perhaps of their charity and reaſon. From the council of Nice to the end of the ſeventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by theſe ſpiritual wars; and ſo deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the hiſtorian has too often been compelled to attend the ſynods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the ſects, of this buſy period of eccleſiaſtical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the laſt ages of the Byzantine empire the ſound of controverſy was ſeldom heard: curioſity was exhauſted, zeal was fatigued; and, in the decrees of ſix councils, the articles of the Catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The ſpirit of diſpute, however vain and per-

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nicious, requires ſome energy and exerciſe of the mental faculties; and the proſtrate Greeks were content to faſt, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of ſuperſtition, the Virgin and the Saints, their viſions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worſhipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended without injuſtice to the firſt ranks of civil ſociety. At an unſeaſonable moment, the Iſaurian emperors attempted ſomewhat rudely to awaken their ſubjects: under their influence, reaſon might obtain ſome proſelytes, a far greater number was ſwayed by intereſt or fear; but the Eaſtern world embraced or deplored their viſible deities, and the reſtoration of images was celebrated as the feaſt of orthodoxy. In this paſſive and unanimous ſtate the eccleſiaſtical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleaſure, of perſecution. The Pagans had diſappeared; the Jews were ſilent and obſcure; the diſputes with the Latins were rare and remote hoſtilities againſt a national enemy; and the ſects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration, under the ſhadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the ſeventh century, a branch of Manichæans was ſelected as the victims of ſpiritual tyranny: their patience was at length exaſperated to deſpair and rebellion; and their exile has ſcattered over the Weſt the ſeeds of reformation. Theſe important events will juſtify ſome enquiry into the doctrine and ſtory of the PAULICIANS[1]; and, as they cannot plead for themſelves, our candid criticiſm will magnify the *good*, and abate or ſuſpect the *evil*, that is reported by their adverſaries.

[1] The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his uſual judgment and candour, by the learned Moſheim (Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. ſeculum ix. p. 311, &c.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. i.) and Peter Siculus (Hiſt. Manichæorum). The firſt of theſe accounts has not fallen into my hands; the ſecond, which Moſheim prefers, I have read in a Latin verſion inſerted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. xvi. p. 754—764.), from the edition of the Jeſuit Raderus (Ingolſtadii, 1604, in 4to).

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Origin of the Paulicians, or diſciples of St. Paul, A. D. 660, &c.

The Gnoſtics, who had diſtracted the infancy, were oppreſſed by the greatneſs and authority, of the church. Inſtead of emulating or ſurpaſſing the wealth, learning, and numbers, of the Catholics, their obſcure remnant was driven from the capitals of the Eaſt and Weſt, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some veſtige of the Marcionites may be detected in the fifth century[2]; but the numerous ſects were finally loſt in the odious name of the Manichæans; and theſe heretics, who preſumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaſter and Chriſt, were purſued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandſon of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samoſata, more famous for the birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer aroſe, eſteemed by the *Paulicians* as the choſen meſſenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Conſtantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the ineſtimable gift of the New Teſtament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnoſtic, clergy[3]. Theſe books became the meaſure of his ſtudies and the rule of his faith; and the Catholics, who diſpute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and ſincere. But he attached himſelf with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul: the name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from ſome unknown and domeſtic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apoſtle of the Gentiles. His diſciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychichus, were repreſented by Conſtantine and his fellow-labourers: the names of the apoſtolic churches were applied to the congregations which they aſſembled

[2] In the time of Theodoret, the dioceſe of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of theſe, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious biſhop reconciled to the Catholic church (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccleſiaſtique, tom. iv. p. 81, 82.).

[3] Nobis profanis iſta *(ſacra Evangelia)* legere non licet ſed ſacerdotibus duntaxat, was the firſt ſcruple of a Catholic when he was adviſed to read the Bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 761.).

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Their bible.

in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the firſt ages. In the goſpel, and the epiſtles of St. Paul, his faithful follower inveſtigated the creed of primitive Chriſtianity; and, whatever might be the ſucceſs, a proteſtant reader will applaud the ſpirit, of the enquiry. But if the ſcriptures of the Paulicians were pure, they were not perfect. Their founders rejected the two epiſtles of St. Peter [4], the apoſtle of the circumciſion, whoſe diſpute with their favourite for the obſervance of the law could not eaſily be forgiven [5]. They agreed with their Gnoſtic brethren in the univerſal contempt for the Old Teſtament, the books of Moſes and the prophets, which have been conſecrated by the decrees of the Catholic church. With equal boldneſs, and doubtleſs with more reaſon, Conſtantine, the new Sylvanus, diſclaimed the viſions, which, in ſo many bulky and ſplendid volumes, had been publiſhed by the Oriental ſects [6]; the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the ſages of the Eaſt; the ſpurious goſpels, epiſtles, and acts, which in the firſt age had overwhelmed the orthodox code; the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred hereſies; and the thirty generations, or æons, which had been created by the fruitful fancy of Valentine. The Paulicians ſincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan ſect, and complained of the injuſtice which impreſſed that invidious name on the ſimple votaries of St. Paul and of Chriſt.

Of

[4] In rejecting the *ſecond* epiſtle of St. Peter, the Paulicians are juſtified by ſome of the moſt reſpectable of the ancients and moderns (ſee Wetſtein ad loc. Simon, Hiſt. Critique du Nouveau Teſtament, c. 17.). They likewiſe overlooked the Apocalypſe (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.); but as ſuch neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ix[th] century muſt have been careleſs of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

[5] This contention, which has not eſcaped the malice of Porphyry, ſuppoſes ſome error and paſſion in one or both of the apoſtles. By Chryſoſtom, Jerom, and Eraſmus, it is repreſented as a ſham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 1—20.).

[6] Thoſe who are curious of this heterodox library, may conſult the reſearches of Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 305—437.). Even in Africa, St. Auſtin could

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The ſimplicity of their belief and worſhip.

Of the eccleſiaſtical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers; and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of maſters, at whoſe voice profane reaſon muſt bow to myſtery and miracle. The early ſeparation of the Gnoſtics had preceded the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic worſhip; and againſt the gradual innovations of diſcipline and doctrine, they were as ſtrongly guarded by habit and averſion, as by the ſilence of St. Paul and the evangeliſts. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of ſuperſtition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colours. An image made without hands, was the common workmanſhip of a mortal artiſt, to whoſe ſkill alone the wood and canvaſs muſt be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were an heap of bones and aſhes, deſtitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the perſon to whom they were aſcribed. The true and vivifying croſs was a piece of ſound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Chriſt, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the ſymbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celeſtial honours and immaculate virginity; and the ſaints and angels were no longer ſolicited to exerciſe the laborious office, of mediation in heaven, and miniſtry upon earth. In the practice, or at leaſt in the theory of the ſacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to aboliſh all viſible objects of worſhip, and the words of the goſpel were, in their judgment, the baptiſm and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of ſcripture; and as often as they were preſſed by the literal ſenſe, they could eſcape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmoſt diligence muſt have been employed to diſſolve the connection between the old and the new teſtament; ſince they adored the latter as the oracles of

could deſcribe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretioſi codices (contra Fauſt. xiii. 14.); but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas: and his advice has been rigorouſly followed.

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God, and abhorred the former, as the fabulous and abſurd invention of men or dæmons. We cannot be ſurpriſed, that they ſhould have found in the goſpel, the orthodox myſtery of the trinity: but inſtead of confeſſing the human nature and ſubſtantial ſufferings of Chriſt, they amuſed their fancy with a celeſtial body that paſſed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a phantaſtic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus ſimple and ſpiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times[7]; and the rational Chriſtian who might have been contented with the light yoke and eaſy burthen of Jeſus and his apoſtles, was juſtly offended, that the Paulicians ſhould dare to violate the unity of God, the firſt article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their truſt was in the Father, of Chriſt, of the human ſoul, and of the inviſible world. But they likewiſe held the eternity of matter; a ſtubborn and rebellious ſubſtance, the origin of a ſecond principle, of an active being, who has created this viſible world, and exerciſes his temporal reign till the final conſummation of death and ſin[8]. The appearances of moral and phyſical evil had eſtabliſhed the two principles in the ancient philoſophy and religion of the Eaſt; from whence this doctrine was transfuſed to the various ſwarms of the Gnoſtics. A thouſand ſhades may be deviſed in the nature and character of *Ahriman*, from a rival god to a ſubordinate dæmon, from paſſion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence: but, in ſpite of our efforts, the goodneſs, and the power, of Ormuſd are placed at the oppoſite extremities of the line; and every ſtep that approaches the one muſt recede in equal proportion from the other[9].

They hold the two principles of the Magians and Manichæans.

The

[7] The ſix capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus (p. 756.) with much prejudice and paſſion.

[8] Primum illorum axioma eſt, duo rerum eſſe principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.).

[9] Two learned critics, Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, l. i. iv, v, vi.) and

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The eſtabliſhment of the Paulicians in Armenia, Pontus, &c.

The apoſtolic labours of Conſtantine-Sylvanus, ſoon multiplied the number of his diſciples, the ſecret recompence of ſpiritual ambition. The remnant of the Gnoſtic ſects, and eſpecially the Manichæans of Armenia, were united under his ſtandard; many Catholics were converted or ſeduced by his arguments; and he preached with ſucceſs in the regions of Pontus[10] and Cappadocia, which had long ſince imbibed the religion of Zoroaſter. The Paulician teachers were diſtinguiſhed only by their ſcriptural names, by the modeſt title of fellow-pilgrims, by the auſterity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of ſome extraordinary gifts of the holy ſpirit. But they were incapable of deſiring, or at leaſt of obtaining, the wealth and honours of the Catholic prelacy: ſuch anti-chriſtian pride they bitterly cenſured; and even the rank of elders or preſbyters was condemned as an inſtitution of the Jewiſh ſynagogue. The new ſect was looſely ſpread over the provinces of Aſia Minor to the weſtward of the Euphrates; ſix of their principal congregations repreſented the churches to which St. Paul had addreſſed his epiſtles; and their founder choſe his reſidence in the neighbourhood of Colonia[11], in the ſame diſtrict of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona[12] and the miracles of Gregory[13]. After a miſſion

and Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. and de Rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum, ſec. i, ii, iii.), have laboured to explore and diſcriminate the various ſyſtems of the Gnoſtics on the ſubject of the two principles.

[10] The countries between the Euphrates and the Halys, were poſſeſſed above 350 years by the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 103.) and Perſians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides (Saluſt. Fragment. l. iii. with the French ſupplement and notes of the preſident de Broſſes).

[11] Moſt probably founded by Pompey after the conqueſt of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæſarea, is named by the Turks Coulei-hiſar, or Chonac, a populous town in a ſtrong country (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 34. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxi. p. 293.).

[12] The temple of Bellona at Comana in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high prieſt was reſpected as the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. As the ſacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (l. xii. p. 809. 835. 836, 837.) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worſhip, and feſtival, which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddeſs, not of war, but of love.

[13] Gregory, biſhop of Neo-Cæſarea (A.D. 240—265), ſurnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-

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Perſecution of the Greek emperors.

ſion of twenty-ſeven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a ſacrifice to Roman perſecution. The laws of the pious emperors, which ſeldom touched the lives of leſs odious heretics, proſcribed without mercy or diſguiſe the tenets, the books, and the perſons of the Montaniſts and Manichæans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who ſhould preſume to ſecrete ſuch writings, or to profeſs ſuch opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death [14]. A Greek miniſter, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to ſtrike the ſhepherd, and to reclaim, if poſſible, the loſt ſheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his diſciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to maſſacre their ſpiritual father. They turned aſide from the impious office; the ſtones dropt from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is ſtyled by the Catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of hereſy. This apoſtate, Juſtus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unſuſpecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the converſion of Simeon: like the apoſtle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been ſent to perſecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a miſſionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom [15], but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience ſuſtained whatever

Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the hiſtory or romance of his life was compoſed by Gregory of Nyſſa, his nameſake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Baſil.

[14] Hoc cæterum ad ſua egregia facinora, divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanoſque capitali puniri ſententiâ juberent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi eſſent, flammis tradi; quòd ſiquis uſpiam eoſdem occultaſſe deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis pœnæ addici, ejuſque bona in fiſcum inferri (Petr. Sicul. p. 759.). What more could bigotry and perſecution deſire?

[15] It ſhould ſeem, that the Paulicians allowed themſelves ſome latitude of equivocation and mental reſervation: till the Catholics diſcovered the preſſing queſtions, which reduced them to the alternative of apoſtacy or martydom (Petr. Sicul. p. 760.).

zeal could inflict: and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose: amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels: they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians[16]. The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause, and he vainly hoped to extinguish in a single conflagration the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes, nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth: but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more

[16] The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 579—763.) with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not τιτος but κητος (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432—435.).

odious

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odious name; and that ſome who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the boſom of hereſy.

Revolt of the Paulicians, A. D. 845—880.

The moſt furious and deſperate of rebels are the ſectaries of a religion long perſecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cauſe they are no longer ſuſceptible of fear or remorſe: the juſtice of their arms hardens them againſt the feelings of humanity; and they revenge their fathers wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Huſſites of Bohemia and the Calviniſts of France, and ſuch, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces [17]. They were firſt awakened to the maſſacre of a governor and biſhop, who exerciſed the Imperial mandate of converting or deſtroying the heretics; and the deepeſt receſſes of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and conſuming flame was kindled by the perſecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the Eaſt. His father had been impaled by the Catholic inquiſitors; and religion, or at leaſt nature, might juſtify his deſertion and revenge. Five thouſand of his brethren were united by the ſame motives; they renounced the allegiance of anti-chriſtian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his ſceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice [18], which is ſtill occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the uſe of the Bible and the ſword. During more than thirty years, Aſia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and

They fortify Tephrice,

[17] Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764.), the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. c. 4. p. 103, 104.), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542. 545.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 156.), deſcribe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

[18] Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perſe, tom. ii.) is probably the only Frank who has viſited the independent Barbarians of Tephrice, now Divrigni, from whom he fortunately eſcaped in the train of a Turkiſh officer.

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domeſtic war: in their hoſtile inroads the diſciples of St. Paul were joined with thoſe of Mahomet; and the peaceful Chriſtians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous ſervitude, might juſtly accuſe the intolerant ſpirit of their ſovereign. So urgent was the miſchief, ſo intolerable the ſhame, that even the diſſolute Michael, the ſon of Theodora, was compelled to march in perſon againſt the Paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Samoſata; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the ſame banners, but the victory was aſcribed to Carbeas; and the captive generals, with more than an hundred tribunes, were either releaſed by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticiſm. The valour and ambition of Chryſocheir [19], his ſucceſſor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moſlems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Aſia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of perſecution were anſwered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Epheſus; nor could the apoſtle St. John protect from violation his city and ſepulchre. The cathedral of Epheſus was turned into a ſtable for mules and horſes; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleaſing to obſerve the triumph of rebellion over the ſame deſpotiſm which has diſdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Baſil, the Macedonian, was reduced to ſue for peace, to offer a ranſom for the captives, and to requeſt, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chryſocheir would ſpare his fellow-chriſtians, and content himſelf with a royal donative of gold and ſilver and ſilk garments. "If the emperor," replied the in-

and pillage Aſia Minor.

[19] In the hiſtory of Chryſocheir, Geneſius (Chron. p. 67—70. edit. Venet) has expoſed the nakedneſs of the empire. Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Baſil. c. 37—43. p. 166—171.) has diſplayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus (p. 570—573.) is without their paſſions or their knowledge.

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ſolent fanatic, "be deſirous of peace, let him abdicate the Eaſt, and "reign without moleſtation in the Weſt. If he refuſe, the ſervants "of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Baſil ſuſpended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of hereſy, which he waſted with fire and ſword. The open country of the Paulicians was expoſed to the ſame calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the ſtrength of Tephrice, the multitude of the Barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and proviſions, he deſiſted with a ſigh from the hopeleſs ſiege. On his return to Conſtantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to ſecure the aid of his celeſtial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to tranſpierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adverſary. Beyond his expectations, the wiſh was accompliſhed: after a ſucceſsful inroad, Chryſocheir was ſurpriſed and ſlain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was triumphantly preſented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Baſil inſtantly called for his bow, diſcharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applauſe of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chryſocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered[20]; on the ſecond expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrice was deſerted by the heretics, who ſued for mercy or eſcaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the ſpirit of independence ſurvived in the mountains: the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infeſted the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the goſpel.

Their decline.

Their tranſplantation from Armenia to Thrace.

About the middle of the eighth century, Conſtantine, ſurnamed Copronymus by the worſhippers of images, had made an expedition into

[20] Συναπεμαραν θη πασα ἡ ανθουσα της Τιφρικης εναιδια. How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

Armenia,

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Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodoſiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or puniſhment, he tranſplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Conſtantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffuſed in Europe[21]. If the ſectaries of the metropolis were ſoon mingled with the promiſcuous maſs, thoſe of the country ſtruck a deep root in a foreign ſoil. The Paulicians of Thrace reſiſted the ſtorms of perſecution, maintained a ſecret correſpondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who ſolicited, not without ſucceſs, the infant faith of the Bulgarians[22]. In the tenth century, they were reſtored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimiſces[23] tranſported from the Chalybian hills to the vallies of mount Hæmus. The Oriental clergy, who would have preferred the deſtruction, impatiently ſighed for the abſence, of the Manichæans: the warlike emperor had felt and eſteemed their valour; their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with miſchief; but, on the ſide of the Danube, againſt the Barbarians of Scythia, their ſervice might be uſeful, and their loſs would be deſirable. Their exile in a diſtant land was ſoftened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the Catholics were their ſubjects; the Jacobite emigrants their aſſociates: they occupied a line of villages and caſtles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were aſſociated to the communion of arms and hereſy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with

[21] Copronymus tranſported his συγγενεις, heretics; and thus ἐπλατυνθη ἡ αἱρεσις Παυλικιανον, ſays Cedrenus (p. 463.), who has copied the annals of Theophanes.

[22] Petrus Siculus, who reſided nine months at Tephrice (A. D. 870) for the ranſom of captives (p. 764.), was informed of their intended miſſion, and addreſſed his preſervative, the Hiſtoria Manichæorum, to the new archbiſhop of the Bulgarians (p. 754.).

[23] The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites, tranſplanted by John Zimiſces (A. D. 970.) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 209.) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. xiv. p. 450, &c.).

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moderation, their voluntary bands were diſtinguiſhed in the armies of the empire; and the courage of theſe *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirſty of human blood, is noticed with aſtoniſhment, and almoſt with reproach, by the puſillanimous Greeks. The ſame ſpirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were eaſily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithleſs bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midſt of the Norman war, two thouſand five hundred Manichæans deſerted the ſtandard of Alexius Comnenus [24], and retired to their native homes. He diſſembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and puniſhed the innocent and guilty by impriſonment, confiſcation, and baptiſm. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and ſtate: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apoſtle, as he is ſtyled by his pious daughter, conſumed whole days and nights in theological controverſy. His arguments were fortified, their obſtinacy was melted, by the honours and rewards which he beſtowed on the moſt eminent proſelytes; and a new city, ſurrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the reſidence of his vulgar converts. The important ſtation of Philippopolis was wreſted from their hands; the contumacious leaders were ſecured in a dungeon, or baniſhed from their country; and their lives were ſpared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whoſe command a poor and ſolitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St. Sophia [25]. But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was ſpeedily

[24] The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 131. l. vi. p. 154, 155. l. xiv. p. 450—457. with the annotations of Ducange) records the tranſactions of her apoſtolic father with the Manichæans, whoſe abominable hereſy ſhe was deſirous of refuting.

[25] Baſil, a monk, and the author of the Bogomiles, a ſect of Gnoſtics, who ſoon vaniſhed (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, l. xv. p. 486—494. Moſheim, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtica, p. 420.).

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overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceaſed to diſſemble or refuſed to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they ſoon reſumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifeſt corruption) reſided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatiá, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France[26]. From that æra, a minute ſcrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the laſt age, the ſect or colony ſtill inhabited the vallies of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkiſh government. The modern Paulicians have loſt all memory of their origin; and their religion is diſgraced by the worſhip of the croſs, and the practice of bloody ſacrifice, which ſome captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary[27].

Their introduction into Italy and France.

In the Weſt, the firſt teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulſed by the people or ſuppreſſed by the prince. The favour and ſucceſs of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries muſt be imputed to the ſtrong, though ſecret, diſcontent which armed the moſt pious Chriſtians againſt the church of Rome. Her avarice was oppreſſive, her deſpotiſm odious: leſs degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worſhip of ſaints and images, her innovations were more rapid and ſcandalous: ſhe had rigorouſly defined and impoſed the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eaſtern biſhops might paſs for the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the croſier, the ſceptre, and the ſword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into

[26] Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Major. p. 267. This paſſage of our Engliſh hiſtorian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin (N° 208.), who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

[27] See Marſigli, Stato Militare dell' Impero Ottomano, p. 24.

the

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the heart of Europe. After the converſion of Hungary, the pilgrims who viſited Jeruſalem might ſafely follow the courſe of the Danube: in their journey and return they paſſed through Philippopolis; and the ſectaries, diſguiſing their name and hereſy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their reſpective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coaſt of the Adriatic, and the hoſpitable republic opened her boſom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine ſtandard, the Paulicians were often tranſported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely converſed with ſtrangers and natives, and their opinions were ſilently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps[28]. It was ſoon diſcovered, that many thouſand Catholics of every rank, and of either ſex, had embraced the Manichæan hereſy; and the flames which conſumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the firſt act and ſignal of perſecution. The Bulgarians[29], a name ſo innocent in its origin, ſo odious in its application, ſpread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of epiſcopal and preſbyterian government; their various ſects were diſcriminated by ſome fainter or darker ſhades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the old teſtament, and the denial of the body of

[28] The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France, is amply diſcuſſed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. v. diſſert. lx. p. 81—152.), and Moſheim (p. 379—382. 419—422.). Yet both have overlooked a curious paſſage of William the Appulian, who clearly deſcribes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A. D. 1040 (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 256.).

Cum Græcis aderant, quidem quos peſſimus error,
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipſo nomen habebant.

But he is ſo ignorant of their doctrine as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Patripaſſians.

[29] *Bulgari*, *Boulgres*, *Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to uſurers and unnatural ſinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to ſignify a ſmooth and flattering hypocrite, ſuch as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleaſant farce (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latinitat. medii et infimi Ævi). The Manichæans were likewiſe named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corruption, *Gazari*, &c.

Chriſt,

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Chriſt, either on the croſs or in the Euchariſt. A confeſſion of ſimple worſhip and blameleſs manners is extorted from their enemies; and ſo high was their ſtandard of perfection, that the encreaſing congregations were divided into two claſſes of diſciples, of thoſe who practiſed, and of thoſe who aſpired. It was in the country of the Albigeois[30], in the ſouthern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were moſt deeply implanted; and the ſame viciſſitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been diſplayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhône. The laws of the Eaſtern emperors were revived by Frederic the ſecond. The inſurgents of Tephrice were repreſented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: Pope Innocent III. ſurpaſſed the ſanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her ſoldiers could equal the heroes of the Cruſades, and the cruelty of her prieſts was far excelled by the founders of the inquiſition[31]; an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The viſible aſſemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and ſword; and the bleeding remnant eſcaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible ſpirit which they had kindled ſtill lived and breathed in the Weſtern world. In the ſtate, in the church, and even in the cloiſter, a latent ſucceſſion was preſerved of the diſciples of St. Paul; who proteſted againſt the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the viſions of the Gnoſtic theology. The ſtruggles of Wickliff

Perſecution of the Albigeois, A. D. 1200, &c.

[30] Of the laws, cruſade, and perſecution againſt the Albigeois, a juſt, though general idea, is expreſſed by Moſheim (p. 477—481.). The detail may be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Proteſtants; and among theſe Fleury is the moſt impartial and moderate.

[31] The Acts (Liber Sententiarum) of the Inquiſition of Tholouſe (A. D. 1307—1323) have been publiſhed by Limborch (Amſtelodami, 1692), with a previous Hiſtory of the Inquiſition in General. They deſerved a more learned and critical editor. As we muſt not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will obſerve, that of a liſt of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the ſecular arm.

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in England, of Huſs in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

Character and conſequences of the reformation.

A philoſopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently aſk from what articles of faith, *above* or *againſt* our reaſon, they have enfranchiſed the Chriſtians; for ſuch enfranchiſement is doubtleſs a benefit ſo far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair diſcuſſion we ſhall rather be ſurpriſed by the timidity, than ſcandaliſed by the freedom, of our firſt reformers[32]. With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew ſcriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the viſions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound, like the Catholics, to juſtify againſt the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation the reformers were ſeverely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the ſix firſt councils; and with the Athanaſian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Tranſubſtantiation, the inviſible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleaſantry; but inſtead of conſulting the evidence of their ſenſes, of their ſight, their feeling, and their taſte, the firſt proteſtants were entangled in their own ſcruples, and awed by the words of Jeſus in the inſtitution of the ſacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, preſence of Chriſt in the euchariſt; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a ſpiritual communion, a ſimple memorial, has ſlowly prevailed in the reformed churches[33]. But the

[32] The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are expoſed in the ſecond part of the general hiſtory of Moſheim: but the balance, which he has held with ſo clear an eye, and ſo ſteady an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

[33] Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental

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the loſs of one myſtery was amply compenſated by the ſtupendous doctrines of original ſin, redemption, faith, grace, and predeſtination, which have been ſtrained from the epiſtles of St. Paul. Theſe ſubtle queſtions had moſt aſſuredly been prepared by the fathers and ſchoolmen; but the final improvement and popular uſe may be attributed to the firſt reformers, who enforced them as the abſolute and eſſential terms of ſalvation. Hitherto the weight of ſupernatural belief inclines againſt the Proteſtants; and many a ſober Chriſtian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the ſervices of Luther and his rivals are ſolid and important; and the philoſopher muſt own his obligations to theſe fearleſs enthuſiaſts[34]. I. By their hands the lofty fabric of ſuperſtition, from the abuſe of indulgences to the interceſſion of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both ſexes of the monaſtic profeſſion were reſtored to the liberty and labours of ſocial life. An hierarchy of ſaints and angels, of imperfect and ſubordinate deities, were ſtripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celeſtial happineſs: their images and relics were baniſhed from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nouriſhed with the daily repetition of miracles and viſions. The imitation of Paganiſm was ſupplied by a pure and ſpiritual worſhip of prayer and thankſgiving, the moſt worthy of man, the leaſt unworthy of the Deity. It only remains to obſerve, whether ſuch ſublime ſimplicity be conſiſtent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the abſence of all viſible objects, will not be inflamed by

mental articles of the church of England, a ſtrong and explicit declaration againſt the real preſence was obliterated in the original copy, to pleaſe the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 82. 128. 302.).

[34] "Had it not been for ſuch men as Luther and myſelf," ſaid the fanatic Whiſton to Halley the philoſopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

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enthuſiaſm, or inſenſibly ſubſide in languor and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which reſtrains the bigot from thinking as he pleaſes, and the ſlave from ſpeaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the ſupreme and infallible judges of the world; and each Chriſtian was taught to acknowledge no law but the ſcriptures, no interpreter but his own conſcience. This freedom however was the conſequence, rather than the deſign, of the reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of ſucceeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They impoſed with equal rigour their creeds and confeſſions; they aſſerted the right of the magiſtrate to puniſh heretics with death. The pious or perſonal animoſity of Calvin proſcribed in Servetus [35] the guilt of his own rebellion [36]; and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards conſumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptiſts by the zeal of Cranmer [37]. The nature of the tyger was the ſame, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A ſpiritual and temporal kingdom was poſſeſſed by the Roman pontiff: the Proteſtant doctors were ſubjects of an humble rank, without revenue or juriſdiction. *His* decrees were conſecrated by the antiquity

[35] The article of *Servet* in the Dictionaire Critique of Chauffepié, is the beſt account which I have ſeen of this ſhameful tranſaction. See likewiſe the Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Memoires d'Hiſtoire, &c. tom. ii. p. 55—154.

[36] I am more deeply ſcandaliſed at the ſingle execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fès of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin ſeems to have been envenomed by perſonal malice, and perhaps envy. He accuſed his adverſary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his deſtruction, the ſacred truſt of a private correſpondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varniſhed by the pretence of danger to the church or ſtate. In his paſſage through Geneva, Servetus was an harmleſs ſtranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proſelytes. 3. A Catholic inquiſitor yields the ſame obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatiſe of Iſocrates (in Nicocle, tom. i. p. 93. edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the goſpel. Ἃ πασχοντες ὑφ' ἑτερων οργιζεσθε, ταυτα τοις αλλοις μη ποιειτε.

[37] See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84—86. The ſenſe and humanity of the young king were oppreſſed by the authority of the primate.

of

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of the Catholic church: *their* arguments and diſputes were ſubmitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wiſhes, by curioſity and enthuſiaſm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a ſecret reformation has been ſilently working in the boſom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the diſciples of Eraſmus [38] diffuſed a ſpirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conſcience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right [39]: the free governments of Holland [40] and England [41] introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exerciſe, the mind has underſtood the limits, of its powers, and the words and ſhadows that might amuſe the child can no longer ſatisfy his manly reaſon. The volumes of controverſy are overſpread with cobwebs: the doctrine of a Proteſtant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are ſubſcribed with a ſigh or a ſmile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Chriſtianity are alarmed at the boundleſs impulſe of enquiry and ſcepticiſm. The predictions of the Catholics are accompliſhed: the web of myſtery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whoſe numbers muſt not be computed

[38] Eraſmus may be conſidered as the father of rational theology. After a ſlumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hiſt. of own Times, vol. i. p. 261—268. octavo edition), Tillotſon, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

[39] I am ſorry to obſerve, that the three writers of the laſt age, by whom the rights of toleration have been ſo nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philoſophers.

[40] See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not ſatisfied with Grotius (de Rebus Belgicis, Annal. l. i. p. 13, 14. edit. in 12mo), who approves the Imperial laws of perſecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition.

[41] Sir William Blackſtone (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 53, 54.) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papiſts, and of thoſe who deny the Trinity, would ſtill leave a tolerable ſcope for perſecution, if the national ſpirit were not more effectual than an hundred ſtatutes.

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from their ſeparate congregations. And the pillars of revelation are ſhaken by thoſe men who preſerve the name without the ſubſtance of religion, who indulge the licence without the temper of philoſophy [42].

[42] I ſhall recommend to public animadverſion two paſſages in Dr. Prieſtley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the firſt of theſe (Hiſt. of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity, vol. i. p. 275, 276.), the prieſt; at the ſecond (vol. ii. p. 484.), the magiſtrate, may tremble!

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CHAP. LV.

The Bulgarians.—Origin, Migrations, and Settlement of the Hungarians.—Their Inroads in the Eaſt and Weſt.—The Monarchy of Ruſſia.—Geography and Trade.—Wars of the Ruſſians againſt the Greek Empire.—Converſion of the Barbarians.

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UNDER the reign of Conſtantine the grandſon of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, ſo often violated and ſo often reſtored, was irretrievably ſwept away by a new deluge of Barbarians. Their progreſs was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Aſia; and after the loſs of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæſars were twice reduced to the danger and diſgrace of defending their capital againſt the Saracens. If in the account of this intereſting people, I have deviated from the ſtrict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the ſubject will hide my tranſgreſſion or ſolicit my excuſe. In the Eaſt, in the Weſt, in war, in religion, in ſcience, in their proſperity, and in their decay, the Arabians preſs themſelves on our curioſity: the firſt overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms; and the diſciples of Mahomet ſtill hold the civil and religious ſceptre of the Oriental world. But the ſame labour would be unworthily beſtowed on the ſwarms of ſavages, who, between the ſeventh and the twelfth century, deſcended from the plains of Scythia, in tranſient in-

road

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road or perpetual emigration[1]. Their names are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obſcure, their ſuperſtition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither ſoftened by innocence nor refined by policy. The majeſty of the Byzantine throne repelled and ſurvived their diſorderly attacks; the greater part of theſe Barbarians has diſappeared without leaving any memorial of their exiſtence, and the deſpicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of, I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and, III. *Ruſſians*, I ſhall content myſelf with ſelecting ſuch facts as yet deſerve to be remembered. The conqueſts of the, IV. NORMANS, and the monarchy of the, V. TURKS, will naturally terminate in the memorable Cruſades to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Conſtantine.

Emigration of the Bulgarians, A. D. 680, &c.

In his march to Italy, Theodoric[2] the Oſtrogoth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat the name and the nation are loſt during a century and an half; and it may be ſuſpected that the ſame or a ſimilar appellation was revived by ſtrange colonies from the Borythenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria[3] bequeathed to his five ſons a laſt leſſon of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counſels of age and experience: the five princes buried their father; divided his ſubjects and cattle; forgot his advice; ſeparated from each other; and wandered in queſt of fortune, till we find the moſt adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the

[1] *All* the paſſages of the Byzantine hiſtory which relate to the Barbarians, are compiled, methodiſed, and tranſcribed in a Latin verſion, by the laborious John Gotthelf Stritter, in his Memoriæ Populorum, ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Mæotidem, Caucaſum, Mare Caſpium, et inde magis ad Septemtriones incolentium, Petropoli, 1771—1779, in four tomes, or ſix volumes, in 4to. But the faſhion has not enhanced the price of theſe raw materials.

[2] Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 10.

[3] Theophanes, p. 296—299. Anaſtaſius, p. 113. Nicephorus, C. P. p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Atell or Volga; but he deprives himſelf of all geographical credit, by diſcharging that river into the Euxine Sea.

exarch

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exarch of Ravenna[4]. But the ſtream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the ſouthern banks of the Danube, was ſtamped with the name and image which it has retained to the preſent hour: the new conquerors ſucceſſively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Theſſaly, and the two Epirus'[5]; the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was tranſlated from the native city of Juſtinian; and, in their proſperous age, the obſcure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch[6]. The unqueſtionable evidence of language atteſts the deſcent of the Bulgarians from the original ſtock of the Sclavonian, or more properly Slavonian, race[7]; and the kindred bands of Servians, Boſnians, Raſcians, Croatians, Walachians[8], &c. followed either the ſtandard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the ſtate of captives, or ſubjects, or allies, or enemies, of the Greek empire,

4 Paul. Diacon. de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 29. p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard hiſtorian and the above mentioned Greeks, is eaſily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (de Ducatû Beneventano, diſſert. vii. in the Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 186, 187.) and Beretti (Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 273, &c.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant diſtrict of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native, language.

5 Theſe provinces of the Greek idiom and empire, are aſſigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the diſpute of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Conſtantinople (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A.D. 869, N° 75.).

6 The ſituation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expreſſed in Cedrenus (p. 713.). The removal of an archbiſhop or patriarch from Juſtinianea prima, to Lychnidus, and at length to Ternovo, has produced ſome perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. ii. c. 2. p. 14, 15. Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. l. i. c. 19. 23.); and a Frenchman (d'Anville) is more accurately ſkilled in the geography of their own country (Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxxi.).

7 Chalcocondyles, a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Boſnians, Servians, *Bulgarians*, Poles (de Rebus Turcicis, l. x. p. 283.), and elſewhere of the Bohemians (l. ii. p. 38.). The ſame author has marked the ſeparate idiom of the Hungarians.

8 See the work of John Chriſtopher de Jordan, de Originibus Sclavicis, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collections and reſearches are uſeful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries: but his plan is narrow, his ſtyle barbarous, his criticiſm ſhallow, and the Aulic counſellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

they

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Croats or Sclavonians of Dalmatia, A. D. 900, &c.

they overſpread the land; and the national appellation of the SLAVES [9] has been degraded by chance or malice from the ſignification of glory to that of ſervitude [10]. Among theſe colonies, the Chrobatians [11], or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Auſtrian army, are the deſcendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and ſovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of theſe the infant republic of Raguſa, implored the aid and inſtructions of the Byzantine court: they were adviſed by the magnanimous Baſil to reſerve a ſmall acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appeaſe, by an annual tribute, the wrath of theſe irreſiſtible Barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was ſhared by eleven *Zoupans*, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at ſixty thouſand horſe and one hundred thouſand foot. A long ſea-coaſt, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a ſtring of iſlands, and almoſt in ſight of the Italian ſhores, diſpoſed both the natives and ſtrangers to the practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines of the Croats were conſtructed after the faſhion of the old Liburnians: one hundred and eighty veſſels may excite the idea of a reſpectable navy; but our ſeamen will ſmile at the allowance of ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of theſe ſhips of war. They were gradually converted to the more honourable ſervice of commerce; yet the Sclavonian pirates were ſtill frequent and dangerous; and it was not before the

[9] Jordan ſubſcribes to the well-known and probable derivation from *Slawa*, *laus*, *gloria*, a word of familiar uſe in the different dialects and parts of ſpeech, and which forms the termination of the moſt illuſtrious names (de Originibus Sclavicis, pars i. p. 40. pars iv. p. 101, 102.).

[10] This converſion of a national into an appellative name, appears to have ariſen in the viiith century, in the Oriental France, where the princes and biſhops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaims Jordan), but of Sorabian race. From thence the word was extended to general uſe, to the modern languages, and even to the ſtyle of the laſt Byzantines (ſee the Greek and Latin Gloſſaries of Ducange). The confuſion of the Σερβλοι, or Servians, with the Latin *Servi*, was ſtill more fortunate and familiar (Conſtant. Porphyr. de adminiſtrando Imperio, c. 32. p. 99).

[11] The emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, moſt accurate for his own times, moſt fabulous for preceding ages, deſcribes the Sclavonians of Dalmatia (c. 29—36.).

close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic[12]. The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation: they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

First kingdom of the Bulgarians, A. D. 640—1017.

The glory of the Bulgarians[13] was confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Sclavonian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the *royal court*, which was probably no more than an edifice and village of timber. But, while he searched the spoil and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim: "Alas, alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we "cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the camp, and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens A. D. 811.

[12] See the anonymous Chronicle of the xi^th^ century, ascribed to John Sagorninus (p. 94—102.), and that composed in the xiv^th^ by the Doge Andrew Dandolo (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xii. p. 227—230.); the two oldest monuments of the history of Venice.

[13] The first kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found under the proper dates in the Annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine materials are collected by Stritter (Memoriæ Populorum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 441—647.); and the series of their kings is disposed and settled by Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 305—318.).

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had been ſaved from inſult; but the head of Nicephorus was expoſed on a ſpear, and his ſkull, enchaſed with gold, was often repleniſhed in the feaſts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the diſhonour of the throne; but they acknowledged the juſt puniſhment of avarice and cruelty. This ſavage cup was deeply tinctured with the manners of the Scythian wilderneſs; but they were ſoftened before the end of the ſame century by a peaceful intercourſe with the Greeks, the poſſeſſion of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the Chriſtian worſhip. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the ſchools and palace of Conſtantinople; and Simeon [14], a youth of the royal line, was inſtructed in the rhetoric of Demoſthenes and the logic of Ariſtotle. He relinquiſhed the profeſſion of a monk for that of a king and warrior; and in his reign, of more than forty years, Bulgaria aſſumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth. The Greeks, whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint conſolation from indulging themſelves in the reproaches of perfidy and ſacrilege. They purchaſed the aid of the Pagan Turks; but Simeon, in a ſecond battle, redeemed the loſs of the firſt, at a time when it was eſteemed a victory to elude the arms of that formidable nation. The Servians were overthrown, made captive, and diſperſed; and thoſe who viſited the country before their reſtoration could diſcover no more than fifty vagrants, without women or children, who extorted a precarious ſubſiſtence from the chace. On claſſic ground, on the banks of the Achelous, the Greeks were defeated; their horn was broken by the ſtrength of the Barbaric Hercules [15]. He formed the ſiege of Conſtantinople; and, in a perſonal conference with the emperor, Simeon impoſed the conditions of peace. They met with the moſt

A. D. 888—927, or 932.

[14] Simeonem ſemi-Græcum eſſe aiebant, eo quod a pueritia Byzantii Demoſthenis rhetoricam et Ariſtotelis ſyllogiſmos didicerat. Liutprand, l. iii. c. 8. He ſays in another place, Simeon, fortis bellator, Bulgariæ præerat; Chriſtianus ſed vicinis Græcis valde inimicus (l. i. c. 2.).

[15] ——Rigidum fera dexterâ cornu
Dum tenet infregit, truncâque a fronte revellit.
Ovid (Metamorph. ix. 1—100.) has boldly painted the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the ſtranger.

jealous

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jealous precautions: the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well-fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are you a Christian," said the humble Romanus; "it is your duty to abstain from the "blood of your fellow-Christians. Has the thirst of riches seduced "you from the blessings of peace. Sheath your sword, open your "hand, and I will satiate the utmost measure of your desires." The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honours of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers[16]; and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title of *Basileus*, or emperor. But this friendship was soon disturbed: after the death of Simeon the nations were again in arms; his feeble successors were divided and extinguished; and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure gratified by a treasure of four hundred thousand pounds sterling (ten thousand pound weight of gold), which he found in the palace of Lychnidus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country. They were deprived of sight, but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

A. D. 950, &c.

[16] The ambassador of Otho was provoked by the Greek excuses, cum Christophori filiam Petrus Bulgarorum *Vasileus* conjugem duceret, *Symphona*, idest consonantia, scripto juramento firmata sunt ut omnium gentium *Apostolis* idest nunciis penes nos Bulgarorum Apostoli præponantur, honorentur, diligentur (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 482.). See the Ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i. p. 82. tom. ii. p. 429, 430. 434, 435. 443, 444. 446, 447. with the annotations of Reiske.

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Emigration of the Turks or Hungarians, A. D. 884.

II. When the black ſwarm of Hungarians firſt hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Chriſtian æra, they were miſtaken by fear and ſuperſtition for the Gog and Magog of the ſcriptures, the ſigns and forerunners of the end of the world [17]. Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a ſtrong and laudable impulſe of patriotic curioſity [18]. Their rational criticiſm can no longer be amuſed with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have periſhed in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their ruſtic ſongs is long ſince forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle [19] muſt be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the Imperial geographer [20]. *Magiar* is the national and oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are diſtinguiſhed by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the deſcendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preſerved a correſpondence of

[17] A biſhop of Wurtzburgh ſubmitted this opinion to a reverend abbot; but *he* more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the ſpiritual perſecutors of the church; ſince Gog ſignifies the roof, the pride of the Hereſiarchs, and Magog what comes from the roof, the propagation of their ſects. Yet theſe men once commanded the reſpect of mankind (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 594, &c.).

[18] The two national authors, from whom I have derived the moſt aſſiſtance, are George Pray (Diſſertationes ad Annales veterum Hungarorum, &c. Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (Hiſt. Critica Ducum et Regum Hungariæ ſtirpis Arpadianæ, Pæſtini, 1778—1781, 5 vols. in octavo). The firſt embraces a large and often conjectural ſpace: the latter, by his learning, judgment, and perſpicuity, deſerves the name of a critical hiſtorian.

[19] The author of this Chronicle is ſtyled the notary of king Bela. Katona has aſſigned him to the xiith century, and defends his character againſt the hypercriticiſm of Pray. This rude annaliſt muſt have tranſcribed ſome hiſtorical records, ſince he could affirm with dignity, rejectis falſis fabulis ruſticorum, et garrulo cantû joculatorum. In the xvth century, theſe fables were collected by Thurotzius, and embelliſhed by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Diſcourſe in the Hiſt. Critica Ducum, p. 7—33.

[20] See Conſtantine de Adminiſtrando Imperio, c. 3, 4. 13. 38—42. Katona has nicely fixed the compoſition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951. (p. 4—7.). The critical hiſtorian (p. 34—107.) endeavours to prove the exiſtence, and to relate the actions, of a firſt duke *Almus*, the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Conſtantine.

trade

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trade and amity with the eaſtern Turks on the confines of Perſia; and after a ſeparation of three hundred and fifty years, the miſſionaries of the king of Hungary diſcovered and viſited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hoſpitably entertained by a people of Pagans and Savages who ſtill bore the name of Hungarians; converſed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-loſt brethren, and liſtened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of converſion was animated by the intereſt of conſanguinity; and one of the greateſt of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitleſs deſign, of repleniſhing the ſolitude of Pannonia by this domeſtic colony from the heart of Tartary[21]. From this primitive country, they were driven to the weſt by the tide of war and emigration, by the weight of the more diſtant tribes, who at the ſame time were fugitives and conquerors. Reaſon or fortune directed their courſe towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the uſual ſtations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moſcow, Kiow, and Moldavia, ſome veſtiges have been diſcovered of their temporary reſidence. In this long and various peregrination, they could not always eſcape the dominion of the ſtronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or ſullied by the mixture of a foreign race: from a motive of compulſion or choice, ſeveral tribes of the Chazars were aſſociated to the ſtandard of their ancient vaſſals; introduced the uſe of a ſecond language; and obtained by their ſuperior renown the moſt honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in ſeven equal and artificial diviſions; each diviſion was formed of thirty thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and ſervants, ſuppoſes

[21] Pray (Diſſert. p. 37—39, &c.) produces and illuſtrates the original paſſages of the Hungarian miſſionaries, Bonfinius and Æneas Sylvius.

and

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and requires at leaſt a million of emigrants. Their public counſels were directed by ſeven *vayvods* or hereditary chiefs, but the experience of diſcord and weakneſs recommended the more ſimple and vigorous adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon. The ſceptre which had been declined by the modeſt Lebedias, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his ſon Arpad, and the authority of the ſupreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to conſult their happineſs and glory.

Their Fennic origin.

With this narrative we might be reaſonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger proſpect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language ſtands alone, and as it were inſulated, among the Sclavonian dialects; but it bears a cloſe and clear affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race [22], of an obſolete and ſavage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Aſia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Ugri* or *Igours* is found on the weſtern confines of China [23]; their migration to the banks of the Irtiſh is atteſted by Tartar evidence [24]; a ſimilar name and language are detected in the ſouthern parts of Siberia [25]; and the remains of the Fennic tribes are widely, though thinly,

[22] Fiſcher, in the Quæſtiones Petropolitanæ, de Origine Ungrorum, and Pray, Diſſertat. i, ii, iii. &c. have drawn up ſeveral comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed ſtriking, but the liſts are ſhort, the words are purpoſely choſen; and I read in the learned Bayer (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. x. p. 374.), that although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (innumeras voces), it eſſentially differs toto genio et naturâ.

[23] In the region of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely deſcribed by the Chineſe geographers (Gaubil, Hiſt. du Grand Gengiſcan, p. 13. de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 31, &c.).

[24] Hiſt. Genealogique des Tartars, par Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, partie ii. p. 90—98.

[25] In their journey to Pekin, both Iſbrand Ives (Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. p. 920, 921.) and Bell (Travels, vol. i. p. 174.) found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolſky. By the tortures of the etymological art, *Ugur* and *Vogul* are reduced to the ſame name; the circumjacent mountains really bear the appellation of *Ugrian*; and of all the Fennic dialects, the Vogulian is the neareſt to the Hungarian (Fiſcher, Diſſert. i. p. 20—30. Pray, Diſſert. ii. p. 31—34.).

ſcattered

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ſcattered from the ſources of the Oby to the ſhores of Lapland[26]. The conſanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would diſplay the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contraſt between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immerſed beneath the ſnows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unſucceſsful, paſſion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous conſtitution of ſoul and body[27]. Extreme cold has diminiſhed the ſtature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the Arctic tribes, alone among the ſons of men, are ignorant of war, and unconſcious of human blood: an happy ignorance, if reaſon and virtue were the guardians of their peace[28]!

Tactics and manners of the Hungarians and Bulgarians, A. D. 900, &c.

It is the obſervation of the Imperial author of the Tactics[29], that all the Scythian hords reſembled each other in their paſtoral and military life, that they all practiſed the ſame means of ſubſiſtence, and employed the ſame inſtruments of deſtruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were ſuperior to their brethren, and ſimilar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their diſcipline and government; their viſible likeneſs

[26] The eight tribes of the Fennic race, are deſcribed in the curious work of M. Leveque (Hiſt. des Peuples ſoumis à la Domination de la Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 361—561.).

[27] This picture of the Hungarians and Bulgarians is chiefly drawn from the Tactics of Leo, p. 796—801. and the Latin Annals which are alleged by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, A. D. 889, &c.

[28] Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 6. in 12mo. Guſtavus Adolphus attempted, without ſucceſs, to form a regiment of Laplanders. Grotius ſays of theſe Arctic tribes, arma arcus et pharetra ſed adverſus feras (Annal. l. iv. p. 236.), and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to varniſh with philoſophy their brutal ignorance.

[29] Leo has obſerved, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their puniſhments were rigorous (Tactic. p. 896. απειειες και βαρειας). Rhegino (in Chron. A. D. 889) mentions theft as a capital crime, and his juriſprudence is confirmed by the original code of St. Stephen (A. D. 1016). If a ſlave were guilty, he was chaſtiſed, for the firſt time, with the loſs of his noſe, or a fine of five heifers; for the ſecond, with the loſs of his ears, or a ſimilar fine; for the third, with death; which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his firſt penalty was the loſs of liberty (Katona, Hiſt. Regum Hungar. tom. i. p. 231, 232.).

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determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common deſcription; and the picture may be heightened by ſome ſtrokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military proweſs, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to theſe Barbarians, whoſe native fierceneſs was ſtimulated by the conſciouſneſs of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they ſhaved their hair and ſcarified their faces: in ſpeech they were ſlow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; and they ſhared the common reproach of Barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their moſt ſolemn engagements. Their ſimplicity has been praiſed; yet they abſtained only from the luxury they had never known; whatever they ſaw, they coveted; their deſires were inſatiate, and their ſole induſtry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a paſtoral nation, I have recalled a long deſcription of the œconomy, the warfare, and the government that prevail in that ſtage of ſociety; I may add, that to fiſhing as well as to the chace, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their ſubſiſtence, and ſince they *ſeldom* cultivated the ground, they muſt, at leaſt in their new ſettlements, have ſometimes practiſed a ſlight and unſkilful huſbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the hoſt was accompanied by thouſands of ſheep and oxen, who encreaſed the cloud of formidable duſt, and afforded a conſtant and wholeſome ſupply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the firſt care of the general, and if the flocks and herds were ſecure of their paſtures, the hardy warrior was alike inſenſible of danger and fatigue. The confuſion of men and cattle that overſpread the country expoſed their camp to a nocturnal ſurpriſe, had not a ſtill wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to diſcover and delay the approach of the enemy.

After ſome experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the uſe of the ſword and ſpear, the helmet of the ſoldier, and the iron breaſt-plate of his ſteed: but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earlieſt infancy, their children and ſervants were exerciſed in the double ſcience of archery and horſemanſhip; their arm was ſtrong; their aim was ſure; and in the moſt rapid career, they were taught to throw themſelves backwards, and to ſhoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in ſecret ambuſh, in flight, or purſuit, they were equally formidable: an appearance of order was maintained in the foremoſt ranks, but their charge was driven forwards by the impatient preſſure of ſucceeding crowds. They purſued, headlong and raſh, with looſened reins and horrific outcries; but if they fled, with real or diſſembled fear, the ardour of a purſuing foe was checked and chaſtiſed by the ſame habits of irregular ſpeed and ſudden evolution. In the abuſe of victory, they aſtoniſhed Europe, yet ſmarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely aſked, and more rarely beſtowed; both ſexes were accuſed as equally inacceſſible to pity, and their appetite for raw fleſh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feaſted on the hearts of the ſlain. Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of thoſe principles of juſtice and humanity, which nature has implanted in every boſom. The licence of public and private injuries was reſtrained by laws and puniſhments; and in the ſecurity of an open camp, theft is the moſt tempting and moſt dangerous offence. Among the Barbarians, there were many, whoſe ſpontaneous virtue ſupplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and ſympathiſed with the affections, of ſocial life.

Eſtabliſhment and inroads of the Hungarians, A. D. 889.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkiſh hords approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their firſt conqueſts and final ſettlements extended on either

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ſide of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the meaſure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary [30]. That ample and fertile land was looſely occupied by the Moravians, a Sclavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compaſs of a narrow province. Charlemagne had ſtretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Tranſylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of Oriental France. The baſtard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks; they ruſhed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiſcretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been juſtly reproached as a traitor to the civil and eccleſiaſtical ſociety of the Chriſtians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear; but in the infancy of his ſon Lewis they diſcovered and invaded Bavaria; and ſuch was their Scythian ſpeed, that in a ſingle day a circuit of fifty miles was ſtript and conſumed. In the battle of Augſburgh the Chriſtians maintained their advantage till the ſeventh hour of the day: they were deceived and vanquiſhed by the flying ſtratagems of the Turkiſh cavalry. The conflagration ſpread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians [31] promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the ſtouteſt barons to diſcipline their vaſſals and fortify their caſtles. The origin of walled towns is aſcribed to this calamitous period; nor could any diſtance be ſecure againſt an enemy, who, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, laid in aſhes the Helvetian monaſtery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the ſhores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Ger-

A. D. 900, &c.

[30] See Katona, Hiſt. Ducum Hungar. p. 321—352.

[31] Hungarorum gens, cujus omnes fere nationes expertæ ſævitiam, &c. is the preface of Liutprand (l. i. c. 2.), who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 1, 2. 4, 5, 6, 7. l. iii. c. 1, &c. l. v. c. 8. 15. in Legat. p. 485. His colours are glaring, but his chronology muſt be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

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manic empire or kingdom was ſubject to the ignominy of tribute; and reſiſtance was diſarmed by the menace, the ſerious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of ſlaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine; but I muſt obſerve with ſurpriſe, that the ſouthern provinces of France were blaſted by the tempeſt, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was aſtoniſhed at the approach of theſe formidable ſtrangers[32]. The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with ſome terror the apparent ſtrength and populouſneſs of the new-diſcovered country. They requeſted leave to retire; their requeſt was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thouſand Chriſtians paid the forfeit of his obſtinacy and raſhneſs. Among the cities of the Weſt, the royal Pavia was conſpicuous in fame and ſplendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itſelf was only derived from the relics of the apoſtles. The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in flames; forty-three churches were conſumed; and, after the maſſacre of the people, they ſpared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered ſome buſhels of gold and ſilver (a vague exaggeration) from the ſmoking ruins of their country. In theſe annual excurſions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet eſcaped, reſounded with a fearful litany: "O ſave and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the ſaints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was ſtopped by the extreme land of Calabria[33].

A. D. 900.

A. D. 924.

A com-

[32] The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zoltan, and Toxus, are critically illuſtrated by Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, &c. p. 107—499.). His diligence has ſearched both natives and foreigners, yet to the deeds of miſchief or glory, I have been able to add the deſtruction of Bremen (Adam Bremenſis, i. 43.).

[33] Muratori has conſidered with patriotic care the danger and reſources of Modena. The citizens beſought St. Geminianus, their patron, to avert, by his interceſſion, the *rabies, flagellum*, &c.

Nunc te rogamus licet ſervi peſſimi
Ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculis.

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A compoſition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian ſubject; and ten buſhels of ſilver were poured forth in the Turkiſh camp. But falſehood is the natural antagoniſt of violence; and the robbers were defrauded both in the numbers of the aſſeſſment and the ſtandard of the metal. On the ſide of the Eaſt the Hungarians were oppoſed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whoſe faith forbade an alliance with the Pagans, and whoſe

A. D. 924.

ſituation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Conſtantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and one of their boldeſt warriors preſumed to ſtrike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treaſures of the Greeks diverted the aſſault; but the Hungarians might boaſt in their retreat, that they had impoſed a tribute on the ſpirit of Bulgaria and the majeſty of the Cæſars[34]. The remote and rapid operations of the ſame campaign, appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks; but their courage is moſt deſerving of praiſe, ſince a light troop of three or four hundred horſe would often attempt and execute the moſt daring inroads to the gates of Theſſalonica and Conſtantinople. At this diſaſtrous æra of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple ſcourge from the North, the Eaſt, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, ſometimes trod the ſame ground of deſolation; and

The biſhop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos ferenos (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Ævi, tom. i. diſſertat. i. p. 21, 22.), and the ſong of the nightly watch is not without elegance or uſe (tom. iii. diſſ. xl. p. 709.). The Italian annaliſt has accurately traced the ſeries of their inroads (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 365. 367. 393. 401. 437. 440. tom. viii. p. 19. 41. 52, &c.).

[34] Both the Hungarian and Ruſſian annals ſuppoſe, that they beſieged, or attacked, or inſulted Conſtantinople (Pray, diſſertat. x. p. 239. Katona, Hiſt. Ducum, p. 354—360.); and the fact is *almoſt* confeſſed by the Byzantine hiſtorians (Leo Grammaticus, p. 506. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 629.): yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied or doubted by the critical hiſtorian, and even by the notary of Bela. Their ſcepticiſm is meritorious; they could not ſafely tranſcribe or believe the ruſticorum fabulas; but Katona might have given due attention to the evidence of Liutprand, Bulgarorum gentem atque *Græcorum* tributariam fecerant (Hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. p. 435.).

theſe

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theſe ſavage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcaſe of a mangled ſtag[35].

Victory of Henry the Fowler, A. D. 934.

The deliverance of Germany and Chriſtendom was atchieved by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians[36]. The valiant Henry was rouſed from a bed of ſickneſs by the invaſion of his country: but his mind was vigorous and his prudence ſucceſsful. "My companions," ſaid he on the morning of the combat, "maintain your ranks, receive on your bucklers "the firſt arrows of the Pagans, and prevent their ſecond diſcharge "by the equal and rapid career of your lances." They obeyed and conquered: and the hiſtorical picture of the caſtle of Merſeburgh, expreſſed the features, or at leaſt the character, of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, entruſted to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name[37]. At the end of twenty years, the children of the Turks who had fallen by his ſword invaded the empire of his ſon; and their force is defined, in the loweſt eſtimate, at one hundred thouſand horſe. They were invited by domeſtic faction; the gates of Germany were treacherouſly unlocked, and they ſpread far beyond the Rhine and the Meuſe, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour and prudence of Otho diſpelled the conſpiracy; the princes were

of Otho the Great, A. D. 955.

35 ——λεοντ' ὡς ἀγριωθητην
Οτι ουρεος κορυφησι περι κταμενης ελαφοιο
Αμφω πειναοντε μεγα φρονεοντε μαχεσθον.

36 They are amply and critically diſcuſſed by Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, p. 360—368. 427—470.). Liutprand (l. ii. c. 8, 9.) is the beſt evidence for the former, and Witichind (Annal. Saxon. l. iii.) of the latter: but the critical hiſtorian will not even overlook the horn of a warrior, which is ſaid to be preſerved at Jaz-berin.

37 Hunc vero triumphum tam laude quam memoria dignum, ad Mereſburgum rex in ſuperiori cœnaculo domûs per ζωγραφιαν, id eſt, picturam notari, precepit, adeo ut rem veram potius quam veriſimilem videas: an high encomium (Liutprand, l. ii. c. 9.). Another palace in Germany had been painted with holy ſubjects, by the order of Charlemagne; and Muratori may juſtly affirm, nulla ſæcula fuere in quibus pictores deſiderati fuerint (Antiquitat. Ital. medii Ævi, tom. ii. diſſert. xxiv. p. 360, 361.). Our domeſtic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (Mr. Walpole's lively words), are of a much more recent date (Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 2, &c.).

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made ſenſible, that unleſs they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably loſt; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augſburgh. They marched and fought in eight legions, according to the diviſion of provinces and tribes; the firſt, ſecond, and third, were compoſed of Bavarians; the fourth of Franconians; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch; the ſixth and ſeventh conſiſted of Swabians; and the eighth legion, of a thouſand Bohemians, cloſed the rear of the hoſt. The reſources of diſcipline and valour were fortified by the arts of ſuperſtition, which, on this occaſion, may deſerve the epithets of generous and ſalutary. The ſoldiers were purified with a faſt; the camp was bleſſed with the relics of ſaints and martyrs; and the Chriſtian hero girded on his ſide the ſword of Conſtantine, graſped the invincible ſpear of Charlemagne, and waved the banner of St. Maurice, the præfect of the Thebæan legion. But his firmeſt confidence was placed in the holy lance [38], whoſe point was faſhioned of the nails of the croſs, and which his father had extorted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front; they ſecretly paſſed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube; turned the rear of the Chriſtian army; plundered the baggage, and diſordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was reſtored by the Franconians, whoſe duke, the valiant Conrad, was pierced with an arrow as he reſted from his fatigues: the Saxons fought under the eyes of their king; and his victory ſurpaſſed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the laſt two hundred years. The loſs of the Hungarians was ſtill greater in the flight than in the action; they were encompaſſed by the rivers of Bavaria; and their paſt cruelties

[38] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 929, N° 2—5. The lance of Chriſt is taken from the beſt evidence, Liutprand (l. iv. c. 12.), Sigebert, and the acts of St. Gerard: but the other military relics depend on the faith of the Geſta Anglorum poſt Bedam, l. ii. c. 8.

excluded

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excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratiſbon, the multitude of priſoners was ſlain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who preſumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlaſting poverty and diſgrace [39]. Yet the ſpirit of the nation was humbled, and the moſt acceſſible paſſes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adverſity ſuggeſted the counſels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the Weſt acquieſced in a ſedentary life; and the next generation was taught A. D. 972. by a diſcerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful ſoil. The native race, the Turkiſh or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Sclavonian origin [40]; many thouſands of robuſt and induſtrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe [41]; and after the marriage of Geiſa with a Bavarian princeſs, he beſtowed honours and eſtates on the nobles of Germany [42]. The ſon of Geiſa was inveſted with the regal title, and the houſe of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn Barbarians were not dazzled by the luſtre of the diadem, and the

[39] Katona, Hiſt. Ducum Hungariæ, p. 500, &c.

[40] Among theſe colonies we may diſtinguiſh, 1. The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march (Conſtant. de admin. Imp. c. 39, 40. p. 108, 109.). 2. The Jazyges, Moravians, and Siculi, whom they found in the land; the laſt were *perhaps* a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were entruſted with the guard of the borders. 3. The Ruſſians, who, like the Swiſs in France, imparted a general name to the royal porters. 4. The Bulgarians, whoſe chiefs (A. D. 956) were invited, cum magnâ multitudine *Hiſmahelitarum*. Had any of theſe Sclavonians embraced the Mahometan religion? 5. The Biſſeni and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Patzinacites, Uzi, Chazars, &c. who had ſpread to the lower Danube. The laſt colony of 40,000 Cumans, A. D. 1239, was received and converted by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation (Pray, Diſſert. vi. vii. p. 109—173. Katona, Hiſt. Ducum, p. 95—99. 259—264. 476. 479—483, &c.).

[41] Chriſtiani autem, quorum pars major populi eſt, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti ſunt captivi, &c. Such was the language of Piligrinus, the firſt miſſionary who entered Hungary, A. D. 973. Pars major is ſtrong. Hiſt. Ducum, p. 517.

[42] The fideles Teutonici of Geiſla are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his uſual induſtry, has made a fair eſtimate of theſe colonies, which had been ſo looſely magnified by the Italian Ranzanus (Hiſt. Critic. Ducum, p. 667—681.).

people

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people asserted their indefeasible right of chusing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

Origin of the Russian monarchy.

III. The name of RUSSIANS[43] was first divulged, in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar*, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires[44]. This Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals[45] and the general history of the North. The Normans, who

A. D. 839.

[43] Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a singular form, Ρως, as an undeclinable word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have perused, with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de Origine Russorum (Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. viii. p. 388–436.), by Theophilus Sigefrid Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of d'Anville, de l'Empire de Russie son Origine, et ses Accroissemens (Paris, 1772, in 12mo), has likewise been of use.

[44] See the entire passage (dignum, says Bayer, ut aureis in tabulis figatur) in the Annales Bertiniani Francorum (in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. ii. pars i. p. 525.), A. D. 839, twenty-two years before the Æra of Ruric. In the xth century, Liutprand (Hist. l. v. c. 6.) speaks of the Russians and Normans as the same Aquilonares homines of a red complexion.

[45] My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Leveque, Histoire de Russie. Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the xiith century; but his Chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburgh, 1767, in 4to. Leveque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. xvi. Coxe's Travels, vol. ii. p. 184.

had

had ſo long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkneſs, ſuddenly burſt forth in the ſpirit of naval and military enterpriſe. The vaſt, and, as it is ſaid, the populous, regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and deſperate adventurers, who ſighed in the lazineſs of peace, and ſmiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exerciſe, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they ſtarted from the banquet, graſped their arms, ſounded their horn, aſcended their veſſels, and explored every coaſt that promiſed either ſpoil or ſettlement. The Baltic was the firſt ſcene of their naval atchievements; they viſited the eaſtern ſhores, the ſilent reſidence of Fennic and Sclavonian tribes, and the primitive Ruſſians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the ſkins of white ſquirrels, to theſe ſtrangers, whom they ſaluted with the title of *Varangians*[46] or Corſairs. Their ſuperiority in arms, diſcipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars againſt the more inland ſavages, the Varangians condeſcended to ſerve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conqueſt, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length, Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, A. D. 862. became the father of a dynaſty which reigned above ſeven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence: the example of ſervice and uſurpation was imitated by his companions in the ſouthern provinces of Ruſſia; and their eſtabliſhments, by the uſual methods of war and aſſaſſination, were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

The Varangians of Conſtantinople.

As long as the deſcendants of Ruric were conſidered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the ſword of the Varangians, diſtributed

[46] Theophil. Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently ſpelt), in Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. iv. p. 275—311.

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eſtates and ſubjects to their faithful captains, and ſupplied their numbers with freſh ſtreams of adventurers from the Baltic coaſt[47]. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had ſtruck a deep and permanent root into the ſoil, they mingled with the Ruſſians in blood, religion, and language, and the firſt Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from theſe foreign mercenaries. They had ſeated him on the throne; his riches were inſufficient to ſatisfy their demands; but they liſtened to his pleaſing advice, that they ſhould ſeek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, maſter; that they ſhould embark for Greece, where, inſtead of the ſkins of ſquirrels, ſilk and gold would be the recompence of their ſervice. At the ſame time the Ruſſian prince admoniſhed his Byzantine ally to diſperſe and employ, to recompenſe and reſtrain, theſe impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character, of the *Varangians:* each day they roſe in confidence and eſteem; the whole body was aſſembled at Conſtantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their ſtrength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the iſland of Thule. On this occaſion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of Engliſh and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; theſe exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preſerved, till the laſt age of the empire, the inheritance of ſpotleſs loyalty, and the uſe of the Daniſh or Engliſh tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their ſhoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the ſenate, and the hippodrome; he ſlept and feaſted under their truſty guard; and the keys of the

[47] Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiow and Ruſſia were ſtill guarded, ex fugitivorum ſervorum robore, confluentium et maxime Danorum. Bayer, who quotes (p. 292.) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merſeburgh, obſerves, that it was unuſual for the Germans to enliſt in a foreign ſervice.

palace,

palace, the treaſury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians[48].

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In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge; and the monarchy of the Ruſſians obtains a vaſt and conſpicuous place in the map of Conſtantine[49]. The ſons of Ruric were maſters of the ſpacious province of Wolodomir, or Moſcow; and, if they were confined on that ſide by the hords of the Eaſt, their weſtern frontier in thoſe early days was enlarged to the Baltic ſea and the country of the Pruſſians. Their northern reign aſcended above the ſixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monſters, or clouded with eternal darkneſs. To the ſouth they followed the courſe of the Boryſthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine ſea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, in this ample circuit were obedient to the ſame conqueror, and inſenſibly blended into the ſame nation. The language of Ruſſia is a dialect of the Sclavonian; but, in the tenth century, theſe two modes of ſpeech were different from each other; and, as the Sclavonian prevailed in the South, it may be preſumed that the original Ruſſians of the North, the primitive ſubjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or diſſolution, of the wandering tribes, the looſe and

Geography and trade of Ruſſia, A. D. 950.

[48] Ducange has collected from the original authors the ſtate and hiſtory of the Varangi at Conſtantinople (Gloſſar Med. et Infimæ Græcitatis, ſub voce Βαραγγοι. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis, ſub voce *Vagri*. Not. ad Alexiad, Annæ Comnenæ, p. 256, 257, 258. Notes ſur Villehardouin, p. 296—299.). See likewiſe the Annotations of Reiſke to the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Conſtantine, tom. ii. p. 149, 150. Saxo Grammaticus affirms, that they ſpoke Daniſh; but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the uſe of their native Engliſh: Πολυχρονιζεσι οι Βαραγγοι κατα των πατριον γλωσσαν αυτων ητοι Ιγκληνιςι.

[49] The original record of the geography and trade of Ruſſia is produced by the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, c. 2. p. 55, 56. c. 9. p. 59—61. c. 13. p. 63—67. c. 37. p. 106. c. 42. p. 112, 113.), and illuſtrated by the diligence of Bayer (de Geographiâ Ruſſiæ vicinarumque Regionum circiter A. C. 948, in Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 367—422. tom. x. p. 371—421.), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Ruſſia, Scandinavia, &c.

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indefinite picture of the Scythian deſert has continually ſhifted. But the moſt ancient map of Ruſſia affords ſome places which ſtill retain their name and poſition; and the two capitals, Novogorod [50] and Kiow [51], are coeval with the firſt age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deſerved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of the Hanſeatic league, which diffuſed the ſtreams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boaſt of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatneſs and ſplendour, which was compared with Conſtantinople by thoſe who had never ſeen the reſidence of the Cæſars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the moſt convenient ſtations in which the Barbarians might aſſemble for the occaſional buſineſs of war or trade. Yet even theſe aſſemblies announce ſome progreſs in the arts of ſociety; a new breed of cattle was imported from the ſouthern provinces; and the ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe pervaded the ſea and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Conſtantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbariſm, the Sclavonic city of Julin was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently ſecured a free mart of purchaſe and exchange [52]. From this harbour, at the en-

[50] The haughty proverb, "Who can reſiſt God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Leveque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 60.) even to the times that preceded the reign of Ruric. In the courſe of his hiſtory he frequently celebrates this republic, which was ſuppreſſed A. D. 1475 (tom. ii. p. 252—266.). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, deſcribes (in 1635) the remain of Novogorod, and the route by ſea and land of the Holſtein ambaſſadors (tom. i. p. 123—129.).

[51] In hac magna civitate, quæ eſt caput regni, plus trecentæ eccleſiæ habentur et nundinæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus (Eggehardus ad A. D. 1018, apud Bayer, tom. ix. p. 412.). He likewiſe quotes (tom. x. p. 397.) the words of the Saxon annaliſt, Cujus *(Ruſſiæ)* metropolis eſt Chive, æmula ſceptri Conſtantinopolitani quæ eſt clariſſimam decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, eſpecially in the xi[th] century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

[52] In Odoræ oſtio quâ Scythicas alluit paludes, nobiliſſima civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Græcis qui ſunt in circuitû præſtans ſtationem; eſt ſane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum (Adam Bremenſis, Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 19.). A ſtrange exaggeration even in the xi[th] century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanſeatic league, are carefully treated in Anderſon's Hiſtorical Deduction of Commerce; at leaſt, in *our* languages, I am not acquainted with any book ſo ſatisfactory.

trance

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trance of the Oder, the corſair, or merchant, ſailed in forty-three days to the eaſtern ſhores of the Baltic, the moſt diſtant nations were intermingled, and the holy groves of Curland *are ſaid* to have been decorated with *Grecian* and Spaniſh gold[53]. Between the ſea and Novogorod an eaſy intercourſe was diſcovered; in the ſummer, through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter ſeaſon, over the hard and level ſurface of boundleſs ſnows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Ruſſians deſcended the ſtreams that fall into the Boryſthenes; their canoes, of a ſingle tree, were laden with ſlaves of every age, furs of every ſpecies, the ſpoil of their bee-hives, and the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce of the North was collected and diſcharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary ſeaſon of the departure of the fleet: the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more ſolid and capacious boats; and they proceeded without obſtacle down the Boryſthenes, as far as the ſeven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverſe the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more ſhallow falls it was ſufficient to lighten the veſſels; but the deeper cataracts were impaſſable; and the mariners, who dragged their veſſels and their ſlaves ſix miles over land, were expoſed in this toilſome journey to the robbers of the deſert[54]. At the firſt iſland below the falls, the Ruſſians celebrated the feſtival of their eſcape; at a ſecond, near the mouth of the river, they repaired

[53] According to Adam of Bremen (de Situ Daniæ, p. 58.), the old Curland extended eight days journey along the coaſt; and by Peter Teutoburgicus (p. 68. A. D. 1326), Memel is defined as the common frontier of Ruſſia, Curland, and Pruſſia. Aurum ibi plurimum (ſays Adam) divinis, auguribus atque necromanticis omnes domus ſunt plenæ ..... a toto orbe ibi reſponſa petuntur maxime ab Hiſpanis (forſan *Zupanis*, id eſt regulis Lettoviæ) et Græcis. The name of Greeks was applied to the Ruſſians even before their converſion; an imperfect converſion, if they ſtill conſulted the wizards of Curland (Bayer, tom. x. p. 378. 402, &c. Grotius, Prolegomen. ad Hiſt. Goth. p. 99.).

[54] Conſtantine only reckons ſeven cataracts, of which he gives the Ruſſian and Sclavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the Sieur de Beauplan, a French engineer, who had ſurveyed the courſe and navigation of the Dnieper or Boryſthenes (Deſcription d'Ukranie, Rouen, 1660, a thin quarto); but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

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thir ſhattered veſſels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they ſteered along the coaſt, the Danube was acceſſible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-ſix or forty hours the oppoſite ſhores of Anatolia; and Conſtantinople admitted the annual viſit of the ſtrangers of the North. They returned at the ſtated ſeaſon with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the ſpices of India. Some of their countrymen reſided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the perſons, effects, and privileges, of the Ruſſian merchant [55].

Naval expeditions of the Ruſſians againſt Conſtantinople.

But the ſame communication which had been opened for the benefit, was ſoon abuſed for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Ruſſians made four attempts to plunder the treaſures of Conſtantinople: the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the ſame in theſe naval expeditions [56]. The Ruſſian traders had ſeen the magnificence and taſted the luxury of the city of the Cæſars. A marvellous tale, and a ſcanty ſupply, excited the deſires of their ſavage countrymen: they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied; they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchaſe: the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their braveſt ſoldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern iſles of the ocean [57]. The image of their naval armaments was revived in the laſt century, in

[55] Neſtor, apud Leveque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 78—80. From the Dnieper or Boryſthenes, the Ruſſians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and *Syria*. To Syria, how, where, when? May we not, inſtead of Συρια, read Συανια (de Adminiſtrat. Imp. c. 42. p. 113.)? The alteration is ſlight; the poſition of Suania, between Chazaria and Lazica, is perfectly ſuitable; and the name was ſtill uſed in the xi^th century (Cedren. tom. ii. p. 770.).

[56] The wars of the Ruſſians and Greeks in the ix^th, x^th, and xi^th centuries, are related in the Byzantine Annals, eſpecially thoſe of Zonaras and Cedrenus; and all their teſtimonies are collected in the *Ruſſica* of Stritter, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 939—1044.

[57] Προσεταιρισαμενος δε και συμμαχικον ικ ολιγον απο των κατοικουντων εν τοις προσαρκτιοις τω Ωκεανω νησοις εθνων. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 758.

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the fleets of the Coſacks, which iſſued from the Boryſthenes, to navigate the ſame ſeas, for a ſimilar purpoſe [58]. The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or ſingle canoes, might be juſtly applied to the bottom of their veſſels. It was ſcooped out of the long ſtem of a beech or willow, but the ſlight and narrow foundation was raiſed and continued on either ſide with planks, till it attained the length of ſixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. Theſe boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a maſt; to move with ſails and oars; and to contain from forty to ſeventy men, with their arms, and proviſions of freſh water and ſalt fiſh. The firſt trial of the Ruſſians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm againſt Conſtantinople a thouſand or twelve hundred veſſels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its ſtrength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foreſight to diſcern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have ſealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Boryſthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coaſt of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of ſix hundred years, again infeſted the Euxine; but as long as the capital was reſpected, the ſufferings of a diſtant province eſcaped the notice both of the prince and the hiſtorian. The ſtorm which had ſwept along from the Phaſis and Trebizond, at length burſt on the Boſphorus of Thrace; a ſtreight of fifteen miles, in which the rude veſſels of the Ruſſian might have been ſtopped and deſtroyed by a more ſkilful adverſary. In their firſt enterpriſe [59] under the princes of Kiow, they paſſed The firſt, A. D. 865.

[58] See Beauplan (Deſcription de l'Ukranie, p. 54–61.): his deſcriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and, except the circumſtance of fire-arms, we may read old Ruſſians, for modern Coſacks.

[59] It is to be lamented, that Bayer has only given a Diſſertation de Ruſſorum *primâ* Expeditione Conſtantinopolitanâ (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. vi. p. 365–391.). After diſentangling ſome chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have ſmoothed ſome doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Leveque's hiſtory.

without

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without oppoſition, and occupied the port of Conſtantinople in the abſence of the emperor Michael, the ſon of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils, he landed at the palace-ſtairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary[60]. By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the ſanctuary and dipped in the ſea; and a ſeaſonable tempeſt, which determined the retreat of the Ruſſians, was devoutly aſcribed to the mother of God[61]. The ſilence of the Greeks may inſpire ſome doubt of the truth, or at leaſt of the importance, of the ſecond attempt by Oleg the guardian of the ſons of Ruric[62]. A ſtrong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Boſphorus: they were eluded by the uſual expedient of drawing the boats over the iſthmus; and this ſimple operation is deſcribed in the national chronicles, as if the Ruſſian fleet had ſailed over dry land with a briſk and favourable gale. The leader of the third armament, Igor, the ſon of Ruric, had choſen a moment of weakneſs and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed againſt the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the inſtruments of defence are ſeldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed gallies were boldly launched againſt the enemy; but inſtead of the ſingle tube of Greek fire uſually planted on the prow, the ſides and ſtern of each veſſel were abundantly ſupplied with that liquid combuſtible. The engineers were dextrous; the weather was propitious; many thouſand Ruſſians, who choſe rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the ſea; and thoſe who eſcaped to the Thracian ſhore were inhumanly ſlaughtered by the

The ſecond, A. D. 904.

The third, A. D. 941.

[60] When Photius wrote his encyclic epiſtle on the converſion of the Ruſſians, the miracle was not yet ſufficiently ripe; he reproaches the nation as εις ωμοτητα και μιαιφονιαν παντας δευτερως τελουμενους.

[61] Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Conſtantini Continuator, in Script. poſt Theophanem, p. 121, 122. Symeon Logothet. p. 445, 446. Georg. Monach. p. 535, 536. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 551. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 162.

[62] See Neſtor and Nicon, in Leveque's Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 74—80. Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, p. 75—79.) uſes his advantage to diſprove this Ruſſian victory, which would cloud the ſiege of Kiow by the Hungarians.

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peaſants and ſoldiers. Yet one third of the canoes eſcaped into ſhallow water; and the next ſpring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his diſgrace and claim his revenge[63]. After a long peace, Jaroſlaus, the great-grandſon of Igor, reſumed the ſame project of a naval invaſion. A fleet, under the command of his ſon, was repulſed at the entrance of the Boſphorus by the ſame artificial flames. But in the raſhneſs of purſuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompaſſed by an irreſiſtible multitude of boats and men; their proviſion of fire was probably exhauſted; and twenty-four gallies were either taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed[64].

The fourth, A. D. 1043.

Yet the threats or calamities of a Ruſſian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In theſe naval hoſtilities, every diſadvantage was on the ſide of the Greeks: their ſavage enemy afforded no mercy; his poverty promiſed no ſpoil; his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge; and the pride or weakneſs of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or loſt in the intercourſe with Barbarians. At firſt their demands were high and inadmiſſible, three pounds of gold for each ſoldier or mariner of the fleet: the Ruſſian youth adhered to the deſign of conqueſt and glory; but the counſels of moderation were recommended by the hoary ſages. "Be content," they ſaid, "with the liberal offers of Cæſar; is it not far better to "obtain without a combat, the poſſeſſion of gold, ſilver, ſilks, and "all the objects of our deſires? Are we ſure of victory? Can we "conclude a treaty with the ſea? We do not tread on the land; we "float on the abyſs of water, and a common death hangs over our

Negociations and prophecy.

[63] Leo Grammaticus, p. 506, 507. Incert. Contin. p. 263, 264. Symeon Logothet. p. 490, 491. George Monach. p. 588, 589. Cedren. tom. ii. p. 629. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 190, 191. and Liutprand, l. v. c. 6. who writes from the narratives of his father-in-law, then ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and corrects the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

[64] I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 758, 759.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 253, 254.); but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

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"heads[65]." The memory of theſe Arctic fleets that ſeemed to deſcend from the Polar circle, left a deep impreſſion of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank, it was aſſerted and believed, that an equeſtrian ſtatue in the ſquare of Taurus, was ſecretly inſcribed with a prophecy, how the Ruſſians, in the laſt days, ſhould become maſters of Conſtantinople[66]. In our own time, a Ruſſian armament, inſtead of ſailing from the Boryſthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkiſh capital has been threatened by a ſquadron of ſtrong and lofty ſhips of war, each of which, with its naval ſcience and thundering artillery, could have ſunk or ſcattered an hundred canoes ſuch as thoſe of their anceſtors. Perhaps the preſent generation may yet behold the accompliſhment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the ſtyle is unambiguous and the date unqueſtionable.

Reign of Swatoſlaus, A. D. 955—973.

By land the Ruſſians were leſs formidable than by ſea; and as they fought for the moſt part on foot, their irregular legions muſt often have been broken and overthrown by the cavalry of the Scythian hords. Yet their growing towns, however ſlight and imperfect, preſented a ſhelter to the ſubject and a barrier to the enemy: the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, aſſumed the dominion of the North; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were ſubdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoſlaus[67], the ſon of Igor, the ſon of Oleg, the ſon of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardſhips of a military and ſavage life. Wrapt in a bear-ſkin, Swatoſlaus uſually ſlept on the ground, his head reclining on a ſaddle; his diet was coarſe and fru-

[65] Neſtor, apud Leveſque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 87.

[66] This brazen ſtatue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was ſuppoſed to repreſent either Joſhua or Bellerophon, an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414.), Codinus (de Originibus C. P. p. 24.), and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. C. P. (Banduri, Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 17, 18.), who lived about the year 1100. They witneſs the belief of the prophecy; the reſt is immaterial.

[67] The life of Swatoſlaus, or Sviatoſlaf, or Sphendoſthlabus, is extracted from the Ruſſian Chronicles by M. Leveſque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 94—107.).

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gal, and, like the heroes of Homer[68], his meat (it was often horſe-fleſh) was broiled or roaſted on the coals. The exerciſe of war gave ſtability and diſcipline to his army; and it may be preſumed, that no ſoldier was permitted to tranſcend the luxury of his chief. By an embaſſy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conqueſt of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expence, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of ſixty thouſand men was aſſembled and embarked; they ſailed from the Boryſthenes to the Danube; their landing was effected on the Mæſian ſhore; and, after a ſharp encounter, the ſwords of the Ruſſians prevailed againſt the arrows of the Bulgarian horſe. The vanquiſhed king ſunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as mount Hæmus, were ſubdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But inſtead of relinquiſhing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more diſpoſed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with ſucceſs, the ſeat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoſlaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new poſition, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an eaſy navigation he might draw from Ruſſia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel: Hungary ſupplied him with a breed of horſes and the ſpoils of the Weſt; and Greece abounded with gold, ſilver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to diſdain. The bands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, repaired to the ſtandard of victory; and the ambaſſador of Nicephorus betrayed his

[68] This reſemblance may be clearly ſeen in the ninth book of the Iliad (205—221.), in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By ſuch a picture, a modern epic poet would diſgrace his work and diſguſt his reader; but the Greek verſes are harmonious, a dead language can ſeldom appear low or familiar; and at the diſtance of two thouſand ſeven hundred years, we are amuſed with the primitive manners of antiquity.

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truſt, aſſumed the purple, and promiſed to ſhare with his new allies the treaſures of the Eaſtern world. From the banks of the Danube the Ruſſian prince purſued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal ſummons to evacuate the Roman province was diſmiſſed with contempt; and Swatoſlaus fiercely replied, that Conſtantinople might ſoon expect the preſence of an enemy and a maſter.

His defeat by John Zimiſces, A. D. 970—973.

Nicephorus could no longer expel the miſchief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimiſces[69], who, in a diminutive body, poſſeſſed the ſpirit and abilities of an hero. The firſt victory of his lieutenants deprived the Ruſſians of their foreign allies, twenty thouſand of whom were either deſtroyed by the ſword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to deſert. Thrace was delivered, but ſeventy thouſand Barbarians were ſtill in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conqueſts of Syria, prepared, with the return of the ſpring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himſelf the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The paſſes of mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were inſtantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Perſian ſtyle); the emperor led the main body of ten thouſand five hundred foot; and the reſt of his forces followed in ſlow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The firſt exploit of Zimiſces was the reduction of Marcianapolis, or Periſthlaba[70], in two

[69] This ſingular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and Τζιμισκης is interpreted in Greek by μυζακιζης, or μοιρακιζης. As I profeſs myſelf equally ignorant of *theſe* words, I may be indulged in the queſtion in the play, "Pray which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they ſeem to ſignify *Adoleſcentulus* (Leo Diacon, l. iv. MS. apud Ducange, Gloſſar. Græc. p. 1570.).

[70] In the Sclavonic tongue, the name of Periſthlaba implied the great or illuſtrious city, μεγαλη και ωσα και λεγομενη, ſays Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vii. p. 194.). From its poſition between Mount Hæmus and the Lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at leaſt the ſtation, of Marcianopolis. The ſituation of Duroſtolus, or Driſtra, is well known and conſpicuous (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 415, 416. d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 307. 311.).

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days: the trumpets ſounded; the walls were ſcaled; eight thouſand five hundred Ruſſians were put to the ſword; and the ſons of the Bulgarian king were reſcued from an ignominious priſon, and inveſted with a nominal diadem. After theſe repeated loſſes, Swatoſlaus retired to the ſtrong poſt of Driſtra, on the banks of the Danube, and was purſued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine gallies aſcended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Ruſſian prince was encompaſſed, aſſaulted, and famiſhed, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed; ſeveral deſperate ſallies were attempted; nor was it till after a ſiege of ſixty-five days that Swatoſlaus yielded to his adverſe fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who reſpected the valour, and apprehended the deſpair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Ruſſia bound himſelf by ſolemn imprecations to relinquiſh all hoſtile deſigns; a ſafe paſſage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was reſtored; a meaſure of corn was diſtributed to each of his ſoldiers; and the allowance of twenty-two thouſand meaſures atteſts the loſs and the remnant of the Barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Boryſthenes; but their proviſions were exhauſted, the ſeaſon was unfavourable; they paſſed the winter on the ice; and, before they could proſecute their march, Swatoſlaus was ſurpriſed and oppreſſed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and uſeful correſpondence[71]. Far different was the return of Zimiſces, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the ſaviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned

[71] The political management of the Greeks, more eſpecially with the Patzinacites, is explained in the ſeven firſt chapters, de Adminiſtratione Imperii.

with

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with the ſpoils of war and the enſigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimiſces made his public entry on horſeback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Conſtantinople was aſtoniſhed to applaud the martial virtues of her ſovereign [72].

Converſion of Ruſſia, A. D. 864.

Photius of Conſtantinople, a patriarch whoſe ambition was equal to his curioſity, congratulates himſelf and the Greek church on the converſion of the Ruſſians [73]. Thoſe fierce and bloody Barbarians had been perſuaded by the voice of reaſon and religion, to acknowledge Jeſus for their God, the Chriſtian miſſionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was tranſient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, ſome Ruſſian chiefs might allow themſelves to be ſprinkled with the waters of baptiſm; and a Greek biſhop with the name of metropolitan, might adminiſter the ſacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of ſlaves and natives. But the ſeed of the Goſpel was ſown on a barren ſoil: many were the apoſtates, the converts were few; and the baptiſm of Olga may be fixed as the æra of Ruſſian Chriſtianity [74]. A female, perhaps of the baſeſt origin, who could revenge the death, and aſſume the ſceptre, of her huſband Igor, muſt have been endowed with thoſe active virtues which command the fear and obedience of Barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domeſtic peace, ſhe ſailed from Kiow to Conſtantinople; and the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus has deſcribed with minute diligence the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and

Baptiſm of Olga, A. D. 955.

[72] In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 968—973) is more authentic and circumſtantial than Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 660—683.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 205—214.). Theſe declaimers have multiplied to 308,000 and 330,000 men, thoſe Ruſſian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and conſiſtent account.

[73] Phot. Epiſtol. ii. N° 35. p. 58. edit. Montacut. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to miſtake the Ruſſian nation, το Ῥως, for a war-cry of the Bulgarians; nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuſe the Sclavonian idolaters της Ελληνικης και αθεου δοξης. They were neither Greeks nor Atheiſts.

[74] M. Leveſque has extracted, from old chronicles and modern reſearches, the moſt ſatisfactory account of the religion of the *Slavi*, and the converſion of Ruſſia (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 35—54. 59. 92, 93. 113—121. 124—129. 148, 149, &c.).

palace.

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palace. The ſteps, the titles, the ſalutations, the banquet, the preſents, were exquiſitely adjuſted, to gratify the vanity of the ſtranger, with due reverence to the ſuperior majeſty of the purple [73]. In the ſacrament of baptiſm, ſhe received the venerable name of the empreſs Helena; and her converſion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, ſixteen damſels, of an higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domeſtics or miniſters, and forty-four Ruſſian merchants, who compoſed the retinue of the great princeſs Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, ſhe firmly perſiſted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the Goſpel were not crowned with ſucceſs; and both her family and nation adhered with obſtinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her ſon Swatoſlaus was apprehenſive of the ſcorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandſon Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worſhip. The ſavage deities of the North were ſtill propitiated with human ſacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a ſtranger, a Chriſtian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his ſon from the ſacerdotal knife, was involved in the ſame doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the leſſons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though ſecret, impreſſion on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek miſſionaries continued to preach, to diſpute, and to baptiſe; and the ambaſſadors or merchants of Ruſſia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant ſuperſtition of Conſtantinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia; the lively pictures of ſaints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and veſtments of the prieſts, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate ſucceſſion of devout ſilence and

[73] See the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. tom. ii. c. 15. p. 343—345.: the ſtyle of Olga, or Elga, is Αρχοντισσα Ρωσιας. For the chief of Barbarians the Greeks whimſically borrowed the title of an Athenian magiſtrate, with a female termination, which would have aſtoniſhed the ear of Demoſthenes.

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harmonious ſong; nor was it difficult to perſuade them, that a choir of angels deſcended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the Chriſtians [76]. But the converſion of Wolodomir was determined or haſtened by his deſire of a Roman bride. At the ſame time, and in the city of Cherſon, the rites of baptiſm and marriage were celebrated by the Chriſtian pontiff: the city he reſtored to the emperor Baſil, the brother of his ſpouſe; but the brazen gates were tranſported, as it is ſaid, to Novogorod, and erected before the firſt church as a trophy of his victory and faith [77]. At his deſpotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had ſo long adored, was dragged through the ſtreets of Kiow; and twelve ſturdy Barbarians battered with clubs, the miſhapen image, which was indignantly caſt into the waters of the Boryſthenes. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed, that all who ſhould refuſe the rites of baptiſm would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were inſtantly filled with many thouſands of obedient Ruſſians, who acquieſced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of paganiſm were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptiſm, their bones were taken from the grave, and ſanctified by an irregular and poſthumous ſacrament.

of Wolodomir, A. D. 988.

Chriſtianity of the North, A. D. 800—1100.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Chriſtian æra, the reign of the goſpel and of the church, was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden,

[76] See an anonymous fragment publiſhed by Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. p. 112, 113.), de Converſione Ruſſorum.

[77] Cherſon, or Corſun, is mentioned by Herberſtein (apud Pagi, tom. iv. p. 56.) as the place of Wolodomir's baptiſm and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are ſtill preſerved at Novogorod. Yet an obſerving traveller tranſports the brazen gates from Magdeburgh in Germany (Coxe's Travels into Ruſſia, &c. vol. i. p. 452.); and quotes an inſcription, which ſeems to juſtify his opinion. The modern reader muſt not confound this old Cherſon of the Tauric or Crimæan peninſula with a new city of the ſame name, which has ariſen near the mouth of the Boryſthenes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the empreſs of Ruſſia with the emperor of the Weſt.

Poland,

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Poland, and Ruſſia[78]. The triumphs of apoſtolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Chriſtianity; and the northern and eaſtern regions of Europe ſubmitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice, from the worſhip of their native idols. A laudable ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to viſit the tents and huts of the Barbarians: poverty, hardſhips, and dangers, were the lot of the firſt miſſionaries; their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious; their preſent reward conſiſted in the teſtimony of their conſcience and the reſpect of a grateful people; but the fruitful harveſt of their toils was inherited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of ſucceeding times. The firſt converſions were free and ſpontaneous: an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the miſſionaries; but the domeſtic fables of the Pagans were ſilenced by the miracles and viſions of the ſtrangers; and the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and intereſt. The leaders of nations, who were ſaluted with the titles of kings and ſaints[79], held it lawful and pious to impoſe the Catholic faith on their ſubjects and neighbours: the coaſt of the Baltic, from Holſtein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the ſtandard of the croſs; and the reign of idolatry was cloſed by the converſion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour muſt acknowledge, that the converſion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Chriſtians. The rage of war, inherent to the human ſpecies, could not be healed by the evan-

[78] Conſult the Latin text, or Engliſh verſion, of Moſheim's excellent Hiſtory of the Church, under the firſt head or ſection of each of theſe centuries.

[79] In the year 1000, the ambaſſadors of St. Stephen received from pope Silveſter the title of king of Hungary, with a diadem of Greek workmanſhip. It had been deſigned for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own confeſſion, were yet too barbarous to deſerve an *angelical* and *apoſtolical* crown (Katona, Hiſt. Critic. Regum Stirpis Arpadianæ, tom. i. p. 1—20.).

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gelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hoſtile contention. But the admiſſion of the Barbarians into the pale of civil and eccleſiaſtical ſociety delivered Europe from the depredations, by ſea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Ruſſians, who learned to ſpare their brethren and cultivate their poſſeſſions [80]. The eſtabliſhment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and ſcience were introduced into the ſavage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Ruſſian princes engaged in their ſervice the moſt ſkilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and inſtruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were tranſlated into the Sclavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the leſſons of the college of Jaroſlaus. It ſhould appear that Ruſſia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and ſtate of Conſtantinople, which in that age ſo juſtly deſpiſed the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was ſervile, ſolitary, and verging to an haſty decline: after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Boryſthenes was forgotten; the great princes of Wolodomir and Moſcow were ſeparated from the ſea and Chriſtendom; and the divided monarchy was oppreſſed by the ignominy and blindneſs of Tartar ſervitude [81]. The Sclavonic and

[80] Liſten to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. D. 1080), of which the ſubſtance is agreeable to truth: Ecce illa ferociſſima Danorum, &c. natio.....jamdudum novit in Dei laudibus Alleluia reſonare..... Ecce populus ille piraticus.....ſuis nunc finibus contentus eſt. Ecce patria horribilis ſemper inacceſſa propter cultum idolorum... prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit, &c. &c. (de Situ Daniæ, &c. p. 40, 41. edit. Elzeivir: a curious and original proſpect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Chriſtianity).

[81] The great princes removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moſcow became the ſeat of empire in the xiv[th] century. See the i[st] and ii[d] volumes of Leveſque's Hiſtory, and Mr. Coxe's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 241, &c.

Scandina-

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Scandinavian kingdoms, which had been converted by the Latin miſſionaries, were expoſed, it is true, to the ſpiritual juriſdiction and temporal claims of the popes [82]; but they were united, in language and religious worſhip, with each other, and with Rome; they imbibed the free and generous ſpirit of the European republic, and gradually ſhared the light of knowledge which aroſe on the weſtern world.

[82] The ambaſſadors of St. Stephen had uſed the reverential expreſſions of *regnum oblatum*, *debitam obedientiam*, &c. which were moſt rigorouſly interpreted by Gregory VII.; and the Hungarian Catholics are diſtreſſed between the ſanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown (Katona, Hiſt. Critica, tom. i. p. 20—25. tom. ii. p. 304. 346. 360, &c.).

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The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy.—First Adventures and Settlement of the Normans.—Character and Conquests of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia.—Deliverance of Sicily by his Brother Roger.—Victories of Robert over the Emperors of the East and West.—Roger, King of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece.—The Emperor Manuel Comnenus.—Wars of the Greeks and Normans.—Extinction of the Normans.

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Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks, in Italy, A. D. 840—1017.

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy[1]. The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum[2]; so powerful in war, that they

[1] For the general history of Italy in the ix^th and x^th centuries, I may properly refer to the vth, vi^th, and vii^th books of Sigonius de Regno Italiæ (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1732); the Annals of Baronius, with the Criticism of Pagi; the vii^th and vii^th books of the Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli of Giannone; the vii^th and viii^th volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the ii^d volume of the Abregé Chronologique of M. de Saint Mark, a work which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry. But my long-accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have ascended to the fountain-head, as often as such ascent could be either profitable or possible; and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the first volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

[2] Camillo Pellegrino, a learned Capuan of the last century, has illustrated the history of the dutchy of Beneventum, in his two books, Historia Principum Longobardorum, in the Scriptores of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i. p. 221—345. and tom. v. p. 159—245.

checked

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checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; ſo liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philoſophers and grammarians. The diviſion of this flouriſhing ſtate produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtleſs ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was expoſed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conqueſt. Their frequent and almoſt annual ſquadrons iſſued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Chriſtians of Naples: the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coaſt; and even the Arabs of Andaluſia were ſometimes tempted to aſſiſt or oppoſe the Moſlems of an adverſe ſect. In the revolution of human events, a new ambuſcade was concealed in the Caudine forks, the fields of Cannæ were bedewed a ſecond time with the blood of the Africans, and the ſovereign of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic Gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the reſentment, and conciliated the union, of the two emperors. An offenſive alliance was concluded between Baſil the Macedonian, the firſt of his race, and Lewis, the great-grandſon of Charlemagne[3]; and each party ſupplied the deficiencies of his aſſociate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to tranſport his ſtationary troops of Aſia to an Italian campaign; and the Latin arms would have been inſufficient, if *his* ſuperior navy had not occupied the mouth of the Gulf. The fortreſs of Bari was inveſted by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and gallies of the Greeks;

[3] See Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. de Thematibus, l. ii. c. xi. in Vit. Baſil. c. 55. p. 181.

and,

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Conqueſt of Bari, A. D. 871.

and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir ſubmitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in perſon the operations of the ſiege. This important conqueſt had been atchieved by the concord of the Eaſt and Weſt; but their recent amity was ſoon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealouſy and pride. The Greeks aſſumed as their own the merit of the conqueſt and the pomp of the triumph; extolled the greatneſs of their powers, and affected to deride the intemperance and ſloth of the handful of Barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expreſſed with the eloquence of indignation and truth: "We confeſs the magnitude of your preparations," ſays the great-grandſon of Charlemagne. "Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of ſummer locuſts, who darken the day, flap their wings, and, after a ſhort flight, tumble weary and breathleſs to the ground. Like them, ye ſunk after a feeble effort; ye were vanquiſhed by your own cowardice; and withdrew from the ſcene of action to injure and deſpoil our Chriſtian ſubjects of the Sclavonian coaſt. We were few in number, and why were we few? becauſe, after a tedious expectation of your arrival, I had diſmiſſed my hoſt, and retained only a choſen band of warriors to continue the blockade of the city. If they indulged their hoſpitable feaſts in the face of danger and death, did theſe feaſts abate the vigour of their enterpriſe? Is it by your faſting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not theſe valiant Franks, diminiſhed as they were by languor and fatigue, intercept and vanquiſh the three moſt powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles; Calabria will be delivered; and, if we command the ſea, the iſland of Sicily may be reſcued from the hands of the infidels. My brother (a name moſt offenſive to the vanity

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" of the Greek), accelerate your naval ſuccours, reſpect your allies, " and diſtruſt your flatterers[4]."

New province of the Greeks in Italy, A. D. 890.

Theſe lofty hopes were ſoon extinguiſhed by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian houſe; and whoever might deſerve the honour, the Greek emperors, Baſil, and his ſon Leo, ſecured the advantage, of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were perſuaded or compelled to acknowledge their ſupremacy, and an ideal line from mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno, leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eaſtern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi[5] and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful ſovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by ſupplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Aſia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua[6], were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of ſervitude and tribute. The city of Bari roſe to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the ſingular name of *Catapan*[7], was aſſigned to the ſupreme governor; and the policy both of the church

[4] The original epiſtle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Baſil, a curious record of the age, was firſt publiſhed by Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 871, N°51—71.), from the Vatican MS. of Erchempert, or rather of the anonymous hiſtorian of Salerno.

[5] See an excellent diſſertation de Republica Amalphitanâ, in the Appendix (p. 1—42.) of Henry Brencmann's Hiſtoria Pandectarum (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to).

[6] Your maſter, ſays Nicephorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuano et Beneventano, ſervis meis, quos oppugnare diſpono..... Nova (potius *nota*) res eſt quòd eorum patres et avi noſtro Imperio tributa dederunt (Liutprand, in Legat. p. 484.). Salerno is not mentioned, yet the prince changed his party about the ſame time, and Camillo Pellegrino (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 285.) has nicely diſcerned this change in the ſtyle of the anonymous Chronicle. On the rational ground of hiſtory and language, Liutprand (p. 480.) had aſſerted the Latin claim to Apulia and Calabria.

[7] See the Greek and Latin Gloſſaries of Ducange (Κατεπανω, *catapanus*), and his notes on the Alexias (p. 275.). Againſt the contemporary notion, which derives it from Κατα παν, *juxta omne*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St. Marc has accurately obſerved (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 924.), that in this age the capitanei were not *captains*, but only nobles of the firſt rank, the great valvaſſors of Italy.

and

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and ſtate was modelled in exact ſubordination to the throne of Conſtantinople. As long as the ſceptre was diſputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverſe; and the Greeks reſiſted or eluded the forces of Germany, which deſcended from the Alps under the Imperial ſtandard of the Othos. The firſt and greateſt of thoſe Saxon princes was compelled to relinquiſh the ſiege of Bari: the ſecond, after the loſs of his ſtouteſt biſhops and barons, eſcaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona. On that day the ſcale of war was turned againſt the Franks by the valour of the Saracens[8]. Theſe corſairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortreſſes and coaſts of Italy; but a ſenſe of intereſt was more prevalent than ſuperſtition or reſentment, and the caliph of Egypt had tranſported forty thouſand Moſlems to the aid of his Chriſtian ally. The ſucceſſors of Baſil amuſed themſelves with the belief, that the conqueſt of Lombardy had been atchieved, and was ſtill preſerved, by the juſtice of their laws, the virtues of their miniſters, and the gratitude of a people whom they had reſcued from anarchy and oppreſſion. A ſeries of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Conſtantinople; and the illuſions of flattery were diſpelled by the eaſy and rapid ſucceſs of the Norman adventurers.

Defeat of Otho III. A. D. 983.

Anecdotes.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria, a melancholy contraſt between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra. At the former period, the coaſt of Great Greece (as it was then ſtyled) was planted with free and opulent cities: theſe cities were peopled with ſoldiers, artiſts, and philoſophers; and the military ſtrength of Tarentum, Sybaris, or Crotona, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the

[8] Ου μονον δια πολεμων ακριβως ετεταγμενων το τοιουτον υπηγαγε το εθνος (the Lombards), αλλα και αγχινοια χρησαμενος, και δικαιοσυνη και χρηστοτητι επιεικως τε τοις προσιρχομενοις προσφερομενος και την ελευθεριαν αυτοις πασης τε δουλειας, και των αλλων φορολογικων χαριζομενος (Leon. Tactic. c. xv. p. 741.). The little Chronicle of Beneventum (tom. ii. pars i. p. 280.) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A. D. 891—896) that Leo was maſter of the city.

ſecond

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ſecond æra, theſe once flouriſhing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoveriſhed by tyranny, and depopulated by Barbarian war; nor can we ſeverely accuſe the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fair and ample diſtrict was reduced to the ſame deſolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge[9]. Among the hoſtilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the ſouthern Italy, I ſhall ſelect two or three anecdotes expreſſive of their national manners. 1. It was the amuſement of the Saracens to pro- A. D. 873. fane, as well as to pillage, the monaſteries and churches. At the ſiege of Salerno, a Muſulman chief ſpread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar ſacrificed each night the virginity of a Chriſtian nun. As he wreſtled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dextrouſly thrown down on his head; and the death of the luſtful emir was imputed to the wrath of Chriſt, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful ſpouſe[10]. 2. The Saracens beſieged the cities of Beneventum and A. D. 874. Capua: after a vain appeal to the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor[11]. A fearleſs citizen dropt from the walls, paſſed the intrenchments, accompliſhed his commiſſion, and fell into the hands of the Barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to aſſiſt their enterpriſe, and deceive his countrymen with the aſſurance that wealth and honours ſhould be the reward of his falſehood, and that his ſincerity would be puniſhed with im-

[9] Calabriam adeunt, eamque inter ſe diviſam reperientes funditus depopulati ſunt (or depopularunt), ita ut deſerta ſit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Herempert, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Caraccioli (Rer. Italic. Script. tom. v. p. 23.) and of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars i. p. 246.). Both were extremely ſcarce, when they were reprinted by Muratori.

[10] Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 874, N° 2.) has drawn this ſtory from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a falſe title, and we can only quote the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno (Paralipomena, c. 110.), compoſed towards the end of the xth century, and publiſhed in the ſecond volume of Muratori's Collection. See the Diſſertations of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars i. p. 231—281, &c.).

[11] Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Baſil. c. 58. p. 183.) is the original author of this ſtory. He places it under the reigns of Baſil and Lewis II.; yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A. D. 891, after the deceaſe of both of thoſe princes.

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mediate death. He affected to yield, but as ſoon as he was conducted within hearing of the Chriſtians on the rampart, "Friends "and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be bold and patient, "maintain the city; your ſovereign is informed of your diſtreſs, "and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit "my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the ſelf-devoted patriot was tranſpierced with an hundred ſpears. He deſerves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the ſame ſtory in ancient and modern times, may ſprinkle ſome doubts on the reality of this generous deed[12]. 3. The recital of the third incident may provoke a ſmile amidſt the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto[13], ſupported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of an hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party, were caſtrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jeſt, that he wiſhed to preſent the emperor with a ſupply of eunuchs, the moſt precious ornaments of the Byzantine court. The garriſon of a caſtle had been defeated in a ſally, and the priſoners were ſentenced to the cuſtomary operation. But the ſacrifice was diſturbed by the intruſion of a frantic female, who, with bleeding cheeks, diſhevelled hair, and importunate clamours, compelled the marquis to liſten to her complaint. "Is it thus," ſhe cried, "ye magnanimous heroes, "that ye wage war againſt women, againſt women who have never "injured ye, and whoſe only arms are the diſtaff and the loom?"

A. D. 930.

[12] In the year 663, the ſame tragedy is deſcribed by Paul the Deacon (de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 7, 8. p. 870, 871. edit. Grot.), under the walls of the ſame city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themſelves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany, M. d'Aſſas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, *is ſaid* to have devoted himſelf in a ſimilar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as mere ſilence was required by the enemy who had made him priſoner (Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XV. c. 33. tom. ix. p. 172.).

[13] Theobald, who is ſtyled *Heros* by Liutprand, was properly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 935. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 645—732, &c.).

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Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that, since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclaimed, "can you attack us more directly, how can you wound "us in a more vital part, than by robbing our husbands of what we "most dearly cherish, the source of our joys and the hope of our "posterity? The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured "without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, sub-"dues my patience, and calls aloud on the justice of heaven and "earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence; the savage Franks, inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational, despair; and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to enquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, were he again taken in arms? "Should such," she answered without hesitation, "be his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a nose, "and hands, and feet. These are his own, and these he may de-"serve to forfeit by his personal offences. But let my lord be pleased "to spare what his little handmaid presumes to claim as her peculiar "and lawful property[14]."

Origin of the Normans in Italy, A. D. 1016.

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily[15], is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The

[14] Liutprand, Hist. l. iv. c. 4. in the Rerum Italic. Script. ~~tom. i.~~ pars i. p. 453, 454. Should the licentiousness of the tale be questioned, I may exclaim, with poor Sterne, that it is hard if I may not transcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without scruple What if I had translated, ut viris certetis testiculos amputare, in quibus nostri corporis refocillatio, &c.?

[15] The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the vth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Appulus (p. 245—278) and the history of Galfridus (*Jeffrey*) Malaterra (p. 537—607.). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A. D. 1100), and with the spirit of freemen. It is needless to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian history, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Giannone, Muratori, St. Marc, &c. whom I have always consulted, and never copied.

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broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were expoſed to every invader, and every ſea and land were invaded by the adventurous ſpirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and ſlaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the God of the Chriſtians [16]; and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themſelves the vaſſals of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne and Capet. The ſavage fierceneſs which they had brought from the ſnowy mountains of Norway, was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo inſenſibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language [17], and gallantry, of the French nation; and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious atchievements. Of the faſhionable ſuperſtitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exerciſe: danger was the incentive, novelty the recompence: and the proſpect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chaſtiſed by the arm of a warrior. In one of theſe pious viſits to the cavern of mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been ſanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael [18], they were accoſted

[16] Some of the firſt converts were baptiſed ten or twelve times, for the ſake of the white garment uſually given at this ceremony. At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monaſteries for the repoſe of his ſoul, were accompanied by a ſacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was pure and general.

[17] The Daniſh language was ſtill ſpoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the ſea-coaſt, at a time (A. D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Quem (Richard I.) confeſtim pater Baiocas mittens Botoni militiæ ſuæ principi nutriendum tradidit, ut ibi *lingua* eruditus *Danica* ſuis exteriſque hominibus ſciret aperte dare reſponſa (Wilhelm. Gemeticenſis de Ducibus Normannis, l. iii. c. 8. p. 623. edit. Cambden). Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the conqueror (A. D. 1035), Selden (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1640—1656.) has given a ſpecimen, obſolete and obſcure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

[18] See Leandro Alberti (Deſcrizione d'Italia,

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coſted by a ſtranger in the Greek habit, but who ſoon revealed himſelf as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unſucceſsful revolt, was compelled to ſeek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and ſolicited his confidence: they liſtened to the complaints, and ſtill more to the promiſes, of the patriot. The aſſurance of wealth demonſtrated the juſtice of his cauſe; and they viewed as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppreſſed by effeminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy, they kindled a ſpark of enterpriſe; and a ſmall but intrepid band was freely aſſociated for the deliverance of Apulia. They paſſed the Alps by ſeparate roads, and in the diſguiſe of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were ſaluted by the chief of Bari, who ſupplied the more indigent with arms and horſes, and inſtantly led them to the field of action. In the firſt conflict, their valour prevailed; but in the ſecond engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo ended his life, a ſuppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promiſed land, wandered among the hills and vallies of Italy, and earned their daily ſubſiſtence by the ſword. To that formidable ſword, the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domeſtic quarrels; the ſuperior ſpirit and diſcipline of the Normans gave victory to the ſide which they eſpouſed; and their cautious policy obſerved the balance of power, leſt the preponderance of any rival ſtate ſhould render their aid leſs important and their ſervice leſs profitable.

lia, p. 250.) and Baronius (A. D. 493, N° 43.). If the archangel inherited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern, of old Calchas the ſoothſayer (Strab. Geograph. l. vi. p. 435, 436.), the Catholics (on this occaſion) have ſurpaſſed the Greeks in the elegance of their ſuperſtition.

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profitable. Their firſt aſylum was a ſtrong camp in the depth of the marſhes of Campania; but they were ſoon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent ſeat. Eight miles from his reſidence, as a bulwark againſt Capua, the town of Averſa was built and fortified for their uſe; and they enjoyed as their own, the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile diſtrict. The report of their ſucceſs attracted every year new ſwarms of pilgrims and ſoldiers: the poor were urged by neceſſity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active ſpirits of Normandy were impatient of eaſe and ambitious of renown. The independent ſtandard of Averſa afforded ſhelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had eſcaped from the injuſtice or juſtice of his ſuperiors; and theſe foreign aſſociates were quickly aſſimilitated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The firſt leader of the Normans was count Rainulf; and in the origin of ſociety, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of ſuperior merit[19].

Foundation of Averſa, A. D. 1029.

Since the conqueſt of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable poſſeſſion; but their efforts, however ſtrenuous, had been oppoſed by the diſtance and the ſea. Their coſtly armaments, after a gleam of ſucceſs, added new pages of calamity and diſgrace to the Byzantine annals: twenty thouſand of their beſt troops were loſt in a ſingle expedition; and the victorious Moſlems derided the policy of a nation, which entruſted eunuchs not only with the cuſtody of their women but with the command of their men[20]. After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens

The Normans ſerve in Sicily, A. D. 1038.

[19] See the 1st book of William Appulus. His words are applicable to every ſwarm of Barbarians and freebooters:

Si vicinorum quis *pernitioſus* ad illos
Confugiebat, eum gratanter ſuſcipiebant
Moribus et lingua quoſcunque venire videbant
Informant propria; gens efficiatur ut una.

And elſewhere, of the native adventurers of Normandy:

Pars parat exiguæ vel opes aderant quia nullæ.
Pars quia de magnis majora ſubire volebant.

[20] Liutprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has

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Saracens were ruined by their diviſions [21]. The emir diſclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people roſe againſt the emir; the cities were uſurped by the chiefs; each meaner rebel was independent in his village or caſtle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendſhip of the Chriſtians. In every ſervice of danger the Normans were prompt and uſeful; and five hundred *knights*, or warriors on horſeback, were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the ſtandard of Maniaces governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was reſtored; and the iſland was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Meſſina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a ſecond action the emir of Syracuſe was unhorſed and tranſpierced by the *iron arm* of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement his intrepid companions diſcomfited the hoſt of ſixty thouſand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the purſuit: a ſplendid victory; but of which the pen of the hiſtorian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true that they eſſentially promoted the ſucceſs of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities and the greater part of Sicily under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was ſullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the diviſion of the ſpoil, the deſerts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten; and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained, by the mouth of their interpreter: their complaint was diſregarded; their interpreter was ſcourged; the ſufferings were *his*; the inſult and reſentment belonged to *thoſe* whoſe ſentiments he had delivered. Yet they diſſembled till they had obtained, or ſtolen, a ſafe paſſage to the

has illuſtrated this event from the MS. hiſtory of the deacon Leo (tom. iv. A. D. 965, N° 17—19).

[21] See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. i. p. 253.

Italian

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Their conqueſt of Apulia, A. D. 1040—1043.

Italian continent: their brethren of Averſa ſympathiſed in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt [22]. Above twenty years after the firſt emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than ſeven hundred horſe and five hundred foot; and after the recall of the Byzantine legions [23] from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of threeſcore thouſand men. Their herald propoſed the option of battle or retreat; "of battle," was the unanimous cry of the Normans; and one of their ſtouteſt warriors, with a ſtroke of his fiſt, felled to the ground the horſe of the Greek meſſenger. He was diſmiſſed with a freſh horſe; the inſult was concealed from the Imperial troops; but in two ſucceſſive battles they were more fatally inſtructed of the proweſs of their adverſaries. In the plains of Cannæ, the Aſiatics fled before the adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made priſoner; the Apulians acquieſced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brunduſium, and Tarentum, were alone ſaved in the ſhipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this æra we may date the eſtabliſhment of the Norman power, which ſoon eclipſed the infant colony of Averſa. Twelve counts [24] were choſen by the popular ſuffrage; and age,

[22] Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conqueſt of Apulia (l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, 19.). The ſame events are deſcribed by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741—743. 755, 756.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238.); and the Greeks are ſo hardened to diſgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

[23] Cedrenus ſpecifies the ταγμα of the Obſequium (Phrygia), and the μερος of the Thraceſians (Lydia; conſult Conſtantine de Thematibus, i. 3, 4. with Deliſle's map); and afterwards names the Piſidians and Lycaonians, with the fœderati.

[24] Omnes conveniunt et bis ſex nobiliores
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas,
Elegere duces. Provectis ad comitatum
His alii parent. Comitatus nomen honoris
Quo donantur erat. Hi totas undique terras
Diviſere ſibi, ni ſors inimica repugnet
Singula proponunt loca quæ contingere ſorte
Cuique duci debent, et quæque tributa locorum.

And after ſpeaking of Melphi, William Appulus adds,

Pro numero comitum bis ſex ſtatuere plateas
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.

Leo Oſtienſis (l. ii. c. 67.) enumerates the diviſions of the Apulian cities, which it is needleſs to repeat.

birth,

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birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar diſtricts were appropriated to their uſe; and each count erected a fortreſs in the midſt of his lands, and at the head of his vaſſals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melphi was reſerved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; an houſe and ſeparate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military ſenate. The firſt of his peers, their preſident and general, was entitled count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the iron arm, who, in the language of the age, is ſtyled a lion in battle, a lamb in ſociety, and an angel in council [25]. The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national hiſtorian [26]. "The Normans," ſays Malaterra, "are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and diſſimulation appear "to be their hereditary qualities: they can ſtoop to flatter; but unleſs they are curbed by the reſtraint of law, they indulge the "licentiouſneſs of nature and paſſion. Their princes affect the "praiſe of popular munificence; the people obſerve the medium, or "rather blend the extremes, of avarice and prodigality; and, in "their eager thirſt of wealth and dominion, they deſpiſe whatever "they poſſeſs, and hope whatever they deſire. Arms and horſes, "the luxury of dreſs, the exerciſes of hunting and hawking [27], are "the delight of the Normans; but, on preſſing occaſions, they can

Character of the Normans.

[25] Gulielm. Appulus, l. ii. c. 12. according to the reference of Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 31.), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praiſes indeed his *validas vires*, *probitas animi*, and *vivida virtus*; and declares, that had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits (l. i. p. 258. l. ii. p. 259.). He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti conſilii virum (ſays Malaterra, l. i. c. 12. p. 552.) tam armis ſtrenuum, tam ſibi munificum, affabilem, morigeratum ulterius ſe habere diffidebant.

[26] The gens aſtutiſſima, injuriarum ultrix .... adulari ſciens .... eloquentiis inſerviens, of Malaterra (l. i. c. 3. p. 550.), are expreſſive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

[27] The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *deſcendants* of the Norwegian ſailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the fineſt caſts of falcons.

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"endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, "and the toil and abſtinence of a military life [28]."

Oppreſſion of Apulia, A. D. 1046, &c.

The Normans of Apulia were ſeated on the verge of the two empires; and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the inveſtiture of their lands from the ſovereigns of Germany or Conſtantinople. But the firmeſt title of theſe adventurers was the right of conqueſt: they neither loved nor truſted; they were neither truſted nor beloved: the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and reſentment. Every object of deſire, an horſe, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciouſneſs of the ſtrangers [29]; and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more ſpecious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were ſometimes joined in a league of injuſtice: in their domeſtic quarrels they diſputed the ſpoils of the people: the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and ſucceſſor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to reſtrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Conſtantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent miſchief, more grievous than a flight of Barbarians [30]; and Argyrus, the ſon of Melo, was inveſted for this purpoſe with the moſt lofty titles [31] and the moſt ample commiſſion. The memory of

[28] We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malmſbury (de Geſtis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 101, 102.), who appreciates, like a philoſophic hiſtorian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was aſſuredly a gainer by the conqueſt.

[29] The biographer of St. Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. Videns indiſciplinatam et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inauditâ rabie et pluſquam Paganâ impietate adverſus eccleſias Dei inſurgere, paſſim Chriſtianos trucidare, &c. (Wibert, c. 6.) The honeſt Apulian (l. ii. p. 259.) ſays calmly of their accuſer, Veris commiſcens fallacia.

[30] The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, &c. muſt be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 757, 758.), William Appulus (l. i. p. 257, 258. l. ii. p. 259.), and the two Chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protoſpata (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 42, 43, 44), and an anonymous writer (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 31—35.). This laſt is a fragment of ſome value.

[31] Argyrus received, ſays the anonymous Chronicle of Bari, imperial letters, Fœderatus

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of his father might recommend him to the Normans; and he had already engaged their voluntary ſervice to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the deſign of Conſtantine to tranſplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Perſian war; and the ſon of Melo diſtributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the firſt fruits of the Imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the ſenſe and ſpirit of the conquerors of Apulia: his gifts, or at leaſt his propoſals, were rejected; and they unanimouſly refuſed to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions and their hopes for the diſtant proſpect of Aſiatic fortune. After the means of perſuaſion had failed, Argyrus reſolved to compel or to deſtroy: the Latin powers were ſolicited againſt the common enemy; and an offenſive alliance was formed of the pope, and the two emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the ninth, a ſimple ſaint [32], of a temper moſt apt to deceive himſelf and the world, and whoſe venerable character would conſecrate with the name of piety, the meaſures leaſt compatible with the practice of religion. His humanity was affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people: the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes; and the temporal ſword might be lawfully unſheathed againſt the ſacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the cenſures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free acceſs to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the third; and in ſearch of arms and allies, his ardent zeal tranſported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During theſe hoſtile

League of the pope and the two empires, A. D. 1049—1054.

ratûs et Patriciatûs, et Catapani et Veſtatûs. In his Annals, Muratori (tom. viii. p. 426) very properly reads, or interprets, *Seveſtatus*, the title of Sebaſtos or Auguſtus. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, maſter of the wardrobe.

[32] A Life of St. Leo IX. deeply tinged with the paſſions and prejudices of the age, has been compoſed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615, in octavo, and ſince inſerted in the Collections of the Bollandiſts, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private hiſtory of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Marc (Abregé, tom. ii. p. 140—210. and p. 25—95. 2d column).

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A. D. 1051.

preparations, Argyrus indulged himſelf in the uſe of ſecret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drogo was murdered in a church. But his ſpirit ſurvived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The aſſaſſins were chaſtiſed; and the ſon of Melo, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his ſhame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy ſuccour of his allies.

Expedition of pope Leo IX. againſt the Normans, A. D. 1053.

But the power of Conſtantine was diſtracted by a Turkiſh war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irreſolute; and the pope, inſtead of repaſſing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of ſeven hundred Swabians and ſome volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progreſs from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiſcuous multitude of Italians was enliſted under the holy ſtandard[33]: the prieſt and the robber ſlept in the ſame tent; the pikes and croſſes were intermingled in the front; and the martial ſaint repeated the leſſons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muſter in the field no more than three thouſand horſe, with an handful of infantry: the defection of the natives intercepted their proviſions and retreat; and their ſpirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by ſuperſtitious awe. On the hoſtile approach of Leo, they knelt without diſgrace or reluctance before their ſpiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive ſtature of their adverſaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they diſdained, and, as many of them had been three days without taſting food, they embraced the aſſurance of a more eaſy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, de-

[33] See the expedition of Leo IX. againſt the Normans. See William Appulus (l. ii. p. 259—261.) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 253.). They are impartial, as the national, is counterbalanced by the clerical, prejudice.

ſcended

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His defeat and captivity, June 18.

ſcended into the plain, and charged in three diviſions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard count of Averſa, and Robert the famous Guiſcard, attacked, broke, routed, and purſued the Italian multitudes, who fought without diſcipline and fled without ſhame. A harder trial was reſerved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans[34] have been deſcribed as unſkilful in the management of the horſe and lance: but on foot they formed a ſtrong and impenetrable phalanx; and neither man, nor ſteed, nor armour, could reſiſt the weight of their long and two-handed ſwords. After a ſevere conflict, they were encompaſſed by the ſquadrons returning from the purſuit; and died in their ranks with the eſteem of their foes, and the ſatisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were ſhut againſt the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kiſſed his feet to implore his bleſſing and the abſolution of their ſinful victory. The ſoldiers beheld in their enemy and captive, the vicar of Chriſt; and, though we may ſuppoſe the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular ſuperſtition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplored the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, which muſt be imputed to his account: he felt, that he had been the author of ſin and ſcandal; and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was univerſally condemned[35]. With theſe diſpoſitions, he liſtened to the offers of a beneficial treaty; deſerted an alliance which he had preached as the cauſe of God; and ratified

[34] Teutonici quia cæſaries et forma decoros
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Eſſe videbantur.
The verſes of the Apulian are commonly in this ſtrain, though he heats himſelf a little in the battle. Two of his ſimilies from hawking and ſorcery are deſcriptive of manners.

[35] Several reſpectable cenſures or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200—204.). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the popes the right of making war, the hermit (lugens eremi incola) is arraigned by the cardinal, and Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 1053, N° 10—17.) moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the two ſwords of St. Peter.

the

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Origin of the papal inveſtitures to the Normans.

the paſt and future conqueſts of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been uſurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Conſtantine and the patrimony of St. Peter: the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promiſed to ſupport each other with ſpiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelve-pence was afterwards ſtipulated for every plough-land; and ſince this memorable tranſaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above ſeven hundred years a fief of the Holy See[36].

Birth and character of Robert Guiſcard, A. D. 1020—1085.

The pedigree of Robert Guiſcard[37] is variouſly deduced from the peaſants and the dukes of Normandy: from the peaſants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princeſs[38]; from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian ſubjects[39]. His genuine deſcent may be aſcribed to the ſecond or middle order of private nobility[40]. He ſprang from a race of *valvaſſors* or *bannerets*, of the dioceſe of

[36] The origin and nature of the papal inveſtitures are ably diſcuſſed by Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 37—49. 57—66.) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly ſtrives to reconcile the duties of patriot and catholic, adopts an empty diſtinction of "Eccleſia Romana non dedit ſed "accepit," and ſhrinks from an honeſt but dangerous confeſſion of the truth.

[37] The birth, character, and firſt actions of Robert Guiſcard, may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 3, 4. 11. 16, 17, 18. 38, 39, 40.), William Appulus (l. ii. p. 260—262.), William Gemeticenſis or of Jumieges (l. xi. c. 30. p. 663, 664. edit. Cambden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 23—27. l. vi. p. 165, 166.), with the annotations of Ducange (Not. in Alexiad. p. 230—232 320.), who has ſwept all the French and Latin chronicles for ſupplemental intelligence.

[38] Ο δε Ρομπιρτος (a Greek corruption) ητος ην Νορμαννος το γενος, την τυχην ασημος..... again, εξ αφανους πανυ τυχης περιφανης, and elſewhere (l. iv. p. 84.), απο ισχατης πενιας και τυχης αφανους. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was no more than a private though illuſtrious ſubject, who raiſed himſelf to the empire.

[39] Giannone (tom. ii. p. 2.) forgets all his original authors, and reſts this princely deſcent on the credit of Inveges, an Auguſtine monk of Palermo in the laſt century. They continue the ſucceſſion of dukes from Rollo to William II. the Baſtard or Conqueror, whom they hold (communemente ſi tiene) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville: a moſt ſtrange and ſtupendous blunder! The ſons of Tancred fought in Appulia, before William II. was three years old (A. D. 1037).

[40] The judgment of Ducange is juſt and moderate: Certe humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, ſi ducalem et regium ſpectemus apicem, ad quem poſtea pervenit; quæ honeſta tamen et præter nobilium vulgarium ſtatum et conditionem illuſtris habita eſt, "quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tu-"meret" (Wilhelm. Malmſbur. de Geſtis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad. p. 230.).

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Coutances, in the lower Normandy: the caſtle of Hauteville was their honourable ſeat; his father Tancred was conſpicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military ſervice was furniſhed by ten ſoldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve ſons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderneſs of his ſecond wife. But a narrow patrimony was inſufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they ſaw around the neighbourhood the miſchiefs of poverty and diſcord, and reſolved to ſeek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cheriſh their father's age: their ten brothers, as they ſucceſſively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the caſtle, paſſed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native ſpirit; their ſucceſs encouraged their younger brethren; and the three firſt in ſeniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deſerved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldeſt of the ſeven ſons of the ſecond marriage; and even the reluctant praiſe of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a ſoldier and a ſtateſman. His lofty ſtature ſurpaſſed the talleſt of his army: his limbs were caſt in the true proportion of ſtrength and gracefulneſs; and to the decline of life, he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his ſhoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes ſparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impreſs obedience and terror amidſt the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, ſuch qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or hiſtorian: they may obſerve that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right-hand his ſword, his lance in the left; that in the battle of Civitella, he was thrice unhorſed; and that in the cloſe of that memorable day he

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he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies[41]. His boundleſs ambition was founded on the conſcioufneſs of ſuperior worth: in the purſuit of greatneſs, he was never arreſted by the ſcruples of juſtice, and ſeldom moved by the feelings of humanity: though not inſenſible of fame, the choice of open or clandeſtine means was determined only by his preſent advantage. The ſurname of *Guiſcard*[42] was applied to this maſter of political wiſdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of diſſimulation and deceit; and Robert is praiſed by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulyſſes and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet theſe arts were diſguiſed by an appearance of military frankneſs: in his higheſt fortune, he was acceſſible and courteous to his fellow-ſoldiers; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new ſubjects, he affected in his dreſs and manners to maintain the ancient faſhion of his country. He graſped with a rapacious, that he might diſtribute with a liberal, hand: his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention; and his priſoners were tortured with ſlow and unfeeling cruelty to force a diſcovery of their ſecret treaſure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horſeback and thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful; the ſixth ſon of Tancred of Hauteville paſſed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his firſt military band was

[41] I ſhall quote with pleaſure ſome of the beſt lines of the Apulian (l. ii. p. 270.):

Pugnat utrâque manû, nec lancea caſſa, nec enſis
Caſſus erat, quocunque manû deducere vellet.
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipſe reſumptis
Major in arma redit: ſtimulos furor ipſe miniſtrat.
Ut Leo cum frendens, &c.
Nullus in hoc bello ſicuti poſt bella probatum eſt
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus.

[42] The Norman writers and editors moſt converſant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiſcard* or *Wiſcard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wiſe*) is familiar to our ear; and in the old word *Wiſeacre*, I can diſcern ſomething of a ſimilar ſenſe and termination. Τὴν ψυχὴν πανουργοτατος, is no bad tranſlation of the ſurname and character of Robert.

levied

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levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia; but they guarded their ſhares with the jealouſy of avarice: the aſpiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his firſt exploits againſt the Greeks and the natives, it is not eaſy to diſcriminate the hero from the robber. To ſurpriſe a caſtle or a convent, to enſnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for neceſſary food, were the obſcure labours which formed and exerciſed the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his ſtandard; and, under his command, the peaſants of Calabria aſſumed the name and character of Normans.

His ambition and ſucceſs, A. D. 1054—1080.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealouſy of his elder brother, by whom, in a tranſient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty reſtrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his ſons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private eſtate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiſcard was exalted on a buckler, and ſaluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an encreaſe of authority and of force, he reſumed the conqueſt of Calabria, and ſoon aſpired to a rank that ſhould raiſe him for ever above the heads of his equals. By ſome acts of rapine or ſacrilege, he had incurred a papal excommunication: but Nicholas the ſecond was eaſily perſuaded, that the diviſions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See; and it was ſafer to truſt the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an ariſtocracy. A ſynod of one hundred biſhops was convened at Melphi; and the count interrupted an important enterpriſe to guard the perſon and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his poſterity, the ducal title[43], with the inveſtiture of Apulia,

[43] The acquiſition of the ducal title by Robert Guiſcard is a nice and obſcure buſineſs. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratori, and St. Marc, I have endeavoured to form a conſiſtent and probable narrative.

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Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his ſword could reſcue from the ſchiſmatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens [40]. This apoſtolic ſanction might juſtify his arms; but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their conſent; and Guiſcard diſſembled his elevation till the enſuing campaign had been illuſtrated by the conqueſt of Conſenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he aſſembled his troops, and ſolicited the Normans to confirm by their ſuffrage the judgment of the vicar of Chriſt: the ſoldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow ſmiles and ſecret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert ſtyled himſelf, "by the "grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and here-"after of Sicily;" and it was the labour of twenty years to deſerve and realize theſe lofty appellations. Such tardy progreſs, in a narrow ſpace, may ſeem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the ſpirit of the nation: but the Normans were few in number; their reſcources were ſcanty; their ſervice was voluntary and precarious. The braveſt deſigns of the duke were ſometimes oppoſed by the free voice of his parliament of barons: the twelve counts of popular election, conſpired againſt his authority; and againſt their perfidious uncle, the ſons of Humphrey demanded juſtice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiſcard diſcovered their plots, ſuppreſſed their rebellions, and puniſhed the guilty with death or exile: but in theſe domeſtic feuds, his years, and the national ſtrength, were unprofitably conſumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces re-

Duke of Apulia, A. D. 1060.

[40] Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 1059, N° 69.) has publiſhed the original act. He profeſſes to have copied it from the *Liber Cenſuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a Liber Cenſuum of the xiith century has been printed by Muratori (Antiquit. medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 851—908.): and the names of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the ſuſpicions of a proteſtant, and even of a philoſopher.

treated

treated to the ſtrong and populous cities of the ſea-coaſt. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence; the Normans were accuſtomed to ſerve on horſeback in the field, and their rude attempts could only ſucceed by the efforts of perſevering courage. The reſiſtance of Salerno was maintained above eight months: the ſiege or blockade of Bari laſted near four years. In theſe actions the Norman duke was the foremoſt in every danger; in every fatigue the laſt and moſt patient. As he preſſed the citadel of Salerno, an huge ſtone from the rampart ſhattered one of his military engines; and by a ſplinter he was wounded in the breaſt. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miſerable hut or barrack, compoſed of dry branches, and thatched with ſtraw; a perilous ſtation, on all ſides open to the inclemency of the winter and the ſpears of the enemy[45].

His Italian conqueſts.

The Italian conqueſts of Robert correſpond with the limits of the preſent kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been diſſevered by the revolutions of ſeven hundred years[46]. The monarchy has been compoſed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three diſtricts only were exempted from the common law of ſubjection; the firſt for ever, and the two laſt till the middle of the ſucceeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was ſometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than the ſword of the Normans. Their firſt colony of Averſa ſubdued and held the ſtate of Capua; and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The

[45] Read the life of Guiſcard in the ſecond and third books of the Apulian, the firſt and ſecond books of Malaterra.

[46] The conqueſts of Robert Guiſcard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the XII provinces of the kingdom, are fairly expoſed by Giannone in the ſecond volume of his Iſtoria Civile, l. ix, x, xi. and l. xvii. p. 460—470. This modern diviſion was not eſtabliſhed before the time of Frederic II.

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dukes of Naples, the preſent metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the ſhadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquiſitions of Guiſcard, the ſcience of Salerno [47], and the trade of Amalphi [48], may detain for a moment the curioſity of the reader.

School of Salerno.

I. Of the learned faculties, juriſprudence implies the previous eſtabliſhment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be ſuperſeded by the full light of religion and reaſon. But the ſavage and the ſage muſt alike implore the aſſiſtance of phyſic; and, if *our* diſeaſes are inflamed by luxury, the miſchiefs of blows and wounds would be more frequent in the ruder ages of ſociety. The treaſures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily; and in the intercourſe of peace and war, a ſpark of knowledge had been kindled and cheriſhed at Salerno, an illuſtrious city, in which the men were honeſt and the women beautiful [49]. A ſchool, the firſt that aroſe in the darkneſs of Europe, was conſecrated to the healing art: the conſcience of monks and biſhops was reconciled to that ſalutary and lucrative profeſſion; and a crowd of patients, of the moſt eminent rank and moſt diſtant climates, invited or viſited the phyſicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiſcard, though bred in arms, could diſcern the merit and value of a philoſopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Conſtantine, an African Chriſtian,

[47] Giannone (tom. ii. p. 119—127.), Muratori (Antiquitat. medii Ævi, tom. iii. diſſert. xliv. p. 935, 936.), and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Lettetura Italiana), have given an hiſtorical account of theſe phyſicians; their medical knowledge and practice muſt be left to our phyſicians.

[48] At the end of the Hiſtoria Pandectarum of Henry Brencman (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to), the indefatigable author has inſerted two diſſertations, de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, and de Amalphi a Piſanis direpta, which are built on the teſtimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two moſt important paſſages of the embaſſy of Liutprand (A. D. 969), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalphi with that of Venice.

[49] Urbs Latii non eſt hac delitioſior urbe,
Frugibus arboribus vino redundat; et unde
Non tibi poma, nuces, non pulchra palatia deſunt,
Non ſpecies muliebris abeſt probitaſque virorum.
(Gulielmus Appulus, l. iii. p. 267.)

returned from Bagdad, a maſter of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the leſſons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The ſchool of medicine has long ſlept in the name of an univerſity; but her precepts are abridged in a ſtring of aphoriſms, bound together in the Leonine verſes, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century [50]. II. Seven miles to the weſt of Salerno, and thirty to the ſouth of Naples, the obſcure town of Amalphi diſplayed the power and rewards of induſtry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the ſea was acceſſible and open: the inhabitants firſt aſſumed the office of ſupplying the weſtern world with the manufactures and productions of the Eaſt; and this uſeful traffic was the ſource of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the adminiſtration of a duke and the ſupremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thouſand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, ſilver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who ſwarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and aſtronomy; and the diſcovery of the compaſs, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coaſts, or at leaſt to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India; and their ſettlements in Conſtantinople, Antioch, Jeruſalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies [51]. After three

Trade of Amalphi.

[50] Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1066) of the death of Edward the Confeſſor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addreſſed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather miſtake, of Paſquier (Recherches de la France, l. vii. c. 2.) and Ducange (Gloſſar. Latin.). The practice of rhyming, as early as the viiith century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and Eaſt (Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. iii. diſſert. xl. p. 686—708.).

[51] The deſcription of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. iii. p. 267.), contains much truth and ſome poetry; and the third line may be applied to the ſailor's compaſs:

Nulla magis locuples argento, veſtibus, auro
Partibus innumeris: hâc plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta.

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three hundred years of proſperity, Amalphi was oppreſſed by the arms of the Normans, and ſacked by the jealouſy of Piſa; but the poverty of one thouſand fiſhermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arſenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

Conqueſt of Sicily by count Roger, A. D. 1060—1090.

Roger, the twelfth and laſt of the ſons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome ſummons; haſtened to the Apulian camp; and deſerved at firſt the eſteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the diſintereſted love of the ſoldiers and people. So ſcanty was his allowance, for himſelf and forty followers, that he deſcended from conqueſt to robbery, and from robbery to domeſtic theft; and ſo looſe were the notions of property, that, by his own hiſtorian, at his ſpecial command, he is accuſed of ſtealing horſes from a ſtable at Melphi[52]. His ſpirit emerged from poverty and diſgrace: from theſe baſe practices he roſe to the merit and glory of a holy war; and the invaſion of Sicily was ſeconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiſcard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the *idolaters*, a moſt audacious reproach of the Catholics, had retrieved their loſſes and poſſeſſions; but the deliverance of the iſland, ſo vainly undertaken by the forces of the Eaſtern empire, was atchieved by a ſmall and

Nauta *maris cælique vias aperire peritus.*
Huc et Alexandri diverſa feruntur ab urbe
Regis, et Antiochi. Gens hæc freta plurima tranſit.
His Arabes, Indi, Sieuli naſcuntur et Afri.
Hæc gens eſt totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et mercando ferens, et amans mercata referre.

[52] Latrocinio armigerorum ſuorum in multis ſuſtentabatur, quod quidem ad ejus ignominiam non dicimus; ſed ipſo ita præcipiente adhuc viliora et reprehenſibiliora dicturi ſumus ut pluribus pateſcat, quàm laborioſe et cum quantâ anguſtiâ a profundâ paupertate ad ſummum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigerit. Such is the preface of Malaterra (l. i. c. 25.) to the horſe-ſtealing. From the moment (l. i. c. 19.) that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder brother ſinks into the ſecond character. Something ſimilar in Velleius Paterculus may be obſerved of Auguſtus and Tiberius.

private

private band of adventurers[53]. In the firſt attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with only ſixty ſoldiers on a hoſtile ſhore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Meſſina; and ſafely returned with the ſpoils of the adjacent country. In the fortreſs of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conſpicuous. In his old age he related with pleaſure, that, by the diſtreſs of the ſiege, himſelf, and the counteſs his wife, had been reduced to a ſingle cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately: that in a ſally his horſe had been ſlain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but that he owed his reſcue to his good ſword, and had retreated with his ſaddle on his back, leſt the meaneſt trophy might be left in the hands of the miſcreants. In the ſiege of Trani, three hundred Normans withſtood and repulſed the forces of the iſland. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thouſand horſe and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty-ſix Chriſtian ſoldiers, without reckoning St. George, who fought on horſeback in the foremoſt ranks. The captive banners, with four camels, were reſerved for the ſucceſſor of St. Peter; and had theſe Barbaric ſpoils been expoſed not in the Vatican, but in the Capitol, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. Theſe inſufficient numbers of the Normans moſt probably denote their knights, the ſoldiers of honourable and equeſtrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or ſix followers in the field[54]; yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the ſide of valour, arms, and reputation, the diſcomfiture of ſo many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and

[53] Duo ſibi proficua deputans animæ ſcilicet et corporis ſi terram Idolis deditam ad cultum divinum revocaret (Galfrid Malaterra, l. ii. c. 1.). The conqueſt of Sicily is related in the three laſt books, and he himſelf has given an accurate ſummary of the chapters (p. 544—546.).

[54] See the word *milites*, in the Latin Gloſſary of Ducange.

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powerful ſuccour from their countrymen of Africa: in the ſiege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was aſſiſted by the gallies of Piſa; and, in the hour of action, the envy of the two brothers was ſublimed to a generous and invincible emulation. After a war of thirty years[55], Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the ſovereignty of the largeſt and moſt fruitful iſland of the Mediterranean; and his adminiſtration diſplays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moſlems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property[56]: a philoſopher and phyſician of Mazara, of the race of Mahomet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited to court; his geography of the ſeven climates was tranſlated into Latin; and Roger, after a diligent peruſal, preferred the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy[57]. A remnant of Chriſtian natives had promoted the ſucceſs of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the Croſs. The iſland was reſtored to the juriſdiction of the Roman pontiff; new biſhops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was ſatisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monaſteries. Yet the Catholic hero aſſerted the rights of the civil magiſtrate. Inſtead of reſigning the inveſtiture of

[55] Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra, that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the uſe of camels (l. i. c. 33.) and of carrier-pigeons (c. 42.); and that the bite of the tarantula provokes a windy diſpoſition, quæ per anum inhoneſte crepitando emergit: a ſymptom moſt ridiculouſly felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 36.). I ſhall add an etymology not unworthy of the xi[th] century: *Meſſana* is derived from *Meſſis*, the place from whence the harveſts of the iſle were ſent in tribute to Rome (l. ii. c. 1.).

[56] See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra, l. ii. c. 45. and Giannone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii. p. 72.).

[57] John Leo Afer, de Medicis et Philoſophis Arabibus, c. 14. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 278, 279. This philoſopher is named Eſſeriph Eſſachalli, and he died in Africa, A. H. 516. A. D. 1122. Yet this ſtory bears a ſtrange reſemblance to the Sherif al Edriſſi, who preſented his book (Geographia Nubienſis, ſee preface, p. 88. 90. 170.) to Roger king of Sicily, A. H. 548. A. D. 1153 (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 786. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 188. Petit de la Croix, Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, p. 535, 536. Caſiri, Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpan. tom. ii. p. 9—13.); and I am afraid of ſome miſtake.

benefices,

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beneficeſ, he dextrouſly applied to his own profit the papal claims: the ſupremacy of the crown was ſecured and enlarged, by the ſingular bull which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the Holy See [58].

Robert invades the Eaſtern empire, A. D. 1081.

To Robert Guiſcard, the conqueſt of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial: the poſſeſſion of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he reſolved to embrace or create the firſt occaſion of invading, perhaps of ſubduing, the Roman empire of the Eaſt [59]. From his firſt wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of conſanguinity; and her ſon Bohemond was deſtined to imitate, rather than to ſucceed, his illuſtrious father. The ſecond wife of Guiſcard was the daughter of the princes of Salerno; the Lombards acquieſced in the lineal ſucceſſion of their ſon Roger; their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials [60], and one of them was betrothed in a tender age, to Conſtantine, a beautiful youth, the ſon and heir of the emperor Michael [61]. But the throne of Conſtantinople was ſhaken by a revolution: the Imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloiſter; and Robert deplored, and reſented, the diſgrace of his daughter and the expulſion of his ally. A Greek, who ſtyled him-

[58] Malaterra remarks the foundation of the biſhoprics (l. iv. c. 7.), and produces the original of the bull (l. iv. c. 29.). Giannone gives a rational idea of this privilege, and the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii. p. 95—102.); and St. Marc (Abregé, tom. iii. p. 217—301. 1st column) labours the caſe with the diligence of a Sicilian lawyer.

[59] In the firſt expedition of Robert againſt the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the iſt, iiid, ivth, and vth books of the Alexiad), William Appulus (l. ivth and vth, p. 270—275.), and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 13, 14. 24—29. 39.). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witneſſes of the war.

[60] One of them was married to Hugh, the ſon of Azzo, or Axo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and *noble* (Gulielm. Appul. l. iii. p. 267.), in the xith century, and whoſe anceſtors in the xth and ixth are explored by the critical induſtry of Leibnitz and Muratori. From the two elder ſons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illuſtrious lines of Brunſwick and Eſte. See Muratori, Antichita Eſtenſe.

[61] Anna Comnena, ſomewhat too wantonly, praiſes and bewails that handſome boy, who, after the rupture of his barbaric nuptials (l. i. p. 23.), was betrothed as her huſband; he was αγαλμα φυσεως .... Θεω χειρων φιλοτιμημα .... χρυσω γενος απαρρον, &c. (p. 27.). Elſewhere, ſhe deſcribes the red and white of his ſkin, his hawk's eyes, &c. l. iii. p. 71.

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self the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of Imperial dignity: in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael [62] was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people; and pope Gregory the seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the Catholics to fight, in the pious works of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and impostor; a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard; and he trusted, that after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks; and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity: the Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition. In his new levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical authority; and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infancy were pressed without distinction into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory, of Italy; and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred

[62] Anna Comnena, l. i. p. 28, 29. Guilelm. Appul. l. iv. p. 271. Galfrid Malaterra, l. iii. c. 13. p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his style: but the Apulian is bold and positive.

——Mentitus se Michaelem
Venerat a Danais quidam seductor ad illum.

As Gregory VII. had believed, Baronius, almost alone, recognizes the emperor Michael (A. D. 1080, N° 44.).

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knights[63] of Norman race or diſcipline, formed the ſinews of the army, which might be ſwelled to thirty thouſand[64] followers of every denomination. The men, the horſes, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty veſſels: the tranſports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the gallies were ſupplied by the alliance of the republic of Raguſa.

Siege of Durazzo, A. D. 1081, June 17.

At the mouth of the Adriatic gulf, the ſhores of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. The ſpace between Brunduſium and Durazzo, the Roman paſſage, is no more than one hundred miles[65]; at the laſt ſtation of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty[66]; and this narrow diſtance had ſuggeſted to Pyrrhus and Pompey the ſublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke diſpatched Bohemond with fifteen gallies to ſeize or threaten the iſle of Corfu, to ſurvey the oppoſite coaſt, and to ſecure an harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They paſſed and landed without perceiving an enemy; and this ſucceſsful experiment diſplayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The iſlands of Epirus and the maritime towns were ſubdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I uſe the modern appellation) to the

[63] Ipſe armatæ militiæ non pluſquam MCCC milites ſecum habuiſſe, ab eis qui eidem negotio interfuerunt atteſtatur (Malaterra, l. iii. c. 24. p. 583.). Theſe are the ſame whom the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) ſtyles the equeſtris gens ducis, equites de gente ducis.

[64] Εις τριακοντα χιλιαδας, ſays Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. i. p. 37.); and her account tallies with the number and lading of the ſhips. Ivit in Dyrrachium cum XV millibus hominum, ſays the Chronicon Breve Normannicum (Muratori, Scriptores, tom. v. p. 278.). I have endeavoured to reconcile theſe reckonings.

[65] The Itinerary of Jeruſalem (p. 609. edit. Weſſeling) gives a true and reaſonable ſpace of a thouſand ſtadia, or one hundred miles, which is ſtrangely doubled by Strabo (l. vi. p. 433.) and Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. iii. 16.).

[66] Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. iii. 6. 16.) allows *quinquaginta* millia for this breviſſimus curſus, and agrees with the real diſtance from Otranto to La Vallona, or Aulon (d'Anville, Analyſe de ſa Carte des Cotes de la Gréce, &c. p. 3—6.). Hermolaus Barbarus, who ſubſtitutes *centum* (Harduin, Not. lxvi. in Plin. l. iii.), might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had ſailed out of the gulph.

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ſiege of Durazzo. That city, the weſtern key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Palæologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garriſon of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of ſoldiers. In the proſecution of his enterpriſe, the courage of Guiſcard was aſſailed by every form of danger and miſchance. In the moſt propitious ſeaſon of the year, as his fleet paſſed along the coaſt, a ſtorm of wind and ſnow unexpectedly aroſe: the Adriatic was ſwelled by the raging blaſt of the ſouth, and a new ſhipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks[67]. The ſails, the maſts, and the oars, were ſhattered or torn away; the ſea and ſhore were covered with the fragments of veſſels, with arms and dead bodies; and the greateſt part of the proviſions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laborioufly reſcued from the waves, and Robert halted ſeven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loſs and revive the drooping ſpirits of his ſoldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to mount Atlas, and who ſmiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempeſt; they were alarmed by the hoſtile approach of the Venetians, who had been ſolicited by the prayers and promiſes of the Byzantine court. The firſt day's action was not diſadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardleſs youth[68], who led the naval powers of his father. All night the gallies of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a creſcent; and the victory of the ſecond day was decided by the

[67] Infames ſcopulos Acroceraunia, Horat. carm. i. 3. The precipitem Africum decertantem Aquilonibus et rabiem Noti, and the monſtra natantia of the Adriatic, are ſomewhat enlarged; but Horace trembling for the life of Virgil, is an intereſting moment in the hiſtory of poetry and friendſhip.

[68] Των δε εις τον πωγωνα αυτου εφυβρισαντων (Alexias, l. iv. p. 106.). Yet the Normans ſhaved, and the Venetians wore, their beards; they muſt have derided the *no*-beard of Bohemond; an harſh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 283.)

dexterity

dexterity of their evolutions, the ſtation of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Raguſian veſſels fled to the ſhore, ſeveral were cut from their cables and dragged away by the conqueror; and a ſally from the town carried ſlaughter and diſmay to the tents of the Norman duke. A ſeaſonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as ſoon as the beſiegers had loſt the command of the ſea, the iſlands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the ſupply of tribute and proviſion. That camp was ſoon afflicted with a peſtilential diſeaſe; five hundred knights periſhed by an inglorious death; and the liſt of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thouſand perſons. Under theſe calamities, the mind of Guiſcard alone was firm and invincible: and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or ſcaled, or ſapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his induſtry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect induſtry. A moveable turret, of a ſize and capacity to contain five hundred ſoldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart: but the deſcent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden ſtructure was inſtantly conſumed by artificial flames.

The army and march of the emperor Alexius, April—September.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the Eaſt and the Normans in the Weſt, the aged ſucceſſor of Michael ſurrendered the ſceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illuſtrious captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynaſty. The princeſs Anne, his daughter and hiſtorian, obſerves, in her affected ſtyle, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and, on this principle, ſhe approves an haſty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in perſon the relief of Durazzo. On his acceſſion, Alexius found the camp without ſoldiers and the treaſury without money; yet ſuch were the vigour and activity of his meaſures, that in ſix months he aſſembled an army of ſeventy thouſand

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men[69], and performed a march of five hundred miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Aſia, from Peloponeſus to the Black Sea; his majeſty was diſplayed in the ſilver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horſe-guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, ſome of whom, in rapid ſucceſſion, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleaſure and contempt of ſubordination were pregnant with diſorder and miſchief; and their importunate clamours for ſpeedy and deciſive action diſconcerted the prudence of Alexius, who might have ſurrounded and ſtarved the beſieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a ſad compariſon of the paſt and preſent limits of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haſte and terror; and the garriſons of Anatolia, or Aſia Minor, had been purchaſed by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The ſtrength of the Greek army conſiſted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whoſe numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the Britiſh iſland of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and Engliſh were oppreſſed and united: a band of adventurous youths reſolved to deſert a land of ſlavery; the ſea was open to their eſcape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they viſited every coaſt that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the ſervice of the Greek emperor; and their firſt ſtation was in a new city on the Aſiatic ſhore: but Alexius ſoon recalled them to the defence of

[69] Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 136, 137.) obſerves, that ſome authors (Petrus Diacon. Chron. Caſinen. l. iii. c. 49.) compoſe the Greek army of 170,000 men, but that the *hundred* may be ſtruck off, and that Malaterra reckons only 70,000: a ſlight inattention. The paſſage to which he alludes, is in the Chronicle of Lupus Protoſpata (Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 45.). Malaterra (l. iv. c. 27.) ſpeaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, cum copiis innumerabilibus; like the Apulian poet (l. iv. p. 272.):

More locuſtarum montes et plana teguntur.

his

his perſon and palace; and bequeathed to his ſucceſſors the inheritance of their faith and valour[70]. The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity againſt the national foe, and panted to regain in Epirus, the glory which they had loſt in the battle of Haſtings. The Varangians were ſupported by ſome companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels, who had fled to Conſtantinople from the tyranny of Guiſcard, were eager to ſignaliſe their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency the emperor had not diſdained the impure aid of the Paulicians or Manichæans of Thrace and Bulgaria; and theſe heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the ſpirit and diſcipline of active valour[71]. The treaty with the ſultan had procured a ſupply of ſome thouſand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horſe were oppoſed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and diſtant proſpect of theſe formidable numbers, Robert aſſembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," ſaid he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are co-
"vered with arms and ſtandards; and the emperor of the Greeks
"is accuſtomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our
"only ſafety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more
"worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his ſecret enemies, aſſured him, in that perilous moment, of their eſteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued: "Let us truſt in the re-
"wards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of eſcape.
"Let us burn our veſſels and our baggage, and give battle on this
"ſpot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The reſolution was unanimouſly approved; and, without confining him-

[70] See William of Malmſbury de Geſtis Anglorum, l. ii. p. 92. Alexius fidem Anglorum ſuſcipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus ſuis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio tranſcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. p. 508. l. vii. p. 641.) relates their emigration from England, and their ſervice in Greece.

[71] See the Apulian (l. i. p. 256.). The character and ſtory of theſe Manichæans has been the ſubject of the liv[th] chapter.

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ſelf to his lines, Guiſcard awaited in battle-array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a ſmall river; his right wing extended to the ſea, his left to the hills: nor was he conſcious, perhaps, that on the ſame ground Cæſar and Pompey had formerly diſputed the empire of the world [72].

Battle of Durazzo, A. D. 1081, October 18.

Againſt the advice of his wiſeſt captains, Alexius reſolved to riſk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garriſon of Durazzo to aſſiſt their own deliverance by a well-timed ſally from the town. He marched in two columns to ſurpriſe the Normans before day-break on two different ſides: his light cavalry was ſcattered over the plain; the archers formed the ſecond line; and the Varangians claimed the honours of the van-guard. In the firſt onſet, the battle-axes of the ſtrangers made a deep and bloody impreſſion on the army of Guiſcard, which was now reduced to fifteen thouſand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiouſly turned their backs: they fled towards the river and the ſea; but the bridge had been broken down to check the ſally of the garriſon, and the coaſt was lined with the Venetian gallies, who played their engines among the diſorderly throng. On the verge of ruin, they were ſaved by the ſpirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a ſecond Pallas; leſs ſkilful in arts, but not leſs terrible in arms, than the Athenian goddeſs [73]: though wounded by an arrow, ſhe ſtood her ground, and ſtrove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops [74]. Her

[72] See the ſimple and maſterly narrative of Cæſar himſelf (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 41—75.). It is pity that Quintus Icilius (M. Guiſchard) did not live to analyſe theſe operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

[73] Παλλας αλλη καν μη Αθηνη, which is very properly tranſlated by the preſident Couſin (Hiſt. de Conſtantinople, tom. iv. p. 131, in 12mo), qui combattoit comme une Pallas, quoiquelle ne fût pas auſſi ſavante que celle d'Athénes. The Grecian goddeſs was compoſed of two diſcordant characters, of Neith, the workwoman of Sais in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake in Libya (Banier, Mythologie, tom. iv. p. 1—31. in 12mo).

[74] Anna Comnena (l. iv. p. 116.) admires, with ſome degree of terror, her maſculine virtues. They were more familiar to the

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Her female voice was ſeconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council: "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? Your "enemy is implacable; and death is leſs grievous than ſervitude." The moment was deciſive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they diſcovered the nakedneſs of their flanks; the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, ſtood firm and entire; they couched their lances, and the Greeks deplore the furious and irreſiſtible ſhock of the French cavalry[75]. Alexius was not deficient in the duties of a ſoldier or a general; but he no ſooner beheld the ſlaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he deſpiſed his ſubjects and deſpaired of his fortune. The princeſs Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praiſe the ſtrength and ſwiftneſs of her father's horſe, and his vigorous ſtruggle, when he was almoſt overthrown by the ſtroke of a lance, which had ſhivered the Imperial helmet. His deſperate valour broke through a ſquadron of Franks who oppoſed his flight; and, after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found ſome repoſe, of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychnidus. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble purſuit which had ſuffered the eſcape of ſo illuſtrious a prize; but he conſoled his diſappointment by the trophies and ſtandards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears; but

the Latins; and though the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) mentions her preſence and her wound, he repreſents her as far leſs intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte ſagittâ
Quâdam læſa fuit: quo vulnere *territa* nullam
Dum ſperabat opem ſe pœne *ſubegerat* hoſti.

The laſt is an unlucky word for a female priſoner.

[75] Απο της τα Ρομπερτα προηγησαμενης μαχης, γινοσκων την πρωτην κατα των εναντιων ἱππασιαν των Κελτων ανυποιστον (Anna, l. v. p. 133.); and elſewhere και γαρ Κελτος ανηρ πας εποχημενος μεν ανυποιστος την ορμην, και την θεαν ἐστιν (p. 140.). The pedantry of the princeſs in the choice of claſſic appellations, encouraged Ducange to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls.

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only thirty of his knights were ſlain in this memorable day. In th Roman hoſt, the loſs of Greeks, Turks, and Engliſh, amounted to five or ſix thouſand[76]; the plain of Durazzo was ſtained with noble and royal blood; and the end of the impoſtor Michael was more honourable than his life.

Durazzo taken, A. D. 1082, February 8.

It is more than probable that Guiſcard was not afflicted by the loſs of a coſtly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and deriſion of the Greeks. After their defeat, they ſtill perſevered in the defence of Durazzo; and a Venetian commander ſupplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his ſtation. The tents of the beſiegers were converted into barracks, to ſuſtain the inclemency of the winter; and in anſwer to the defiance of the garriſon, Robert inſinuated, that his patience was at leaſt equal to their obſtinacy[77]. Perhaps he already truſted to his ſecret correſpondence with a Venetian noble, who ſold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night ſeveral rope-ladders were dropped from the walls; the light Calabrians aſcended in ſilence; and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the ſtreets three days againſt an enemy already maſter of the rampart; and near ſeven months elapſed between the firſt inveſtment and the final ſurrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traverſed the firſt mountains of Theſſaly; ſurpriſed three hundred Engliſh in the city of Caſtoria; approached Theſſalonica; and made Conſtantinople tremble. A more preſſing duty ſuſpended the proſecution of his

[76] Lupus Protoſpata (tom. iii. p. 45.) ſays 6000; William the Apulian more than 5000 (l. iv. p. 273.). Their modeſty is ſingular and laudable: they might with ſo little trouble have ſlain two or three myriads of ſchiſmatics and infidels!

[77] The Romans had changed the inauſpicious name of *Epi-damnus* to Dyrrachium (Plin. iii. 26.); and the vulgar corruption of Duracium (ſee Malaterra) bore ſome affinity to *hardneſs*. One of Robert's names was Durand, a *durando:* poor wit! (Alberic. Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 137.)

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ambitious deſigns. By ſhipwreck, peſtilence, and the ſword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and inſtead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epiſtles, of the miſchiefs and dangers which had been produced by his abſence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the diſtreſs of the pope; and the approach or invaſion of Henry king of Germany. Highly preſuming that his perſon was ſufficient for the public ſafety, he repaſſed the ſea in a ſingle brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his ſon and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to reſpect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The ſon of Guiſcard trod in the footſteps of his father; and the two deſtroyers are compared by the Greeks to the caterpillar and the locuſt, the laſt of whom devours whatever has eſcaped the teeth of the former[78]. After winning two battles againſt the emperor, he deſcended into the plain of Theſſaly, and beſieged Lariſſa, the fabulous realm of Achilles[79], which contained the treaſure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a juſt praiſe muſt not be refuſed to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely ſtruggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the ſtate, he preſumed to borrow the ſuperfluous ornaments of the churches; the deſertion of the Manichæans was ſupplied by ſome tribes of Moldavia; a reinforcement of ſeven thouſand Turks replaced and revenged the loſs of their brethren; and the Greek ſoldiers were exerciſed to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuſcades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable

Return of Robert, and actions of Bohemond.

[78] Βρεχθες και ακριδας ειπειν αν τις αυτθς πατερα και υιον (Anna, l. i. p. 35.). By theſe ſimilies, ſo different from thoſe of Homer, ſhe wiſhes to inſpire contempt as well as horror for the little, noxious animal, a conqueror. Moſt unfortunately, the common ſenſe, or common nonſenſe, of mankind reſiſts her laudable deſign.

[79] Prodiit hâc auctor Trojanæ cladis Achilles.
The ſuppoſition of the Apulian (l. v. p. 275.) may be excuſed by the more claſſic poetry of Virgil (Æneid II. 197.) Lariſſæus Achilles, but it is not juſtified by the geography of Homer.

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cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almoſt incapable of motion [80]; his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horſe rather than the man; and a variety of ſpikes and ſnares was ſcattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Lariſſa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conſpicuous, and often ſucceſsful; but his camp was pillaged by a ſtratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or diſcontented counts deſerted his ſtandard, betrayed their truſts, and enliſted in the ſervice of the emperor. Alexius returned to Conſtantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conqueſts which he could no longer defend, the ſon of Guiſcard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who eſteemed his merit and ſympathiſed in his misfortune.

The emperor Henry III. invited by the Greeks, A.D. 1081.

Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the moſt prompt and powerful was Henry the third or fourth, king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the Weſt. The epiſtle of the Greek monarch [81] to his brother is filled with the warmeſt profeſſions of friendſhip, and the moſt lively deſire of ſtrengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his ſucceſs in a juſt and pious war, and complains that the proſperity of his own empire is diſturbed by the audacious enterpriſes of the Norman Robert. The liſt of his preſents expreſſes the manners of the age, a radiated crown of gold, a croſs ſet with pearls to hang on the breaſt, a caſe of relics, with the names and titles of the ſaints,

[80] The των πεδιλων προαλματα, which incumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly tranſlated ſpurs (Anna Comnena, Alexias, l. v. p. 140.). Ducange has explained the true ſenſe by a ridiculous and inconvenient faſhion, which laſted from the xi^th to the xv^th century. Theſe peaks, in the form of a ſcorpion, were ſometimes two foot, and faſtened to the knee with a ſilver chain.

[81] The epiſtle itſelf (Alexias, l. iii. p. 93, 94, 95.) well deſerves to be read. There is one expreſſion, αστροπελεκυν δεδεμενον μετα χρυσαφιου, which Ducange does not underſtand. I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning: χρυσαφιον, is a golden crown; αστροπελεκυς, is explained by Simon Portius (in Lexico Græco-Barbar.), by κεραυνος, πρηστηρ, a flaſh of lightning.

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a vaſe of chryſtal, a vaſe of ſardonyx, ſome balm, moſt probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To theſe he added a more ſolid preſent, of one hundred and forty-four thouſand Byzantines of gold, with a farther aſſurance of two hundred and ſixteen thouſand, ſo ſoon as Henry ſhould have entered in arms the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league againſt the common enemy. The German [82], who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted theſe liberal offers, and marched towards the ſouth: his ſpeed was checked by the ſound of the battle of Durazzo; but the influence of his arms or name, in the haſty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bribe. Henry was the ſincere adverſary of the Normans, the allies and vaſſals of Gregory the ſeventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty prieſt [83]: the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had ſeated a rival on the temporal or ſpiritual throne of his antagoniſt. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry deſcended into Italy to aſſume the Imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church [84]. But the Roman people adhered to the cauſe of Gregory: their reſolution was fortified by ſupplies of men and money from Apulia; and the city was thrice ineffectually beſieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is ſaid, with Byzantine

Beſieges Rome, A. D 1081—1084.

[82] For theſe general events I muſt refer to the general hiſtorians Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Moſheim, St. Marc, &c.

[83] The lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, Abregé, tom. iii. p. 235, &c.): and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as uſual, find ſome inſtruction in Le Clerc (Vie de Hildebrand, Bibliot. ancienne et moderne, tom. viii.), and much amuſement in Bayle (Dictionaire Critique, *Gregoire* VII.). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a ſecond Athanaſius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I preſume to add, that the portrait of Athanaſius is one of the paſſages of my hiſtory (vol. ii. p. 268, &c.) with which I am the leaſt diſſatisfied?

[84] Anna, with the rancour of a Greek ſchiſmatic, calls him καταπτυστος ουτος Παπας (l. i. p. 32.), a pope, or prieſt, worthy to be ſpit upon; and accuſes him of ſcourging, ſhaving, perhaps of caſtrating, the ambaſſadors of Henry (p. 31, 33.). But this outrage is improbable and doubtful (ſee the ſenſible preface of Couſin).

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zantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whoſe eſtates and caſtles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hoſtages, were delivered into his hands: the antipope, Clement the third, was conſecrated in the Lateran: the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the emperor Henry fixed his reſidence in the Capitol, as the lawful ſucceſſor of Auguſtus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were ſtill defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himſelf was inveſted in the caſtle of St. Angelo; and his laſt hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vaſſal. Their friendſhip had been interrupted by ſome reciprocal injuries and complaints; but, on this preſſing occaſſion, Guiſcard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his intereſt, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfurling the holy banner, he reſolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apoſtles: the moſt numerous of his armies, ſix thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot, was inſtantly aſſembled; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applauſe and the promiſe of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in ſixty-ſix battles, trembled at his approach; recollected ſome indiſpenſible affairs that required his preſence in Lombardy; exhorted the Romans to perſevere in their allegiance; and haſtily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In leſs than three years, the ſon of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors, of the Eaſt and Weſt, to fly before his victorious arms[85]. But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or ſcaled; but the Imperial faction was ſtill powerful and active; on the third day, the people

A. D. 1084, March 21, —— 24, —— 31.

Flies before Robert, May.

[85] Sic uno tempore victi
Sunt terræ Domini duo: rex Alemannicus iſte,
Imperii rector Romani maximus ille.
Alter ad arma ruens armis ſuperatur; et alter
Nominis auditi ſolâ formidine ceſſit.
It is ſingular enough, that the Apulian, a Latin, ſhould diſtinguiſh the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. iv. p. 274.).

roſe

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roſe in a furious tumult; and an haſty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the ſignal of fire and pillage [86]. The Saracens of Sicily, the ſubjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occaſion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Chriſtians: many thouſands of the citizens, in the ſight, and by the allies, of their ſpiritual father, were expoſed to violation, captivity, or death; and a ſpacious quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliſeum, was conſumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual ſolitude [87]. From a city, where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiſcard, with the hope of a Roman or Imperial crown; but this dangerous meaſure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, muſt for ever have alienated the moſt faithful princes of Germany.

Second expedition of Robert into Greece, A. D. 1084, October.

The deliverer and ſcourge of Rome might have indulged himſelf in a ſeaſon of repoſe; but in the ſame year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert reſumed the deſign of his Eaſtern conqueſts. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promiſed to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Aſia [88]; his troops were aſſembled in arms, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a

[86] The narrative of Malaterra (l. iii. c. 37. p. 587, 588.) is authentic, circumſtantial, and fair. Dux ignem exclamans urbe incenſa, &c. The Apulian ſoftens the miſchief (inde *quibuſdam* ædibus exuſtis), which is again exaggerated in ſome partial Chronicles (Muratori Annali, tom. ix. p. 147.).

[87] After mentioning this devaſtation, the Jeſuit Donatus (de Roma veteri et nova, l. iv. c. 8. p. 489.) prettily adds, Duraret hodieque in Cœlio monte interque ipſum et capitolium miſerabilis facies proſtratæ urbis, niſi in hortorum vinetorumque amænitatem Roma reſurrexiſſet ut perpetuâ viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas ſuas.

[88] The royalty of Robert, either promiſed or beſtowed by the pope (Anna, l. i. p. 32.), is ſufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. iv. p. 270.).

Romani regni ſibi promiſiſſe coronam
Papa ferebatur.

Nor can I underſtand why Gretſer, and the other papal advocates, ſhould be diſpleaſed with this new inſtance of apoſtolic juriſdiction.

ſwarm

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ſwarm of bees[89]; yet the utmoſt and moderate limits of the powers of Guiſcard have been already defined; they were contained in this ſecond occaſion in one hundred and twenty veſſels; and as the ſeaſon was far advanced, the harbour of Brunduſium[90] was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehenſive of a ſecond attack, had aſſiduouſly laboured to reſtore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important ſuccour of thirty-ſix tranſports, fourteen gallies, and nine galeots or ſhips of extraordinary ſtrength and magnitude. Their ſervices were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many ſhops and houſes in the port of Conſtantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable, as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Amalphi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with an hoſtile fleet, but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the ſhelter of a miſt, opened a free paſſage; and the Norman troops were ſafely diſembarked on the coaſt of Epirus. With twenty ſtrong and well-appointed gallies, their intrepid duke immediately ſought the enemy, and though more accuſtomed to fight on horſeback, he truſted his own life, and the lives of his brother and two ſons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the ſea was diſputed in three engagements, in ſight of the iſle of Corfu: in the two former, the ſkill and numbers of the allies were ſuperior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory[91]. The light

[89] See Homer Iliad B. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, &c. His bees are the image of a diſorderly crowd: their diſcipline and public works ſeem to be the ideas of a later age (Virgil. Æneid, l. i.)

[90] Guilielm. Appulus, l. v. p. 276. The admirable port of Brunduſium was double; the outward harbour was a gulph covered by an iſland, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a ſmall gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both ſides. Cæſar and Nature have laboured for its ruin; and againſt ſuch agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Swinburne's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 384—390.).

[91] William of Apulia (l. v. p. 276.) deſcribes

light brigantines of the Greeks were ſcattered in ignominious flight; the nine caſtles of the Venetians maintained a more obſtinate conflict; ſeven were ſunk, two were taken; two thouſand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius deplores the loſs of thirteen thouſand of his ſubjects or allies. The want of experience had been ſupplied by the genius of Guiſcard; and each evening, when he had ſounded a retreat, he calmly explored the cauſes of his repulſe, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter ſeaſon ſuſpended his progreſs: with the return of ſpring he again aſpired to the conqueſt of Conſtantinople; but, inſtead of traverſing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms againſt Greece and the iſlands, where the ſpoils would repay the labour, and where the land and ſea forces might purſue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the iſle of Cephalonia, his projects were fatally blaſted by an epidemical diſeaſe; Robert himſelf, in the ſeventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a ſuſpicion of poiſon was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor [92]. This premature death might allow a boundleſs ſcope for the imagination of his future exploits; and the event ſufficiently declares, that the Norman greatneſs was founded on his life [93].

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His death, A. D. 1085, July 17.

ſcribes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi. p. 159, 160, 161.). In her turn, ſhe invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, ſince they depoſed their doge, propter excidium ſtoli (Dandulus in Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 249.).

[92] The moſt authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v. 277.), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 41. p. 589.), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii.), are ignorant of this crime ſo apparent to our countrymen William of Malmſbury (l. iii. p. 107.) and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710. in Script. poſt Bedam): and the latter can tell, how the juſt Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The Engliſh hiſtorian is indeed ſo blind, that he ranks Robert Guiſcard, or Wiſcard, among the knights of Henry I. who aſcended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Apulia's death.

[93] The joyful Anna Comnena ſcatters ſome flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad, l. v. p. 162—166.): and his beſt praiſe is the eſteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the ſovereign of his family. Græcia (ſays Malaterra) hoſtibus recedentibus libera læta quievit: Apulia tota ſive Calabria turbatur.

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Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army diſperſed or retreated in diſorder and conſternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which tranſported the remains of Guiſcard was ſhipwrecked on the Italian ſhore; but the duke's body was recovered from the ſea, and depoſited in the ſepulchre of Venuſia [94], a place more illuſtrious for the birth of Horace [95], than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor, immediately ſunk to the humble ſtation of a duke of Apulia: the eſteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his ſword. The national tranquillity was diſturbed by his claims, till the firſt cruſade againſt the infidels of the Eaſt opened a more ſplendid field of glory and conqueſt [96].

Reign and ambition of Roger, great count of Sicily, A. D. 1101—1154, February 26.

Of human life, the moſt glorious or humble proſpects are alike and ſoon bounded by the ſepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiſcard was extinguiſhed, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the ſecond generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the ſon of the great count was endowed with the name, the conqueſts, and the ſpirit, of the firſt Roger [97]. The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily; and, at the age of only four years, he ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of the iſland, a lot which reaſon might envy, could ſhe indulge for a moment the viſionary,

[94] Urbs Venuſina nitet tantis decorata ſepulchris,
is one of the laſt lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v. p. 278.). William of Malmſbury (l. iii. p. 107.) inſerts an epitaph on Guiſcard, which is not worth tranſcribing.

[95] Yet Horace had few obligations to Venuſia: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Sermon. i. 6.); and his repeated alluſions to the doubtful limit of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. iii. 4. Serm. ii. 1.) are unworthy of his age and genius.

[96] See Giannone (tom. ii. p. 88—93.), and the hiſtorians of the firſt cruſade.

[97] The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the Iſtoria Civile of Giannone (tom. ii. l. xi—xiv. p. 136—340.), and is ſpread over the ix^th and x^th volumes of the Italian Annals of Muratori. In the Bibliotheque Italique (tom. i. p. 175—222.) I find an uſeful abſtract of Capecelatro, a modern Neapolitan, who has compoſed, in two volumes, the hiſtory of his country from Roger I. to Frederic II. incluſive.

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visionary, though virtuous, wish of dominion. Had Roger been content with his fruitful patrimony, an happy and grateful people might have blessed their benefactor; and, if a wise administration could have restored the prosperous times of the Greek colonies[98], the opulence and power of Sicily alone might have equalled the widest scope that could be acquired and desolated by the sword of war. But the ambition of the great count was ignorant of these noble pursuits; it was gratified by the vulgar means of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain the undivided possession of Palermo, of which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch; struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond the measure of former treaties; and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the first intelligence of his premature death, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven gallies, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days negociation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, commanded the submission of the barons, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom[99] which would only yield to the monarchies of France and

Duke of Apulia, A. D. 1127.

[98] According to the testimony of Philistus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of 10,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 400 gallies. Compare Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 268. 435.) and his adversary Wallace (Numbers of Mankind, p. 306, 307.). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller, d'Orville, Reidesel, Swinburne, &c.

[99] A contemporary historian of the Acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the consent of the

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and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo, might doubtleſs pronounce under what name he ſhould reign over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were inſufficient to juſtify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world [100] might diſclaim their new aſſociate, unleſs he were conſecrated by the authority of the ſupreme pontiff. The pride of Anacletus was pleaſed to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had ſtooped to ſolicit [101]; but his own legitimacy was attacked by the adverſe election of Innocent the ſecond; and while Anacletus ſat in the Vatican, the ſucceſsful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was ſhaken, and almoſt overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an eccleſiaſtical patron; and the ſword of Lothaire the ſecond of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Piſa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant reſiſtance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy; a new duke of Apulia was inveſted by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the *gonfanon*, or flag-ſtaff, as a token that they aſſerted their right, and ſuſpended their quarrel. But ſuch jealous friendſhip was of ſhort and precarious duration: the German armies ſoon vaniſhed in diſeaſe and deſertion [102]: the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was

First king of Sicily, A. D. 1130, Dec. 25— A. D. 1139, July 25.

the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus (Alexand. Cœnobii Teleſini Abbatis de Rebus geſtis Regis Rogerii, lib. iv. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 607—645.).

[100] The kings of France, England, Scotland, Caſtille, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three firſt were more ancient than Charlemagne: the three next were created by their ſword, the three laſt by their baptiſm; and of theſe the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debaſed by a papal crown.

[101] Fazellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A. D. 1130, May 1.), which Giannone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 137—144.). This fiction is diſproved by the ſilence of contemporaries; nor can it be reſtored by a ſpurious charter of Meſſina (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 340. Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. p. 467, 468.).

[102] Roger corrupted the ſecond perſon of Lothaire's army, who ſounded, or rather cried, a retreat: for the Germans (ſays Cinnamus, l. iii. c. 1. p. 51.) are ignorant of the uſe of trumpets. Moſt ignorant himſelf!

exterminated by a conqueror, who ſeldom forgave either the dead or the living; like his predeceſſor Leo the ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

His conqueſts in Africa, A. D. 1122—1152.

As a penance for his impious war againſt the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, that monarch might have promiſed to diſplay the banner of the croſs, and he accompliſhed with ardour a vow ſo propitious to his intereſt and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a juſt retaliation on the heads of the Saracens: the Normans, whoſe blood had been mingled with ſo many ſubject ſtreams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their ſtrength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conqueſt of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his ſervant Joſeph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horſes, his palace with its ſumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides[103], the deſcendants of Joſeph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a diſtant benefactor, graſped and abuſed the fruits of proſperity; and after running the little courſe of an Oriental dynaſty, were now fainting in their own weakneſs. On the ſide of the land, they were oppreſſed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the ſea-coaſt was open to the enterpriſes of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the cloſe of the eleventh century, had extorted a ranſom of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold. By the firſt arms of Roger, the iſland or rock of Malta, which has been ſince ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inſeparably

[103] See de Guignes, Hiſt. Generale des Huns, tom. i. p. 369—373. and Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique, &c. ſous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 70—144. Their common original appears to be Novairi.

annexed

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annexed to the crown of Sicily. Tripoli[104], a ſtrong and maritime city, was the next object of his attack; and the ſlaughter of the males, the captivity of the females, might be juſtified by the frequent practice of the Moſlems themſelves. The capital of the Zeirides was named Africa from the country, and Mahadia[105] from the Arabian founder: it is ſtrongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compenſated by the fertility of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was beſieged by George the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty gallies, amply provided with men and the inſtruments of miſchief: the ſovereign had fled, the Mooriſh governor refuſed to capitulate, declined the laſt and irreſiſtible aſſault, and ſecretly eſcaping with the Moſlem inhabitants, abandoned the place and its treaſures to the rapacious Franks. In ſucceſſive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capſia, Bona, and a long tract of the ſea-coaſt[106]; the fortreſſes were garriſoned, the country was tributary, and a boaſt, that it held Africa in ſubjection, might be aſcribed with ſome flattery on the ſword of Roger[107]. After his death, that ſword was broken; and theſe tranſmarine poſſeſſions were neglected, evacuated, or loſt, under the troubled reign of his ſucceſſor[108]. The triumphs of Scipio and Beliſarius have proved, that the African con-

[104] Tripoli (ſays the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sherif al Edriſi) urbs fortis, ſaxeo muro vallata, ſita prope litus maris. Hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros peremit.

[105] See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 74. verſo, fol. 75. recto), and Shaw's Travels (p. 110.), the viiᵗʰ book of Thuanus, and the xiᵗʰ of the Abbé de Vertot. The poſſeſſion and defence of the place was offered by Charles V. and wiſely declined by the knights of Malta.

[106] Pagi has accurately marked the African conqueſts of Roger; and his criticiſm was ſupplied by his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, with ſome Arabic memorials (A. D. 1147, N° 26, 27. A. D. 1148, N° 16. A. D. 1153, N° 16.).

[107] Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi ſervit et Afer.

A proud inſcription, which denotes, that the Norman conquerors were ſtill diſcriminated from their Chriſtian and Moſlem ſubjects.

[108] Hugo Falcandus (Hiſt. Sicula, in Muratori Script. tom. vii. p. 270, 271.) aſcribes theſe loſſes to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

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tinent is neither inacceſſible nor invincible: yet the great princes and powers of Chriſtendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments againſt the Moors, who may ſtill glory in the eaſy conqueſt and long ſervitude of Spain.

His invaſion of Greece, A. D. 1146.

Since the deceaſe of Robert Guiſcard, the Normans had relinquiſhed, above ſixty years, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the empire of the Eaſt. The policy of Roger ſolicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whoſe alliance would dignify his regal character: he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the firſt ſteps of the treaty ſeemed to promiſe a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambaſſadors exaſperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the inſolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the ſufferings of a guiltleſs people[109]. With a fleet of ſeventy gallies, George the admiral of Sicily appeared before Corfu: and both the iſland and city were delivered into his hands by the diſaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a ſiege is ſtill more calamitous than a tribute. In this invaſion, of ſome moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans ſpread themſelves by ſea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompaſſed without guarding the opulence of Thebes, were ſcaled by the Latin Chriſtians; but their ſole uſe of the Goſpel was to ſanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not ſecreted any relic of their inheritance or induſtry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated: the Greeks retired to the

[109] The ſilence of the Sicilian hiſtorians, who end too ſoon or begin too late, muſt be ſupplied by Otho of Friſingen, a German (de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 33. in Muratori Script. tom. vi. p. 668.), the Venetian Andrew Dandulus (Id. tom. xii. p. 282, 283.), and the Greek writers Cinnamus (l. iii. c. 2—5.) and Nicetas (in Manuel. l. ii. c. 1—6.).

citadel,

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citadel, which was ſeated on a lofty eminence, abundantly watered by the claſſic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortreſs, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As ſoon as the beſiegers had ſurmounted the labour (their ſole labour) of climbing the hill; their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and teſtified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodore the tutelary ſaint. The ſilk weavers of both ſexes, whom George tranſported to Sicily, compoſed the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil, and in comparing the ſkilful induſtry of the mechanic with the ſloth and cowardice of the ſoldier, he was heard to exclaim, that the diſtaff and loom were the only weapons which the Greeks were capable of uſing. The progreſs of this naval armament was marked by two conſpicuous events, the reſcue of the king of France, and the inſult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by ſea from an unfortunate cruſade, Louis the ſeventh was intercepted by the Greeks, who baſely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive; and after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris [110]. In the abſence of the emperor, Conſtantinople and the Helleſpont were left without defence and without the ſuſpicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the ſoldiers had followed the ſtandard of Manuel, were aſtoniſhed and diſmayed at the hoſtile appearance of a line of gallies, which boldly caſt anchor in the front of the Imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the ſiege or aſſault of an immenſe and populous metropolis: but George enjoyed the

His admiral delivers Louis VII. of France:

inſults Conſtantinople.

[110] To this imperfect capture and ſpeedy reſcue, I apply the παρ' ὀλιγον ηλθε τῳ αλωναι, of Cinnamus, l. ii. c. 19. p. 49. Muratori, on tolerable evidence (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 420, 421.), laughs at the delicacy of the French, who maintain, mariſque nullo impediente periculo ad regnum proprium reverſum eſſe; yet I obſerve that their advocate, Ducange, is leſs poſitive as the commentator on Cinnamus, than as the editor of Joinville.

glory

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glory of humbling the Greek arrogance, and of marking the path of conqueſt to the navies of the Weſt. He landed ſome ſoldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with ſilver, or more probably with fire, the arrows which he diſcharged againſt the palace of the Cæſars [111]. This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had ſurpriſed an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to deſpiſe, while his martial ſpirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian ſea were covered with his ſquadrons and thoſe of Venice, but I know not by what favourable allowance of tranſports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reaſon, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the ſtupendous account of fifteen hundred veſſels, which is propoſed by a Byzantine hiſtorian. Theſe operations were directed with prudence and energy: in his homeward voyage, George loſt nineteen of his gallies, which were ſeparated and taken: after an obſtinate defence, Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful ſovereign; nor could a ſhip, a ſoldier of the Norman prince, be found, unleſs as a captive, within the limits of the Eaſtern empire. The proſperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining ſtate: while he liſtened in his palace of Palermo to the meſſengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremoſt in every aſſault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

The emperor Manuel repulſes the Normans, A. D. 1148, 1149.

A prince of ſuch a temper could not be ſatisfied with having repelled the inſolence of a Barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the intereſt and glory, of Manuel to reſtore the ancient majeſty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chaſtiſe this pretended king, the grandſon of a Norman vaſſal [112]. The natives of Calabria were ſtill attached to the Greek language

He reduces Apulia and Calabria, A. D. 1155.

[111] In palatium regium ſagittas igneas injecit, ſays Dandulus; but Nicetas, l. ii. c. 8. p. 66. transforms them into Βελη αργεντεως εχοντα ατρακτυς, and adds, that Manuel ſtyled this inſult παιγνιον, and γελωτα.....λησευοντα. Theſe arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again tranſmuted into gold.

[112] For the invaſion of Italy, which is almoſt

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language and worſhip, which had been inexorably proſcribed by the Latin clergy: after the loſs of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a ſervile appendage to the crown of Sicily: the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the ſword; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the diſcontent, of his ſubjects: the feudal government was always pregnant with the ſeeds of rebellion; and a nephew of Roger himſelf invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majeſty of the purple, and a ſeries of Hungarian and Turkiſh wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his perſon in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch entruſted a fleet and army: the ſiege of Bari was his firſt exploit; and, in every operation, gold as well as ſteel was the inſtrument of victory. Salerno, and ſome places along the weſtern coaſt, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king; but he loſt in two campaigns the greater part of his continental poſſeſſions; and the modeſt emperor, diſdaining all flattery and falſehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whoſe names and titles were inſcribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the ſeal of the German Cæſars[113]; but the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine ſoon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeaſible dominion of Italy, and profeſſed his deſign of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful ſpeeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promiſes, of their Eaſtern ally, the free cities were encouraged to perſevere in their generous ſtruggle againſt the deſpotiſm of Frederic Barbaroſſa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured,

His deſign of acquiring Italy and the Weſtern empire, A. D. 1155—1174, &c.

moſt overlooked by Nicetas, ſee the more polite hiſtory of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 1—15. p. 78—101.), who introduces a diffuſe narrative by a lofty profeſſion, περι της Σικελιας τε, και της Ιταλων εσκεπτετο γης, ὡς και ταυτας Ρωμαικις ανασωσαιτο.

[113] The Latin, Otho (de Geſtis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 30. p. 734.), atteſts the forgery: the Greek, Cinnamus (l. i. c. 4. p. 78.), claims a promiſe of reſtitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always credible when it is told of the Greeks.

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ſays the hiſtorian, a river of gold into the boſom of Ancona, whoſe attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians [114]. The ſituation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garriſon in the heart of Italy: it was twice beſieged by the arms of Frederic; the Imperial forces were twice repulſed by the ſpirit of freedom; that ſpirit was animated by the ambaſſador of Conſtantinople; and the moſt intrepid patriots, the moſt faithful ſervants were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court [115]. The pride of Manuel diſdained and rejected a Barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of ſtripping the purple from the German uſurpers, and of eſtabliſhing, in the Weſt, as in the Eaſt, his lawful title of ſole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he ſolicited the alliance of the people and the biſhop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cauſe of the Greek monarch; the ſplendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani, ſecured the ſupport of that powerful family [116], and his royal ſtandard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis [117]. During the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander the third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambaſſadors of Conſtantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promiſed union of the two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to ſeize the juſt provocation, the favourable moment, to humble the ſavage inſolence of the Alemanni, and

[114] Quod Anconitani Græcum imperium nimis diligerent..... Veneti ſpeciali odio Anconam oderunt. The cauſe of love, perhaps of envy, were the beneficia, flumen aureum of the emperor; and the Latin narrative is confirmed by Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 14. p. 98.).

[115] Muratori mentions the two ſieges of Ancona; the firſt in 1167, againſt Frederic I. in perſon (Annali, tom. x. p. 39, &c.); the ſecond, in 1173, againſt his lieutenant Chriſtian, archbiſhop of Mentz, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 76, &c.). It is of the ſecond ſiege, that we poſſeſs an original narrative, which he has publiſhed in his great collection (tom. vi. p. 921—946.).

[116] We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Foſſa Nova, publiſhed by Muratori (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 874.).

[117] The Βασιλειον σημειον of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 14. p. 99.), is ſuſceptible of this double ſenſe. A ſtandard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

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to acknowledge the true repreſentative of Conſtantine and Auguſtus [118].

Failure of his deſigns.

But theſe Italian conqueſts, this univerſal reign, ſoon eſcaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His firſt demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the third, who pauſed on this deep and momentous revolution [119]; nor could the pope be ſeduced by a perſonal diſpute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his re-union with Frederic, he ſpoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predeceſſors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final ſeparation of the churches, or at leaſt the empires, of Conſtantinople and Rome [120]. The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preſerving the friendſhip of Ancona, he ſoon incurred the enmity of Venice [121]. By his own avarice or the complaints of his ſubjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arreſt the perſons, and confiſcate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exaſperated a free and commercial people: one hundred gallies were launched and armed in as many days; they ſwept the coaſts of Dalmatia and Greece; but after ſome mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, inſufficient for the republic; and a complete vengeance of theſe and of freſh injuries, was reſerved for the ſucceeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his ſovereign that he was ſtrong enough to quell any domeſtic re-

[118] Nihilhominus quoque petebat, ut quia occaſio juſta et tempus opportunum et acceptabile ſe obtulerant, Romani corona imperii a ſancto apoſtolo ſibi redderetur; quoniam non ad Frederici Alamanni, ſed ad ſuum jus aſſeruit pertinere (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinal. Arragoniæ, in Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. par. i. p. 458.). His ſecond embaſſy was accompanied cum immenſa multitudine pecuniarum.

[119] Nimis alta et perplexa ſunt (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 460, 461.), ſays the cautious pope.

[120] Μηδεν μεσον ειναι λεγων Ρωμη τη νεοτερα προς την πρεσβυτεραν παλαι αποῤῥαγεισων (Cinnamus, l. iv. c. 14. p. 99.).

[121] In his vi[th] book, Cinnamus deſcribes the Venetian war, which Nicetas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which do not ſatisfy our curioſity, are reported by the annaliſt Muratori, under the years 1171, &c.

volt

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volt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to reſiſt the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was ſoon verified: the death of Palæologus devolved the command on ſeveral chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppreſſed by land and ſea; and a captive remnant that eſcaped the ſwords of the Normans and Saracens, abjured all future hoſtility againſt the perſon or dominions of their conqueror [122]. Yet the king of Sicily eſteemed the courage and conſtancy of Manuel, who had landed a ſecond army on the Italian ſhore: he reſpectfully addreſſed the new Juſtinian; ſolicited a peace or truce of thirty years, accepted as a gift, the regal title; and acknowledged himſelf the military vaſſal of the Roman empire [123]. The Byzantine Cæſars acquieſced in this ſhadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without deſiring, the ſervice of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not diſturbed by any hoſtilities between Sicily and Conſtantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was uſurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deſerved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the ſword of William the ſecond, the grandſon of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the ſubjects of Andronicus might ſalute the ſtrangers as friends, ſince they deteſted their ſovereign as the worſt of enemies. The Latin hiſtorians [124] expatiate on the rapid progreſs of the four counts who invaded Romania with a

Peace with the Normans, A. D. 1156.

Laſt war of the Greeks and Normans,

[122] This victory is mentioned by Romuald of Salerno (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 198.). It is whimſical enough, that in the praiſe of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 13. p. 97, 98.) is much warmer and copious than Falcandus (p. 268. 270.). But the Greek is fond of deſcription, and the Latin hiſtorian is not fond of William the Bad.

[123] For the Epiſtle of William I. ſee Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 15. p. 101, 102.), and Nicetas (l. ii. c. 8.). It is difficult to affirm, whether theſe Greeks deceived themſelves, or the public, in theſe flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

[124] I can only quote of original evidence, the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 603.), and of Foſſa Nova (p. 875.), as they are publiſhed in the viiith tome of Muratori's hiſtorians. The king of Sicily ſent his troops contra nequitiam Andronici..... ad acquirendum imperium C. P. They were capti aut confuſi..... decepti captique, by Iſaac.

fleet

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A. D. 1185.

fleet and army, and reduced many caſtles and cities to the obedience of the king of Sicily. The Greeks[125] accuſe and magnify the wanton and ſacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the ſack of Theſſalonica the ſecond city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of thoſe invincible but unſuſpecting warriors who were deſtroyed by the arts of a vanquiſhed foe. The latter applaud, in ſongs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the ſea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which puniſhed the crimes of Andronicus, had united againſt the Franks the zeal and courage of the ſucceſsful inſurgents: ten thouſand were ſlain in battle, and Iſaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thouſand captives. Such was the event of the laſt conteſt between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were loſt or degraded in foreign ſervitude; and the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine did not long ſurvive to inſult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

William I. the Bad, king of Sicily, A. D. 1154, Feb. 26— A. D. 1166, May 7.

The ſceptre of Roger ſucceſſively devolved to his ſon and grandſon: they might be confounded under the name of William; they are ſtrongly diſcriminated by the epithets of the *bad* and the *good*: but theſe epithets, which appear to deſcribe the perfection of vice and virtue, cannot ſtrictly be applied to either of the Norman princes. When he was rouſed to arms by danger and ſhame, the firſt William did not degenerate from the valour of his race; but his temper was ſlothful; his manners were diſſolute; his paſſions headſtrong and miſchievous; and the monarch is reſponſible, not only for his perſonal vices, but for thoſe of Majo, the great admiral, who

[125] By the failure of Cinnamus, we are now reduced to Nicetas (in Andronico, l. i. c. 7, 8, 9. l. ii. c. 1. in Iſaac Angelo, l. i. c. 1—4.), who now becomes a reſpectable contemporary. As he ſurvived the emperor and the empire, he is above flattery: but the fall of Conſtantinople exaſperated his prejudices againſt the Latins. For the honour of learning I ſhall obſerve that Homer's great commentator, Euſtathius archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, refuſed to deſert his flock.

abuſed

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abuſed the confidence, and conſpired againſt the life, of his benefactor. From the Arabian conqueſt, Sicily had imbibed a deep tincture of Oriental manners; the deſpotiſm, the pomp, and even the haram, of a ſultan; and a Chriſtian people was oppreſſed and inſulted by the aſcendant of the eunuchs, who openly profeſſed, or ſecretly cheriſhed, the religion of Mahomet. An eloquent hiſtorian of the times [126] has delineated the misfortunes of his country [127]: the ambition and fall of the ungrateful Majo; the revolt and puniſhment of his aſſaſſins; the impriſonment and deliverance of the king himſelf; the private feuds that aroſe from the public confuſion; and the various forms of calamity and diſcord which afflicted Palermo, the iſland, and the continent, during the reign of William the firſt, and the minority of his ſon. The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the ſecond [128], endeared him to the nation: the factions were reconciled; the laws were revived; and from the manhood to the premature death of that amiable prince, Sicily enjoyed a ſhort ſeaſon of peace, juſtice, and happineſs, whoſe value

William II. the Good, A. D. 1166, May 7— A. D. 1189, Nov. 16.

[126] The Hiſtoria Sicula of Hugo Falcandus, which properly extends from 1154 to 1169, is inſerted in the viith volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii. p. 259—344.), and preceded by an eloquent preface or epiſtle (p. 251—258.), de Calamitatibus Siciliæ. Falcandus has been ſtyled the Tacitus of Sicily; and, after a juſt, but immenſe, abatement, from the iſt to the xiith century, from a ſenator to a monk, I would not ſtrip him of his title: his narrative is rapid and perſpicuous, his ſtyle bold and elegant, his obſervation keen; he had ſtudied mankind, and feels like a man. I can only regret the narrow and barren field on which his labours have been caſt.

[127] The laborious Benedictines (l'Art de verifier les Dates, p. 896.) are of opinion, that the true name of Falcandus, is Fulcandus, or Foucault. According to them, Hugues Foucault, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St. Denys, had followed into Sicily his patron Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William II. archbiſhop of Palermo, and great chancellor of the kingdom. Yet Falcandus has all the feelings of a Sicilian: and the title of *Alumnus* (which he beſtows on himſelf), appears to indicate, that he was born, or at leaſt educated, in the iſland.

[128] Falcand. p. 303. Richard de St. Germano begins his hiſtory from the death and praiſes of William II. After ſome unmeaning epithets, he thus continues: legis et juſtitiæ cultus tempore ſuo vigebat in regno; ſuâ erat quilibet ſorte contentus; (were they mortals?) ubique pax, ubique ſecuritas, nec latronum metuebat viator inſidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum (Scrip. Rerum Ital. tom. vii. p. 969.).

was

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was enhanced by the remembrance of the paſt and the dread of futurity. The legitimate male poſterity of Tancred of Hauteville, was extinct in the perſon of the ſecond William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the moſt powerful prince of the age; and Henry the ſixth, the ſon of Frederic Barbaroſſa, deſcended from the Alps, to claim the Imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. Againſt the unanimous wiſh of a free people, this inheritance could only be acquired by arms; and I am pleaſed to tranſcribe the ſtyle and ſenſe of the hiſtorian Falcandus, who writes at the moment and on the ſpot, with the feelings of a patriot and the prophetic eye of a ſtateſman. "Conſtantia, the daughter of "Sicily, nurſed from her cradle in the pleaſures and plenty, and "educated in the arts and manners, of this fortunate iſle, departed "long ſince to enrich the Barbarians with our treaſures, and now "returns, with her ſavage allies, to contaminate the beauties of her "venerable parent. Already I behold the ſwarms of angry Bar-"barians: our opulent cities, the places flouriſhing in a long peace, "are ſhaken with fear, deſolated by ſlaughter, conſumed by rapine, "and polluted by intemperance and luſt. I ſee the maſſacre or "captivity of our citizens, the rapes of our virgins and matrons [129]. "In this extremity (he interrogates a friend) how muſt the Sicilians "act? By the unanimous election of a king of valour and ex-"perience, Sicily and Calabria might yet be preſerved [130]; for in "the levity of the Apulians, ever eager for new revolutions, I can

Lamentation of the hiſtorian Falcandus.

[129] Conſtantia, primis a cunabulis in deliciarum tuarum affluentiâ diutius educata, tuiſque inſtitutis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus tuis Barbaros delatura diſceſſit: et nunc cum ingentibus copiis revertitur, ut pulcherrima nutricis ornamenta barbaricâ fœditate contaminet.....Intueri mihi jam videor turbulentas barbarorum acies ....civitates opulentas et loca diuturnâ pace florentia, metû concutere, cæde vaſtare, rapinis atterere, et fœdare luxuriâ: hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut ſervitute depreſſi, virgines conſtupratæ, matronæ, &c.

[130] Certe ſi regem non dubiæ virtutis elegerint, nec a Saracenis Chriſtiani diſſentiant, poterit rex creatus rebus licet quaſi deſperatis et perditis ſubvenire, et incurſus hoſtium, ſi prudenter egerit, propulſare.

" repoſe neither confidence nor hope [131]. Should Calabria be loſt, the " lofty towers, the numerous youth, and the naval ſtrength, of " Meſſina [132], might guard the paſſage againſt a foreign invader. If " the ſavage Germans coaleſce with the pirates of Meſſina; if they " deſtroy with fire the fruitful region, ſo often waſted by the fires of " mount Ætna [133], what reſource will be left for the interior parts of " the iſland, theſe noble cities which ſhould never be violated by the " hoſtile footſteps of a Barbarian [134]? Catana has again been over- " whelmed by an earthquake: the ancient virtue of Syracuſe expires " in poverty and ſolitude [135]; but Palermo is ſtill crowned with a " diadem, and her triple walls incloſe the active multitudes of " Chriſtians and Saracens. If the two nations, under one king, can " unite for their common ſafety, they may ruſh on the Barbarians " with invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued by a repetition " of injuries, ſhould now retire and rebel; if they ſhould occupy " the caſtles of the mountains and ſea-coaſt, the unfortunate Chriſ- " tians, expoſed to a double attack, and placed as it were be- " tween the hammer and the anvil, muſt reſign themſelves to " hopeleſs and inevitable ſervitude [136]." We muſt not forget, that a

[131] In Apulis, qui, ſemper novitate gaudentes, novarum rerum ſtudiis aguntur, nihil arbitror ſpei aut fiduciæ reponendum.

[132] Si civium tuorum virtutem et audaciam attendas, ... murorum etiam ambitum denſis turribus circumſeptum.

[133] Cum crudelitate piraticâ Theutonum confligat atrocitas, et inter ambuſtos lapides, et Ethnæ flagrantis incendia, &c.

[134] Eam partem, quam nobiliſſimarum civitatum fulgor illuſtrat, quæ et toti regno ſingulari meruit privilegio præminere, nefarium eſſet .... vel barbarorum ingreſſû polluí. I wiſh to tranſcribe his florid, but curious, deſcription of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Palermo.

[135] Vires non ſuppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium, quam paucitas bellatorum eſidunt.

[136] At vero, quia difficile eſt Chriſtianos in tanto rerum turbine, ſublato regis timore Saracenos non opprimere, ſi Saraceni injuriis fatigati ab eis cœperint diffidere, et caſtella forte maritima vel montanas munitiones occupaverint; ut hinc cum Theutonicis ſummâ virtute pugnandum illinc Saracenis crebris inſultibus occurrendum, quid putas acturi ſunt Siculi in ter has depreſſi anguſtias, et velut inter malleum et incudem multo cum diſcrimine conſtituti? hoc utique agent quod poterunt, ut ſe Barbaris miſerabili conditione dedentes, in eorum ſe conferant poteſtatem. O utinam plebis et procerum, Chriſtianorum et Saracenorum vota conveniant; ut regem ſibi concorditer eligentes, barbaros totis viribus, toto conanime, totiſque deſideriis proturbare contendant. The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

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prieſt here prefers his country to his religion; and that the Moſlems, whoſe alliance he ſeeks, were ſtill numerous and powerful in the ſtate of Sicily.

Conqueſt of the kingdom of Sicily by the emperor Henry VI. A. D. 1194.

The hopes, or at leaſt the wiſhes, of Falcandus, were at firſt gratified by the free and unanimous election of Tancred, the grandſon of the firſt king, whoſe birth was illegitimate, but whoſe civil and military virtues ſhone without a blemiſh. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he ſtood in arms on the fartheſt verge of the Apulian frontier, againſt the powers of Germany; and the reſtitution of a royal captive, of Conſtantia herſelf, without injury or ranſom, may appear to ſurpaſs the moſt liberal meaſure of policy or reaſon. After his deceaſe, the kingdom of his widow and infant ſon fell without a ſtruggle; and Henry purſued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. The political balance of Italy was deſtroyed by his ſucceſs; and if the pope and the free cities had conſulted their obvious and real intereſt, they would have combined the powers of earth and heaven to prevent the dangerous union of the German empire with the kingdom of Sicily. But the ſubtle policy, for which the Vatican has ſo often been praiſed or arraigned, was on this occaſion blind and inactive; and if it were true that Celeſtine the third had kicked away the Imperial crown from the head of the proſtrate Henry [137], ſuch an act of impotent pride could ſerve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enemy. The Genoeſe, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and eſtabliſhment in Sicily, liſtened to the promiſe of his boundleſs gratitude and ſpeedy departure [138]: their fleet commanded the ſtreights of Meſſina, and opened the harbour

[137] The teſtimony of an Engliſhman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 689.), will lightly weigh againſt the ſilence of German and Italian hiſtory (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 156.). The prieſts and pilgrims, who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

[138] Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis manere non debeo (Caffari, Annal. Genuenſes, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 367, 368.).

of

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of Palermo; and the firſt act of his government was to aboliſh the privileges, and to ſeize the property, of theſe imprudent allies. The laſt hope of Falcandus was defeated by the diſcord of the Chriſtians and Mahometans: they fought in the capital; ſeveral thouſands of the latter were ſlain; but their ſurviving brethren fortified the mountains, and diſturbed above thirty years the peace of the iſland. By the policy of Frederic the ſecond, ſixty thouſand Saracens were tranſplanted to Nocera in Apulia. In their wars againſt the Roman church, the emperor and his ſon Mainfroy were ſtrengthened and diſgraced by the ſervice of the enemies of Chriſt; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated, at the end of the thirteenth century, by the zeal and revenge of the houſe of Anjou [139]. All the calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored, were ſurpaſſed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal ſepulchres, and explored the ſecret treaſures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be eaſily removed; but one hundred and ſixty horſes were laden with the gold and ſilver of Sicily [140]. The young king, his mother and ſiſters, and the nobles of both ſexes, were ſeparately confined in the fortreſſes of the Alps; and, on the ſlighteſt rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of poſterity. Conſtantia herſelf was

[139] For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, ſee the Annals of Muratori (tom. x. p. 149. and A. D. 1223, 1247), Giannone (tom. ii. p. 385.), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St. Germano (tom. vii. p. 996.), Matteo Spinelli de Giovenazzo (tom. vii. p. 1064.), Nicholas de Jamſilla (tom. x. p. 494.), and Matteo Villani (tom. xiv. l. vii. p. 103.). The laſt of theſe inſinuates, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou employed rather artifice than violence.

[140] Muratori quotes a paſſage from Arnold of Lubec (l. iv. c. 20.): Reperit theſauros abſconditos, et omnem lapidum pretioſorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 160 ſomariis, glorioſe ad terram ſuam redierit. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and corpſes, computes the ſpoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746.). On theſe occaſions, I am almoſt tempted to exclaim with the liſtening maid in La Fontaine, "Je voudrois bien "avoir ce qui manque."

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touched with ſympathy for the miſeries of her country; and the heireſs of the Norman line might ſtruggle to check her deſpotic huſband, and to ſave the patrimony of her new-born ſon, of an emperor ſo famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the ſecond. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy: the ſceptre of her ancient dukes had been tranſmitted, by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to the houſe of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raiſed ſo many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the Eaſt, were loſt, either in victory or ſervitude, among the vanquiſhed nations.

Final extinction of the Normans, A. D. 1204.

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The Turks of the Houſe of Seljuk.—Their Revolt againſt Mahmud Conqueror of Hindoſtan.—Togrul ſubdues Perſia, and protects the Caliphs.—Defeat and Captivity of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arſlan.—Power and Magnificence of Malek Shah.—Conqueſt of Aſia Minor and Syria.—State and Oppreſſion of Jeruſalem.—Pilgrimages to the holy Sepulchre.

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THE TURKS.

FROM the iſle of Sicily, the reader muſt tranſport himſelf beyond the Caſpian Sea, to the original ſeat of the Turks or Turkmans, againſt whom the firſt cruſade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the ſixth century was long ſince diſſolved; but the name was ſtill famous among the Greeks and Orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were ſcattered over the deſert from China to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Aſia were occupied by ſlaves and ſoldiers of Turkiſh extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were ſubdued by the Norman lance, a ſwarm of theſe northern ſhepherds overſpread the kingdoms of Perſia: their princes of the race of Seljuk, erected a ſplendid and ſolid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Aſia Minor, till the victorious creſcent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

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Mahmud, the Gaznevide, A. D. 997—1028.

One of the greateſt of the Turkiſh princes, was Mamood or Mahmud[1], the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eaſtern provinces of Perſia, one thouſand years after the birth of Chriſt. His father Sebectagi was the ſlave of the ſlave of the ſlave of the commander of the faithful. But in this deſcent of ſervitude, the firſt degree was merely titular, ſince it was filled by the ſovereign of Tranſoxiana and Choraſan, who ſtill paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The ſecond rank was that of a miniſter of ſtate, a lieutenant of the Samanides[2], who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political ſlavery. But the third ſtep was a ſtate of real and domeſtic ſervitude in the family of that rebel; from which Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, aſcended to the ſupreme command of the city and province of Gazna[3], as the ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of his grateful maſter. The falling dynaſty of the Samanides was at firſt protected, and at laſt overthrown, by their ſervants; and, in the public diſorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually encreaſed. For him, the title of *ſultan*[4] was firſt invented; and his kingdom was enlarged

[1] I am indebted for his character and hiſtory to d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, *Mahmud*, p. 533—537.), M. de Guignes (Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. iii. p. 155—173.), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23—83.). In the two firſt volumes of his Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, he ſtyles himſelf the tranſlator of the Perſian Ferihta; but in his florid text, it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh the verſion and the original.

[2] The dynaſty of the Samanides, continued 125 years, A. D. 874—999, under ten princes. See their ſucceſſion and ruin, in the Tables of M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 404—406.). They were followed by the Gaznevides, A. D. 999—1183 (ſee tom. i. p. 239, 240.). His diviſion of nations often diſturbs the ſeries of time and place.

[3] Gaznah hortos non habet: eſt emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ. Abulfedæ Geograph. Reiſke, tab. xxiii. p. 349. d'Herbelot, p. 364. It has not been viſited by any modern traveller.

[4] By the ambaſſador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaic word that ſignifies *lord* and *maſter* (d'Herbelot, p. 825.). It is interpreted Αυτοκρατωρ, Βασιλευς Βασιλεων, by the Byzantine writers of the xi^th century; and the name (Σελτανος, Soldanus) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had paſſed from the Gaznevides to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Aſia and Egypt. Ducange (Diſſertation xvi. ſur Joinville, p. 238—240. Gloſſ. Græc. et Latin.) labours to find the title of ſultan in the ancient kingdom of Perſia; but his proofs are mere ſhadows: a proper name in the Themes of Conſtantine (ii. 11.), an anticipation of Zonaras, &c. and a medal of Kai Khoſrou, not (as he believes) the Saſſanide of the vi^th, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the xiii^th, century (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 246.).

form

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from Tranſoxiana to the neighbourhood of Iſpahan, from the ſhores of the Caſpian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal ſource of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged againſt the Gentoos of Hindoſtan. In this foreign narrative I may not conſume a page; and a volume would ſcarcely ſuffice to recapitulate the battles and ſieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the Muſulman hero diſmayed by the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenneſs of the deſert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war[5]. The ſultan of Gazna ſurpaſſed the limits of the conqueſts of Alexander: after a march of three months, over the hills of Caſhmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnoge[6], on the Upper Ganges; and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquiſhed four thouſand boats of the natives. Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates: the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his ſtay; and his avarice indulged the fruitleſs project of diſcovering the golden and aromatic iſles of the Southern Ocean. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preſerved their dominions; the people, their lives and fortunes; but to the religion of Hindoſtan, the zealous Muſulman was cruel and inexorable: many hundred temples, or pagodas, were levelled with the ground; many thouſand idols were demoliſhed; and the ſervants of the prophet were ſtimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were compoſed. The pagoda of Sumnat was

His twelve expeditions into Hindoſtan.

[5] Feriſhta (apud Dow, Hiſt. of Hindoſtan, vol. i. p. 49.) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am ſlow in believing this premature (A. D. 1008) uſe of artillery, I muſt deſire to ſcrutinize firſt the text, and then the authority of Feriſhta, who lived in the Mogul court in the laſt century.

[6] Kinnouge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra) is marked in latitude 27° 3′, longitude 80° 13′. See d'Anville (Antiquité de l'Inde, p. 60—62.), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennel (in his excellent Memoir on his map of Hindooſtan, p. 37—43.): 300 jewellers, 30,000 ſhops for the arreca nut, 60,000 bands of muſicians, &c. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274. Dow, vol. i. p. 16.), will allow an ample deduction.

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ſituate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Diu, one of the laſt remaining poſſeſſions of the Portugueſe[7]. It was endowed with the revenue of two thouſand villages; two thouſand Brahmins were conſecrated to the ſervice of the Deity, whom they waſhed each morning and evening in water from the diſtant Ganges: the ſubordinate miniſters conſiſted of three hundred muſicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conſpicuous for their birth or beauty. Three ſides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow iſthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confeſſed the ſins and the puniſhment of Kinnoge and Dehli; but if the impious ſtranger ſhould preſume to approach *their* holy precincts, he would ſurely be overwhelmed by a blaſt of the Divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animated to a perſonal trial of the ſtrength of this Indian deity. Fifty thouſand of his worſhippers were pierced by the ſpear of the Moſlems: the walls were ſcaled; the ſanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are ſaid to have offered ten millions ſterling for his ranſom; and it was urged by the wiſeſt counſellors, that the deſtruction of a ſtone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos; and that ſuch a ſum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. "Your reaſons," replied the Sultan, "are ſpecious and ſtrong; but never in the eyes of poſterity "ſhall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treaſure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the ſtatue, explained in ſome degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were diſtributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad liſtened to the edifying tale; and

[7] The idolaters of Europe, ſays Feriſhta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66.). Conſult Abulfeda (p. 272.), and Rennel's map of Hindooſtan.

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Mahmud was ſaluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

His character.

From the paths of blood, and ſuch is the hiſtory of nations, I cannot refuſe to turn aſide to gather ſome flowers of ſcience or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is ſtill venerable in the Eaſt: his ſubjects enjoyed the bleſſings of proſperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples will teſtify his juſtice and magnanimity. I. As he ſat in the Divan, an unhappy ſubject bowed before the throne to accuſe the inſolence of a Turkiſh ſoldier who had driven him from his houſe and bed. "Suſpend your clamours," ſaid Mahmud; "inform me of his next "viſit, and ourſelf in perſon will judge and puniſh the offender." The ſultan followed his guide, inveſted the houſe with his guards, and extinguiſhing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been ſeized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his ſentence, the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell proſtrate in prayer, and riſing from the ground, demanded ſome homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciouſneſs of hunger. The poor man, whoſe injury he had avenged, was unable to ſuppreſs his aſtoniſhment and curioſity; and the courteous monarch condeſcended to explain the motives of this ſingular behaviour. "I "had reaſon to ſuſpect that none except one of my ſons could dare "to perpetrate ſuch an outrage; and I extinguiſhed the lights, that "my juſtice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a "thankſgiving on the diſcovery of the offender; and ſo painful was "my anxiety, that I had paſſed three days without food ſince the "firſt moment of your complaint." II. The ſultan of Gazna had declared war againſt the dynaſty of the Bowides, the ſovereigns of the weſtern Perſia: he was diſarmed by an epiſtle of the ſultana mother, and delayed his invaſion till the manhood of her ſon[8].

[8] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 527. Yet theſe letters, apothegms, &c. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

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"During the life of my huſband," ſaid the artful regent, "I was "ever apprehenſive of your ambition: he was a prince and a ſoldier "worthy of your arms. He is now no more; his ſceptre has "paſſed to a woman and a child, and you *dare not* attack their "infancy and weakneſs. How inglorious would be your conqueſt, "how ſhameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the "hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarniſhed the illuſtrious character of Mahmud; and never has that paſſion been more richly ſatiated. The Orientals exceed the meaſure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and ſilver, ſuch as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, ſuch as have never been produced by the workmanſhip of nature [9]. Yet the ſoil of Hindoſtan is impregnated with precious minerals; her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and ſilver of the world; and her virgin ſpoils were rifled by the firſt of the Mahometan conquerors. His behaviour, in the laſt days of his life, evinces the vanity of theſe poſſeſſions, ſo laborioufly won, ſo dangerouſly held, and ſo inevitably loſt. He ſurveyed the vaſt and various chambers of the treaſury of Gazna; burſt into tears; and again cloſed the doors, without beſtowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preſerve. The following day he reviewed the ſtate of his military force; one hundred thouſand foot, fifty-five thouſand horſe, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle [10]. He again wept the inſtability of human greatneſs; and his grief was embittered by the

[9] For inſtance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miſkals (Dow, vol. i. p. 53.), or ſix pounds three ounces: the largeſt in the treaſury of Dehli weighed ſeventeen miſkals (Voyages de Tavernier, partie ii. p. 280.). It is true, that in the Eaſt all coloured ſtones are called rubies (p. 355.), and that Tavernier ſaw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puiſſant et plus magnifique de tous les Rois de la terre (p. 376.).

[10] Dow, vol. i. p. 65. The ſovereign of Kinoge is ſaid to have poſſeſſed 2500 elephants (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274.). From theſe Indian ſtories, the reader may correct a note in my firſt volume (p. 253, 254.); or from that note he may correct theſe ſtories.

hoſtile

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hoſtile progreſs of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Perſian kingdom.

Manners and emigration of the Turks, or Turkmans, A. D. 980—1028.

In the modern depopulation of Aſia, the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities; and the diſtant country is abandoned to the paſtoral tribes of Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmans*[11]. Of the laſt-mentioned people, two conſiderable branches extend on either ſide of the Caſpian Sea: the weſtern colony can muſter forty thouſand ſoldiers; the eaſtern, leſs obvious to the traveller, but more ſtrong and populous, has encreaſed to the number of one hundred thouſand families. In the midſt of civilized nations, they preſerve the manners of the Scythian deſert, remove their encampments with the change of ſeaſons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a ſheep-ſkin; a robe of cloth or cotton their ſummer garment: the features of the men are harſh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is ſoft and pleaſing. Their wandering life maintains the ſpirit and exerciſe of arms; they fight on horſeback; and their courage is diſplayed in frequent conteſts with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of paſture they pay a ſlight tribute to the ſovereign of the land; but the domeſtic juriſdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The firſt emigration of the eaſtern Turkmans, the moſt ancient of their race, may be aſcribed to the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra[12]. In the decline of the caliphs,

[11] See a juſt and natural picture of theſe paſtoral manners, in the hiſtory of William archbiſhop of Tyre (l. i. c. vii. in the Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 633, 634.), and a valuable note by the editor of the Hiſtoire Genealogique des Tatars, p. 535—538.

[12] The firſt emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious Hiſtory of the Huns, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. Tables Chronologiques, l. v. tom. iii. l. vii. ix. x.), and the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, (p. 799—802. 897—901.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 331—333.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 221, 222.).

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and the weakneſs of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invaſion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, ſome wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the ſpacious plains and pleaſant climate of Tranſoxiana and Carizme. The Turkiſh ſlaves who aſpired to the throne encouraged theſe emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their ſubjects and rivals, and protected the frontier againſt the wilder natives of Turkeſtan; and this policy was abuſed by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admoniſhed of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The ſultan had enquired what ſupply of men he could furniſh for military ſervice. "If you ſend," replied Iſmael, "one of theſe arrows into our "camp, fifty thouſand of your ſervants will mount on horſeback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "ſhould not be ſufficient?" "Send this ſecond arrow to the hord of Balik, and "you will find fifty thouſand more." "But," ſaid the Gaznevide, diſſembling his anxiety, "if I ſhould ſtand in need of the whole "force of your kindred tribes?" "Diſpatch my bow," was the laſt reply of Iſmael, "and as it is circulated around, the ſummons will "be obeyed by two hundred thouſand horſe." The apprehenſion of ſuch formidable friendſhip induced Mahmud to tranſport the moſt obnoxious tribes into the heart of Choraſan, where they would be ſeparated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and incloſed on all ſides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the abſence and death of the ſultan of Gazna. The ſhepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors: as far as Iſpahan and the Tigris, Perſia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not aſhamed or afraid to meaſure their courage and numbers with the proudeſt ſovereigns of Aſia.

Maſſoud,

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Maſſoud, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wiſeſt Omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a ſwarm of ants; they are now little "ſnakes; and, unleſs they be inſtantly cruſhed, they will acquire "the venom and magnitude of ſerpents." After ſome alternatives of truce and hoſtility, after the repulſe or partial ſucceſs of his lieutenants, the ſultan marched in perſon againſt the Turkmans, who attacked him on all ſides with barbarous ſhouts and irregular onſet. "Maſſoud," ſays the Perſian hiſtorian [13], "plunged ſingly to oppoſe "the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting ſuch acts of gigantic "force and valour as never king had before diſplayed. A few of "his friends, rouſed by his words and actions, and that innate ho-"nour which inſpires the brave, ſeconded their lord ſo well, that "wherefoever he turned his fatal ſword, the enemies were mowed "down, or retreated before him. But now, when victory ſeemed "to blow on his ſtandard, misfortune was active behind it; for "when he looked round, he beheld almoſt his whole army, except-"ing that body he commanded in perſon, devouring the paths of "flight." The Gaznevide was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of ſome generals of Turkiſh race; and this memorable day of Zendecan [14] founded in Perſia the dynaſty of the ſhepherd kings [15].

They defeat the Gaznevides, and ſubdue Perſia, A. D. 1038.

[13] Dow, Hiſt. of Hindoſtan, vol. i. p. 89. 95—98. I have copied this paſſage as a ſpecimen of the Perſian manner; but I ſuſpect, that by ſome odd fatality, the ſtyle of Feriſhta has been improved by that of Oſſian.

[14] The Zendekan of d'Herbelot (p. 1028.), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i. p. 97.), is probably the Dandanekan of Abulfeda (Geograph. p. 345. Reiſke), a ſmall town of Choraſan, two days journey from Marû, and renowned through the Eaſt for the production and manufacture of cotton.

[15] The Byzantine hiſtorians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 255. Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21.) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and perſons, of cauſes and events. The ignorance and errors of theſe Greeks (which I ſhall not ſtop to unravel) may inſpire ſome diſtruſt of the ſtory of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their moſt eloquent predeceſſors.

The

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Dynaſty of the Seljukians, A. D. 1038—1152.

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king; and, if the probable tale of a Latin hiſtorian [16] deſerves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new maſter. A number of arrows were ſucceſſively inſcribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the ſon of Michael, the ſon of Seljuk, whoſe ſurname was immortaliſed in the greatneſs of his poſterity. The ſultan Mahmud, who valued himſelf on his ſkill in national genealogy, profeſſed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown [17]. For a daring intruſion into the haram of his prince, Seljuk was baniſhed from Turkeſtan: with a numerous tribe of his friends and vaſſals, he paſſed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war againſt the infidels. His age, of an hundred and ſeven years, ſurpaſſed the life of his ſon, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandſons, Togrul and Jaafar; the eldeſt of whom, at the age of forty-five, was inveſted with the title of ſultan, in the royal city of Niſhabur. The blind determination of chance was juſtified by the virtues of the ſucceſsful candidate. It would be ſuperfluous to praiſe the valour of a Turk; and the ambition of Togrul [18] was equal to his valour. By his arms, the Gaz-

Reign and character of Togrul Beg, A. D. 1038—1063.

[16] Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 7. p. 633. The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the Eaſt.

[17] D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his poſterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal deſcent from the great Afraſiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800.). The Tartar pedigree of the houſe of Zingis gave a different caſt to flattery and fable; and the hiſtorian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin mother (p. 801. col. 2.). If they be the ſame as the *Zalzuts* of Abulghazi Bahadur Khan (Hiſt. Genealogique, p. 148.), we quote in their favour the moſt weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himſelf, the deſcendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alancu, and Oguz Khan.

[18] By a ſlight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1027, 1028.) and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 189—201.).

nevides

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nevides were expelled from the eaſtern kingdoms of Perſia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in ſearch of a ſofter and more wealthy conqueſt. In the Weſt he annihilated the dynaſty of the Bowides; and the ſceptre of Irak paſſed from the Perſian to the Turkiſh nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the duſt; by the conqueſt of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the ſhepherd preſumed to diſpatch an ambaſſador or herald to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Conſtantinople [19]. In his own dominions, Togrul was the father of his ſoldiers and people; by a firm and equal adminiſtration Perſia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the ſame hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of juſtice and the public peace. The more ruſtic, perhaps the wiſeſt, portion of the Turkmans [20] continued to dwell in the tents of their anceſtors; and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, theſe military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by buſineſs and ſoftened by pleaſure: they imitated the dreſs, language, and manners, of Perſia; and the royal palaces of Niſhabur and Rei diſplayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The moſt deſerving of the Arabians and Perſians were promoted to the honours of the ſtate; and the whole body of the Turkiſh nation embraced with fervour and ſincerity the religion of Mahomet. The northern ſwarms of Barbarians, who overſpread both Europe and Aſia, have been irreconcilably ſeparated by the

[19] Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257. With their uſual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they deſcribe the ambaſſador as a *ſherif*, who, like the ſyncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and ſucceſſor of the caliph.

[20] From William of Tyre, I have borrowed this diſtinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at leaſt is popular and convenient. The names are the ſame, and the addition of *man*, is of the ſame import in the Perſic and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. c. 11. p. 1061.), of Turcomani, quaſi *Turci* et *Comani*, a mixed people.

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conſequences of a ſimilar conduct. Among the Moſlems, as among the Chriſtians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reaſon and authority of the prevailing ſyſtem, to the fame of antiquity, and the conſent of nations. But the triumph of the Koran is more pure and meritorious, as it was not aſſiſted by any viſible ſplendour of worſhip which might allure the Pagans by ſome reſemblance of idolatry. The firſt of the Seljukian ſultans was conſpicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers: of each week, the two firſt days were conſecrated by an extraordinary faſt; and in every city a moſch was completed, before Togrul preſumed to lay the foundations of a palace [21].

He delivers the caliph of Bagdad, A. D. 1055.

With the belief of the Koran, the ſon of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the ſucceſſor of the prophet. But that ſublime character was ſtill diſputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was ſolicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the ſtrong though illiterate Barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himſelf in favour of the line of Abbas; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was preſented by the Fatimite ambaſſador. Yet the ungrateful Haſhemite had changed with the change of fortune; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian ſultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moſlem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important truſt, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy ſummons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms [22]. In the palace of Bagdad, the commander of the faithful ſtill ſlumbered, a venerable phantom. His ſervant or maſter, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the inſolence of meaner ty-

[21] Hiſt. Generale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahaſen, an hiſtorian of Egypt.

[22] Conſult the Bibliotheque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbaſſides*, *Caher*, and *Caiem*, and the Annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.

rants;

rants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppreſſed by the revolt of the Turkiſh and Arabian emirs. The preſence of a conqueror was implored as a bleſſing; and the tranſient miſchiefs of fire and ſword were excuſed as the ſharp but ſalutary remedies which alone could reſtore the health of the republic. At the head of an irreſiſtible force, the ſultan of Perſia marched from Hamadan: the proud were cruſhed, the proſtrate were ſpared; the prince of the Bowides diſappeared; the heads of the moſt obſtinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a leſſon of obedience on the people of Moſul and Bagdad. After the chaſtiſement of the guilty, and the reſtoration of peace, the royal ſhepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a ſolemn comedy repreſented the triumph of religious prejudice over Barbarian power[23]. The Turkiſh ſultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry on horſeback. At the palace-gate he reſpectfully diſmounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was ſeated behind his black veil: the black garment of the Abbaſſides was caſt over his ſhoulders, and he held in his hand the ſtaff of the apoſtle of God. The conqueror of the Eaſt kiſſed the ground, ſtood ſome time in a modeſt poſture, and was led towards the throne by the vizir and an interpreter. After Togrul had ſeated himſelf on another throne, his commiſſion was publicly read, which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. He was ſucceſſively inveſted with ſeven robes of honour, and preſented with ſeven ſlaves, the natives of the ſeven climates of the Arabian empire. His myſtic veil was perfumed with muſk; two crowns were placed on his head, two ſcymetars were girded to his ſide, as the ſymbols of a double reign over the Eaſt and Weſt. After this inauguration, the ſultan was prevented from proſtrating

His inveſtiture,

[23] For this curious ceremony I am indebted to M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 197, 198.), and that learned author is obliged to Bondari, who compoſed in Arabic the hiſtory of the Seljukides (tom. v. p. 365.). I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.

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himſelf a ſecond time; but he twice kiſſed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applauſe of the Moſlems. In a ſecond viſit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again reſcued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the priſon to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's ſiſter with the ſucceſſor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkiſh virgin into his haram; but Cayem proudly refuſed his daughter to the ſultan, diſdained to mingle the blood of the Haſhemites with the blood of a Scythian ſhepherd; and protracted the negociation many months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue admoniſhed him that he was ſtill in the hands of a maſter. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himſelf[24]; as he left no children, his nephew Alp Arſlan ſucceeded to the title and prerogatives of ſultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moſlems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbaſſides acquired a larger meaſure of liberty and power. On the throne of Aſia, the Turkiſh monarchs were leſs jealous of the domeſtic adminiſtration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been expoſed by the preſence and poverty of the Perſian dynaſty.

and death, A. D. 1063.

Since the fall of the caliphs, the diſcord and degeneracy of the Saracens reſpected the Aſiatic provinces of Rome; which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimiſces, and Baſil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eaſtern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Baſil, his ſucceſſors were ſuddenly aſſaulted by an unknown race of Barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticiſm of new proſelytes, and the art and riches

The Turks invade the Roman empire, A. D. 1050.

[24] Eodem anno (A. H. 455) obiit princeps Togrulbecus .... rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium invaſerat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipſum ſcriberent. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 342. verſ. Erpenii.

of

of a powerful monarchy [25]. The myriads of Turkiſh horſe overſpread a frontier of ſix hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thouſand Chriſtians was a grateful ſacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or laſting impreſſion on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the ſultan retired without glory or ſucceſs from the ſiege of an Armenian city; the obſcure hoſtilities were continued or ſuſpended with a viciſſitude of events; and the bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Aſia [26]. The name of Alp Arſlan, the valiant lion, is expreſſive of the popular idea of the perfection of man; and the ſucceſſor of Togrul diſplayed the fierceneſs and generoſity of the royal animal. He paſſed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkiſh cavalry, and entered Cæſarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St. Baſil. The ſolid ſtructure reſiſted the deſtroyer: but he carried away the doors of the ſhrine incruſted with gold and pearls, and profaned the relics of the tutelar ſaint, whoſe mortal frailties were now covered by the venerable ruſt of antiquity. The final conqueſt of Armenia and Georgia was atchieved by Alp Arſlan. In Armenia, the title of a kingdom, and the ſpirit of a nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Conſtantinople; by ſtrangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or diſcipline. The

Reign of Alp Arſlan, A. D. 1063—1072.

Conqueſt of Armenia and Georgia, A. D. 1065—1068.

[25] For theſe wars of the Turks and Romans, ſee in general the Byzantine hiſtories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæſar. The two firſt of theſe were monks, the two latter ſtateſmen; yet ſuch were the Greeks, that the difference of ſtyle and character is ſcarcely diſcernible. For the Orientals, I draw as uſual on the wealth of d'Herbelot (ſee titles of the firſt Seljukides) and the accuracy of de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. l. x.).

[26] Ἐφερετο γαρ εν Τυρκοις λογος, ως ειη πεπρωμενον καταγραφηναι το Τυρκων γενος απο της τοιαυτης δυναμεως, οπιαν ὁ Μακεδων Αλεξανδρος ειχων κατεγρεψατο Περσας. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 791. The credulity of the vulgar is always probable; and the Turks had learned from the Arabs the hiſtory or legend of Eſcander Dulcarnein (d'Herbelot, p. 317, &c.).

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loſs of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the Catholics were neither ſurpriſed nor diſpleaſed, that a people ſo deeply infected with the Neſtorian and Eutychian errors, had been delivered by Chriſt and his mother into the hands of the infidels[27]. The woods and vallies of mount Caucaſus were more ſtrenuouſly defended by the native Georgians[28] or Iberians: but the Turkiſh ſultan and his ſon Malek were indefatigable in this holy war; their captives were compelled to promiſe a ſpiritual as well as temporal obedience; and, inſtead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horſe-ſhoe, a badge of ignominy, was impoſed on the infidels who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of their fathers. The change, however, was not ſincere or univerſal; and, through ages of ſervitude, the Georgians have maintained the ſucceſſion of their princes and biſhops. But a race of men, whom nature has caſt in her moſt perfect mould, is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice; their profeſſion, and ſtill more their practice, of Chriſtianity is an empty name; and if they have emerged from hereſy, it is only becauſe they are too illiterate to remember a metaphyſical creed[29].

The emperor Romanus Diogenes, A. D. 1068—1071.

The falſe or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide, was not imitated by Alp Arſlan; and he attacked without ſcruple the Greek empreſs Eudocia and her children. His alarming progreſs

[27] Οι και Ιβηριαν και Μεσοποταμιαν, και Αρμενιαν οικουσιν· και οι την Ιουδαικην του Νεστοριου και των Ακεφαλων θρησκευουσιν αιρεσιν (Scylitzes, ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 834. whoſe ambiguous conſtruction ſhall not tempt me to ſuſpect that he confounded the Neſtorian and Monophyſite hereſies). He familiarly talks of the μνησις, χολος, οργη, Θεου, qualities, as I ſhould apprehend, very foreign to the perfect Being; but his bigotry is forced to confeſs, that they were ſoon afterwards diſcharged on the orthodox Romans.

[28] Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, Memoriæ Byzant. tom. iv. *Iberica)*, I ſhould derive it from their agriculture, as the Σκυθαι γεωργοι of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 18. p. 289. edit. Weſſeling). But it appears only ſince the cruſades, among the Latins (Jac. a Vitriaco, Hiſt. Hieroſol. c. 79. p. 1095.) and Orientals (d'Herbelot, p. 407.), and was devoutly borrowed from St. George of Cappadocia.

[29] Moſheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 632. See in Chardin's Travels (tom. i. p. 171—174.), the manners and religion of this handſome but worthleſs nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the preſent century, in the Tables of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 433—438.).

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compelled her to give herſelf and her ſceptre to the hand of a ſoldier; and Romanus Diogenes was inveſted with the Imperial purple. His patriotiſm, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Conſtantinople within two months after his acceſſion; and the next campaign he moſt ſcandalouſly took the field during the holy feſtival of Eaſter. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the huſband of Eudocia: in the camp, he was the emperor of the Romans, and he ſuſtained that character with feeble reſources and invincible courage. By his ſpirit and ſucceſs, the ſoldiers were taught to act, the ſubjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; but the ſultan himſelf had reſigned to his emirs the proſecution of the war; and their numerous detachments were ſcattered over Aſia in the ſecurity of conqueſt. Laden with ſpoil and careleſs of diſcipline, they were ſeparately ſurpriſed and defeated by the Greeks: the activity of the emperor ſeemed to multiply his preſence; and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch, the enemy felt his ſword on the hills of Trebizond. In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates: in the fourth and laſt, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The deſolation of the land obliged him to tranſport a ſupply of two months proviſions; and he marched forwards to the ſiege of Malazkerd[30], an important fortreſs in the midway between the modern cities of Arzeroum and Van. His army amounted, at the leaſt, to one hundred thouſand men. The troops of Conſtantinople were reinforced by the diſorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia; but the real ſtrength was compoſed of the ſubjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the ſquadrons of Bulgaria;

[30] This city is mentioned by Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, l. ii. c. 44. p. 119.), and the Byzantines of the xi[th] century, under the name of Mantzikierte, and by ſome is confounded with Theodoſiopolis; but Deſlile, in his notes and maps has very properly fixed the ſituation. Abulfeda (Geograph. tab. xviii. p. 310.) deſcribes Malaſgerd as a ſmall town, built with black ſtone, ſupplied with water, without trees, &c.

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the Uzi, a Moldavian hord, who were themſelves of the Turkiſh race[31]; and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Urſel of Baliol, the kinſman or father of the Scottiſh kings[32], and were allowed to excel in the exerciſe of arms, or, according to the Greek ſtyle, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

Defeat of the Romans, A. D. 1071, Auguſt.

On the report of this bold invaſion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arſlan flew to the ſcene of action at the head of forty thouſand horſe[33]. His rapid and ſkilful evolutions diſtreſſed and diſmayed the ſuperior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Baſilacius, one of their principal generals, he diſplayed the firſt example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had ſeparated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recal the mercenary Franks: they refuſed to obey his ſummons; he diſdained to await their return: the deſertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and ſuſpicion; and againſt the moſt ſalutary advice he ruſhed forwards to ſpeedy and deciſive action. Had he liſtened to the fair propoſals of the ſultan, Romanus might have ſecured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in theſe overtures he ſuppoſed the fear or weakneſs of the enemy, and his anſwer was conceived in the tone of inſult and defiance.

[31] The Uzi of the Greeks (Stritter, Memor. Byzant. tom. iii. p. 923—948.) are the Gozz of the Orientals (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 522. tom. iii. p. 133, &c.). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Choraſan, and the name ſeems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

[32] Urſelius (the Ruſſelius of Zonaras) is diſtinguiſhed by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 33.) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the ſurname of *Baliol:* and our own hiſtorians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Bernard's-caſtle on the Tees, married an heireſs of Scotland, &c. Ducange (Not. ad Nicephor. Bryennium, l. ii. N° 4.) has laboured the ſubject in honour of the preſident de Bailleul, whoſe father had exhanged the ſword for the gown.

[33] Elmacin (p. 343, 344.) aſſigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to 15,000 (p. 227.), and by d'Herbelot (p. 102.) to 12,000 horſe. But the ſame Elmacin gives 300,000 men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius ſays, cum centum hominum millibus, multiſque equis et magnâ pompâ inſtructus. The Greeks abſtain from any definition of numbers.

"If the Barbarian wiſhes for peace, let him evacuate the ground "which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and ſur- "render his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his ſincerity." Alp Arſlan ſmiled at the vanity of the demand, but he wept the death of ſo many faithful Moſlems; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permiſſion to all who were deſirous of retiring from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horſe's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and ſcymetar, clothed himſelf in a white garment, perfumed his body with muſk, and declared that if he were vanquiſhed, that ſpot ſhould be the place of his burial [34]. The ſultan himſelf had affected to caſt away his miſſile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkiſh cavalry, whoſe ſquadrons were looſely diſtributed in the form of a creſcent. Inſtead of the ſucceſſive lines and reſerves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a ſingle and ſolid phalanx, and preſſed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding reſiſtance of the Barbarians. In this deſultory and fruitleſs combat he waſted the greater part of a ſummer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe; and no ſooner had the ſtandard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the baſe cowardice, or the baſer jealouſy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who diſgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæſars [35]. The Turkiſh ſquadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confuſion and laſſitude; and the horns of their formidable creſcent were cloſed in the rear of the Greeks. In the deſtruction of the army and pillage

[34] The Byzantine writers do not ſpeak ſo diſtinctly of the preſence of the ſultan; he committed his forces to an eunuch, had retired to a diſtance, &c. Is it ignorance, or jealouſy, or truth?

[35] He was the ſon of the Cæſar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Conſtantine (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 165.). Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (l. i. p. 30. 38. l. ii. p. 53.). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, ὁ παυ δὲ φιλιως ἐχων προς βασιλεα. Scylitzes ſpeaks more explicitly of his treaſon.

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of the camp, it would be needleſs to mention the number of the ſlain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loſs of an ineſtimable pearl: they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Aſiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably ſacrificed.

Captivity and deliverance of the emperor.

As long as a hope ſurvived, Romanus attempted to rally and ſave the relics of his army. When the centre, the Imperial ſtation, was left naked on all ſides, and encompaſſed by the victorious Turks, he ſtill, with deſperate courage, maintained the fight till the cloſe of day, at the head of the brave and faithful ſubjects who adhered to his ſtandard. They fell around him: his horſe was ſlain, the emperor was wounded; yet he ſtood alone and intrepid, till he was oppreſſed and bound by the ſtrength of multitudes. The glory of this illuſtrious prize was diſputed by a ſlave and a ſoldier; a ſlave who had ſeen him on the throne of Conſtantinople, and a ſoldier whoſe extreme deformity had been excuſed on the promiſe of ſome ſignal ſervice. Deſpoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus ſpent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidſt a diſorderly crowd of the meaner Barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was preſented to Alp Arſlan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the perſon was aſcertained by the report of his ambaſſadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Baſilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy ſovereign. The ſucceſſor of Conſtantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkiſh divan, and commanded to kiſs the ground before the lord of Aſia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arſlan, ſtarting from his throne, is ſaid to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor [36]. But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of inſolence, the ſultan complied with a national cuſtom, the reſt of his conduct has extorted the praiſe of his bigotted foes, and may afford a leſſon to the moſt civilized ages. He inſtantly raiſed the

[36] This circumſtance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Conſtantine Manaſſes, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and Zonaras.

royal

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royal captive from the ground; and thrice claſping his hand with tender ſympathy, aſſured him, that his life and dignity ſhould be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to reſpect the majeſty of his equals and the viciſſitudes of fortune. From the divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was ſerved with pomp and reverence by the officers of the ſultan, who, twice each day, ſeated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar converſation of eight days, not a word, not a look, of inſult, eſcaped from the conqueror; but he ſeverely cenſured the unworthy ſubjects who had deſerted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admoniſhed his antagoniſt of ſome errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negociation, Alp Arſlan aſked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor diſplays the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," ſaid he, "you will take my life; if you liſten to pride, you will drag "me at your chariot wheels; if you conſult your intereſt, you will "accept a ranſom, and reſtore me to my country." "And what," continued the ſultan, "would have been your own behaviour, had "fortune ſmiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a ſentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, ſhould have taught him to ſuppreſs. "Had I vanquiſhed," he fiercely ſaid, "I would "have inflicted on thy body many a ſtripe." The Turkiſh conqueror ſmiled at the inſolence of his captive; obſerved that the Chriſtian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveneſs of injuries; and nobly declared, that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. After mature deliberation, Alp Arſlan dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ranſom of a million, an annual tribute of three hundred and ſixty thouſand pieces of gold [37],

[37] The ranſom and tribute are atteſted by reaſon and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modeſtly ſilent; but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were ουκ αναξιας Ῥωμαιων αρχης, and that the emperor would have preferred death to a ſhameful treaty.

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the marriage of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the Moſlems who were in the power of the Greeks. Romanus, with a ſigh, ſubſcribed this treaty, ſo diſgraceful to the majeſty of the empire; he was immediately inveſted with a Turkiſh robe of honour; his nobles and patricians were reſtored to their ſovereign; and the ſultan, after a courteous embrace, diſmiſſed him with rich preſents and a military guard. No ſooner did he reach the confines of the empire, than he was informed that the palace and provinces had diſclaimed their allegiance to a captive: a ſum of two hundred thouſand pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch tranſmitted this part of his ranſom, with a ſad confeſſion of his impotence and diſgrace. The generoſity, or perhaps the ambition, of the ſultan, prepared to eſpouſe the cauſe of his ally; but his deſigns were prevented by the defeat, impriſonment, and death, of Romanus Diogenes [38].

Death of Alp Arſlan, A. D. 1072.

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arſlan extorted any province or city from the captive emperor; and his revenge was ſatisfied with the trophies of his victory, and the ſpoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black Sea. The faireſt part of Aſia was ſubject to his laws: twelve hundred princes, or the ſons of princes, ſtood before his throne; and two hundred thouſand ſoldiers marched under his banners. The ſultan diſdained to purſue the fugitive Greeks; but he meditated the more glorious conqueſt of Turkeſtan, the original ſeat of the houſe of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus; a bridge was thrown over the river; and twenty days were conſumed in the paſſage of his troops.

[38] The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in John Scylitzes ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 835—843. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 281—284. Nicephorus Bryennius, l. i. p. 25—32. Glycas, p. 325—327. Conſtantine Manaſſes, p. 134. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 343, 344. Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 227. d'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 207—211. Beſides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the hiſtorian of the Huns has conſulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benſchounah, a Chronicle of the Caliphs, by Soyouthi, Abulmahaſen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa.

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But the progreſs of the great king was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joſeph the Carizmian preſumed to defend his fortreſs againſt the powers of the Eaſt. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the ſultan, inſtead of praiſing his valour, ſeverely reproached his obſtinate folly; and the inſolent replies of the rebel provoked a ſentence, that he ſhould be faſtened to four ſtakes and left to expire in that painful ſituation. At this command the deſperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, ruſhed headlong towards the throne: the guards raiſed their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arſlan, the moſt ſkilful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot ſlipped, the arrow glanced aſide, and he received in his breaſt the dagger of Joſeph, who was inſtantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkiſh prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," ſaid Alp Arſlan, "I was adviſed by a ſage, to humble myſelf before God; to diſtruſt "my own ſtrength; and never to deſpiſe the moſt contemptible "foe. I have neglected theſe leſſons; and my neglect has been de-"ſervedly puniſhed. Yeſterday, as from an eminence I beheld the "numbers, the diſcipline, and the ſpirit of my armies, the earth "ſeemed to tremble under my feet; and I ſaid in my heart, ſurely "thou art the king of the world, the greateſt and moſt invincible "of warriors. Theſe armies are no longer mine; and in the con-"fidence of my perſonal ſtrength, I now fall by the hand of an "aſſaſſin[39]." Alp Arſlan poſſeſſed the virtues of a Turk and a Muſulman; his voice and ſtature commanded the reverence of mankind; his face was ſhaded with long whiſkers; and his ample turban was faſhioned in the ſhape of a crown. The remains of the ſultan were depoſited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynaſty; and the paſſenger

[39] This intereſting death is told by d'Herbelot (p. 103, 104.), and M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 212, 213.), from their Oriental writers; but neither of them have transfuſed the ſpirit of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 344, 345.).

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might read and meditate this uſeful inſcription[40]: "O YE WHO HAVE "SEEN THE GLORY OF ALP ARSLAN EXALTED TO THE HEAVENS, "REPAIR TO MARU, AND YOU WILL BEHOLD IT BURIED IN THE "DUST!" The annihilation of the inſcription, and the tomb itſelf, more forcibly proclaims the inſtability of human greatneſs.

Reign and proſperity of Malek Shah, A. D. 1072—1092.

During the life of Alp Arſlan, his eldeſt ſon had been acknowledged as the future ſultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was diſputed by an uncle, a couſin, and a brother: they drew their ſcymetars, and aſſembled their followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah[41] eſtabliſhed his own reputation and the right of primogeniture. In every age, and more eſpecially in Aſia, the thirſt of power has inſpired the ſame paſſions and occaſioned the ſame diſorders; but, from the long ſeries of civil war, it would not be eaſy to extract a ſentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in a ſaying of the Turkiſh prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the Imam Riza. As the ſultan roſe from the ground, he aſked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beſide him, what had been the object of his ſecret petition, "that your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and moſt probably the ſincere anſwer of the miniſter. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored "the Lord of hoſts, that he would take from me my life and crown, "if my brother be more worthy than myſelf to reign over the "Moſlems." The favourable judgment of heaven was ratified by the caliph; and for the firſt time, the ſacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a Barbarian. But this Barbarian,

[40] A critic of high renown (the late Dr. Johnſon), who has ſeverely ſcrutiniſed the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this ſublime inſcription at the words "repair to Maru," ſince the reader muſt already be at Maru before he could peruſe the inſcription.

[41] The Bibliotheque Orientale has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542, 543, 544. 654, 655.); and the Hiſtoire Generale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 214—224. has added the uſual meaſure of repetition, emendation, and ſupplement. Without thoſe two learned Frenchmen, I ſhould be blind indeed in the Eaſtern world.

by

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by his perſonal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greateſt prince of his age. After the ſettlement of Perſia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable armies, to atchieve the conqueſt of Turkeſtan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his paſſage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in tranſporting ſome troops, complained, that their payment was aſſigned on the revenues of Antioch. The ſultan frowned at this prepoſterous choice; but he ſmiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It "was not to poſtpone their reward, that I ſelected thoſe remote "places, but to leave a memorial to poſterity, that under your reign, "Antioch and the Oxus were ſubject to the ſame ſovereign." But this deſcription of his limits was unjuſt and parſimonious: beyond the Oxus, he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and cruſhed each rebellious ſlave, or independent ſavage, who dared to reſiſt. Malek paſſed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the laſt boundary of Perſian civilization: the hords of Turkeſtan yielded to his ſupremacy; his name was inſerted on the coins, and in the prayers of Caſhgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chineſe frontier, he ſtretched his immediate juriſdiction or feudatory ſway to the weſt and ſouth, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, the holy city of Jeruſalem, and the ſpicy groves of Arabia Fœlix. Inſtead of reſigning himſelf to the luxury of his Haram, the ſhepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was ſucceſſively bleſſed with his preſence; and he is ſaid to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which ſurpaſſed the *Aſiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of theſe expeditions, the moſt pious and ſplendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and ſafety of the caravans were protected by his arms; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profuſion of his alms;

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and the deſert was cheared by the places of relief and refreſhment, which he inſtituted for the uſe of his brethren. Hunting was the pleaſure, and even the paſſion, of the ſultan, and his train conſiſted of forty-ſeven thouſand horſes; but after the maſſacre of a Turkiſh chace, for each piece of game, he beſtowed a piece of gold on the poor, a ſlight atonement, at the expence of the people, for the coſt and miſchief of the amuſement of kings. In the peaceful proſperity of his reign, the cities of Aſia were adorned with palaces and hoſpitals, with moſchs and colleges; few departed from his Divan without reward, and none without juſtice. The language and literature of Perſia revived under the houſe of Seljuk [42]; and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk leſs potent than himſelf [43], his palace might reſound with the ſongs of an hundred poets. The ſultan beſtowed a more ſerious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar which was effected by a general aſſembly of the aſtronomers of the Eaſt. By a law of the prophet, the Moſlems are confined to the irregular courſe of the lunar months; in Perſia, ſince the age of Zoroaſter, the revolution of the ſun has been known and celebrated as an annual feſtival [44]; but, after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the Spring was removed from the ſign of Aries to that of Piſces. The reign of Malek was illuſtrated by the *Gelalæan* æra; and all errors, either paſt or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which ſurpaſſes the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian, ſtyle [45].

In

[42] See an excellent diſcourſe at the end of Sir William Jones's Hiſtory of Nadir Shah, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raſchidi, &c. in the Bibliotheque Orientale.

[43] His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags were placed round his ſopha, and as he liſtened to the ſong, he caſt handfuls of gold and ſilver to the poets (d'Herbelot, p. 107). All this may be true; but I do not underſtand how he could reign in Tranſoxiana in the time of Malek Shah, and much leſs how Kheder could ſurpaſs him in power and pomp. I ſuſpect that the beginning, not the end, of the xi[th] century, is the true æra of his reign.

[44] See Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. ii. p. 235.

[45] The Gelalæan æra (Gelaleddin, Glory of

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His death, A. D. 1092.

In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepeſt Barbariſm, the light and ſplendour of Aſia may be aſcribed to the docility rather than the knowledge of the Turkiſh conquerors. An ample ſhare of their wiſdom and virtue is due to a Perſian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arſlan and his ſon. Nizam, one of the moſt illuſtrious miniſters of the Eaſt, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and ſcience; he was truſted by the ſultan as the faithful vicegerent of his power and juſtice. After an adminiſtration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his ſervices, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the inſidious arts of a woman and a rival; and his fall was haſtened by a raſh declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the ſultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable ſtateſman was diſmiſſed by his maſter, accuſed by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic: the laſt words of Nizam atteſted his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was ſhort and inglorious. From Iſpahan, the ſcene of this diſgraceful tranſaction, the ſultan moved to Bagdad with the deſign of tranſplanting the caliph, and of fixing his own reſidence in the capital of the Moſlem world. The feeble ſucceſſor of Mahomet obtained a reſpite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the Barbarian was ſummoned by the angel of death. His ambaſſadors at Conſtantinople had aſked in marriage a Roman princeſs; but the propoſal was decently eluded; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herſelf have been the victim, expreſſes her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction [46]. The

of the Faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A. H. 471, A. D. 1079. Dr. Hyde has produced the original teſtimonies of the Perſians and Arabians (de Religione veterum Perſarum, c. 16. p. 200—211.).

[46] She ſpeaks of this Perſian royalty as απασης κακοδαιμονεστερου πενιας. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A. D. 1092), and when ſhe ſpeaks of his aſſaſſination, ſhe confounds the ſultan with the vizir (Alexias, l. vi. p. 177, 178.).

daughter

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daughter of the ſultan was beſtowed on the caliph Moctadi, with the imperious condition, that, renouncing the ſociety of his wives and concubines, he ſhould for ever confine himſelf to this honourable alliance.

Diviſion of the Seljukian empire.

The greatneſs and unity of the Turkiſh empire expired in the perſon of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was diſputed by his brother and his four ſons; and, after a ſeries of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the ſurviving candidates confirmed a laſting ſeparation in the *Perſian* dynaſty, the eldeſt and principal branch of the houſe of Seljuk. The three younger dynaſties were thoſe of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum:* the firſt of theſe commanded an extenſive, though obſcure [47], dominion on the ſhores of the Indian ocean [48]: the ſecond expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damaſcus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Aſia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation; he allowed the princes of his blood, even thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed in the field, to ſeek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he diſpleaſed that they ſhould draw away the more ardent ſpirits, who might have diſturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the ſupreme head of his family and nation, the great ſultan of Perſia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren: the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damaſcus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Meſopotamia, erected their ſtandards under the ſhadow of his ſceptre [49]; and the hords of Turkmans overſpread the plains of the weſtern

[47] So obſcure, that the induſtry of M. de Guignes could only copy (tom. i. p. 244. tom. iii. part i. p. 269, &c.) the hiſtory, or rather liſt, of the Seljukides of Kerman, in Bibliotheque Orientale. They were extinguiſhed before the end of the xii^th^ century.

[48] Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has viſited Kerman, deſcribes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty-five days journey from Iſpahan, and twenty-ſeven from Ormus, in the midſt of a fertile country (Voyages en Turquie et en Perſe, p. 107. 110.).

[49] It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Aſia Minor obeyed the ſignet and chiauſs of the great ſultan (Alexias, l. vi. p. 170.); and that the two ſons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180.).

Aſia.

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Aſia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and ſubordination were relaxed and finally diſſolved: the indulgence of the houſe of Seljuk inveſted their ſlaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental ſtyle, a crowd of princes aroſe from the duſt of their feet [50].

Conqueſt of Aſia Minor by the Turks, A. D. 1074—1084.

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmiſh, the ſon of Izrail, the ſon of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle againſt Alp Arſlan; and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five ſons, ſtrong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unſheathed their ſcymetars againſt the ſon of Alp Arſlan. The two armies expected the ſignal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majeſty which ſecluded him from vulgar eyes, interpoſed his venerable mediation. "Inſtead of "ſhedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in de-"ſcent and faith, unite your forces in an holy war againſt the "Greeks, the enemies of God and his apoſtle." They liſtened to his voice; the ſultan embraced his rebellious kinſmen; and the eldeſt, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal ſtandard, which gave him the free conqueſt and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Conſtantinople, and the unknown regions of the Weſt [51]. Accompanied by his four brothers, he paſſed the Euphrates: the Turkiſh camp was ſoon ſeated in the neighbourhood of Kutaieh in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waſte the country as far as the Helleſpont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninſula of Aſia Minor had been expoſed to the tranſient, though deſtructive, inroads of the Perſians and Saracens; but the fruits of a laſting conqueſt were reſerved for the Turkiſh ſultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who

[50] This expreſſion is quoted by Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiſcan, p. 161.), from ſome poet, moſt probably a Perſian.

[51] On the conqueſt of Aſia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no aſſiſtance from the Turkiſh or Arabian writers, who produce a naked liſt of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expoſe their ſhame, and we muſt extort ſome hints from Scylitzes (p. 860. 863.), Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 88. 91, 92, &c. 103, 104.), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, &c. 168, &c.).

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aſpired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, ſix years the feeble ſon of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of the Eaſt and Weſt were loſt in the ſame month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the ſurnames of Bryennius and Botoniates diſtinguiſh the European and Aſiatic candidates. Their reaſons, or rather their promiſes, were weighed in the divan; and, after ſome heſitation, Soliman declared himſelf in favour of Botoniates, opened a free paſſage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the creſcent to that of the croſs. After his ally had aſcended the throne of Conſtantinople, the ſultan was hoſpitably entertained in the ſuburb of Chryſopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thouſand Turks was tranſported into Europe, to whoſe dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conqueſt of Europe was dearly purchaſed by the ſacrifice of Aſia: Conſtantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Boſphorus and Helleſpont; and the regular progreſs of the Turks, who fortified the paſſes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulſion. Another candidate implored the aid of the ſultan: Meliſſenus, in his purple robes and red buſkins, attended the motions of the Turkiſh camp; and the deſponding cities were tempted by the ſummons of a Roman prince, who immediately ſurrendered them into the hands of the Barbarians. Theſe acquiſitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius: his fear of Robert compelled him to ſeek the friendſhip of Soliman; and it was not till after the ſultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about ſixty miles from Conſtantinople, the eaſtern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either ſide by the ſea and mountains, preſerved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future deſtiny of a Chriſtian empire.

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The Seljukian kingdom of Roum.

Since the firſt conqueſts of the caliphs, the eſtabliſhment of the Turks in Anatolia or Aſia Minor was the moſt deplorable loſs which the church and empire had ſuſtained. By the propagation of the Moſlem faith, Soliman deſerved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom, of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is deſcribed as extending from the Euphrates to Conſtantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of ſilver and iron, of allum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horſes[52]. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the ſplendour of the Auguſtan age, exiſted only in books and ruins, which were equally obſcure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the preſent decay, Anatolia ſtill contains *ſome* wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flouriſhing in numbers, ſize, and opulence. By the choice of the ſultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortreſs: the ſeat of the Seljukian dynaſty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Conſtantinople; and the divinity of Chriſt was denied and derided in the ſame temple in which it had been pronounced by the firſt general ſynod of the Catholics. The unity of God, and the miſſion of Mahomet, were preached in the moſchs; the Arabian learning was taught in the ſchools; the Cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkiſh manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were ſcattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and ſervitude, the Greek Chriſtians might enjoy the exerciſe of their religion; but their moſt holy churches were profaned; their prieſts and biſhops were inſulted[53]; they were compelled

[52] Such is the deſcription of Roum by Haiton the Armenian, whoſe Tartar hiſtory may be found in the collections of Ramuſio and Bergeron. (See Abulfeda, Geograph. climat. xvii. p. 301—305.)

[53] Dicit eos quendam abuſione Sodomitica interver-

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pelled to ſuffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apoſtacy of their brethren; many thouſand children were marked by the knife of circumciſion; and many thouſand captives were devoted to the ſervice or the pleaſures of their maſters[54]. After the loſs of Aſia, Antioch ſtill maintained her primitive allegiance to Chriſt and Cæſar; but the ſolitary province was ſeparated from all Roman aid, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the Mahometan powers. The deſpair of Philaretus the governor prepared the ſacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his ſon, who haſtened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious ſultan mounted on horſeback, and in twelve nights (for he repoſed in the day) performed a march of ſix hundred miles. Antioch was oppreſſed by the ſpeed and ſecrecy of his enterpriſe; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo[55], obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Boſphorus, or arm of St. George, the conqueſts and reign of Soliman extended thirty days journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea[56]. The Turkiſh ignorance of navigation protected, for a while, the inglorious ſafety of the emperor; but no ſooner had a fleet of two hundred ſhips been conſtructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled

intervertiſſe epiſcopum (Guibert, Abbat. Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. p. 468.). It is odd enough, that we ſhould find a parallel paſſage of the ſame people in the preſent age. "Il n'eſt "point d'horreur que ces Turcs n'ayent com-"mis, et ſemblables aux ſoldats effrenés, "qui dans le ſac d'une ville non contens de "diſpoſer de tout à leur gre pretendent "encore aux ſuccès les moins deſirables. "Quelque Sipahis ont porté leurs attentats "ſur la perſonne du vieux rabbi de la ſyna-"gogue, et celle de l'Archêveque Grec." (Memoires du Baron de Tott, tom. ii. p. 193.)

[54] The emperor, or abbot, deſcribe the ſcenes of a Turkiſh camp as if they had been preſent. Matres correptæ in conſpectû filiarum multipliciter repetitis diverſorum coitibus vexabantur (is that the true reading?); cum filiæ aſſiſtentes carmina præcinere ſaltando cogerentur. Mox eadem paſſio ad filias, &c.

[55] See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. vi. p. 168, 169.), with the notes of Ducange.

[56] William of Tyre (l. i. c. 9, 10. p. 635.) gives the moſt authentic and deplorable account of theſe Turkiſh conqueſts.

behind

behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epiſtles were diſperſed over Europe, to excite the compaſſion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakneſs, and the riches, of the city of Conſtantine[57].

State and pilgrimage of Jeruſalem, A. D. 638—1099.

But the moſt intereſting conqueſt of the Seljukian Turks, was that of Jeruſalem[58], which ſoon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had ſtipulated the aſſurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a maſter againſt whom it was dangerous to diſpute; and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jeruſalem was expoſed to the viciſſitudes of ſtorms and ſunſhine[59]. By the encreaſe of proſelytes and population, the Mahometans might excuſe their uſurpation of three-fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reſerved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the ſepulchre of Chriſt, with the church of the Reſurrection, was ſtill left in the hands of his votaries. Of theſe votaries, the moſt numerous and reſpectable portion were ſtrangers to Jeruſalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been ſtimulated, rather than ſuppreſſed, by the conqueſt of the Arabs; and the enthuſiaſm which had always prompted theſe perilous journies, was nouriſhed by the congenial paſſions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the Eaſt and Weſt continued to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and the ad-

[57] In his epiſtle to the count of Flanders, Alexius ſeems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity: yet it is approved by Ducange (Not. ad Alexiad, p. 335, &c.), and paraphraſed by the abbot Guibert, a contemporary hiſtorian. The Greek text no longer exiſts; and each tranſlator and ſcribe might ſay with Guibert (p. 475.), verbis veſtita meis, a privilege of moſt indefinite latitude.

[58] Our beſt fund for the hiſtory of Jeruſalem from Heraclius to the cruſades, is contained in two large and original paſſages of William Archbiſhop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1—10. l. xviii. c. 5, 6.), the principal author of the Geſta Dei per Francos. M. de Guignes has compoſed a very learned Memoire ſur le Commerce des François dans le Levant avant les Croiſades, &c. (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 467—500.)

[59] Secundum Dominorum diſpoſitionem plerumque lucida plerumque nubila recepit intervalla, et ægrotantium more temporum præſentium gravabatur aut reſpirabat qualitate (l. i. c. 3. p. 630.). The latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible: but in his account of 490 years, from the loſs to the recovery of Jeruſalem, he exceeds the true account by thirty years.

jacent

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jacent ſanctuaries, more eſpecially at the feſtival of Eaſter: and the Greeks and Latins, the Neſtorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyſſinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their reſpective communions. The harmony of prayer in ſo many various tongues, the worſhip of ſo many nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a ſpectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the Chriſtian ſects was embittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a ſuffering Meſſiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aſpired to command and perſecute their ſpiritual brethren. The pre-eminence was aſſerted by the ſpirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatneſs of Charlemagne[60] protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the Catholics of the Eaſt. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jeruſalem, were relieved by the alms of that pious emperor; and many monaſteries of Paleſtine were founded or reſtored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alraſhid, the greateſt of the Abaſſides, eſteemed in his Chriſtian brother a ſimilar ſupremacy of genius and power: their friendſhip was cemented by a frequent intercourſe of gifts and embaſſies; and the caliph, without reſigning the ſubſtantial dominion, preſented the emperor with the keys, of the holy ſepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jeruſalem. In the decline of the Carlovingian monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the intereſt of trade and religion in the Eaſt. Her veſſels tranſported the Latin pilgrims to the coaſts of Egypt and Paleſtine, and deſerved, by their uſeful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs[61]: an annual fair was inſtituted on mount Calvary;

[60] For the tranſactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, ſee Eginhard (de Vita Caroli Magni, c. 16. p. 79—82.), Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtratione Imperii, l. ii. c. 26. p. 80.), and Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. A. D. 800, N° 13, 14, 15.).

[61] The caliph granted his privileges, Amalphitanis viris amicis et utilium introductoribus (Geſta Dei, p. 934.). The trade of Venice to Egypt and Paleſtine cannot produce ſo old a title, unleſs we adopt the laughable tranſlation of a Frenchman who miſtook the two factions of the circus (Veneti et Praſini) for the Venetians and Pariſians.

and

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and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, the cradle of the monaſtic and military order, which has ſince reigned in the iſles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the Chriſtian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the diſciples of Mahomet, inſtead of blaming, would have imitated, their piety: but theſe rigid *Unitarians* were ſcandaliſed by a worſhip which repreſents the birth, death, and reſurrection, of a God; the Catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moſlems ſmiled with indignation[62] at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Eaſter in the holy ſepulchre[63]. This pious fraud, firſt deviſed in the ninth century[64], was devoutly cheriſhed by the Latin cruſaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic ſects[65], who impoſe on the credulous ſpectators[66] for their own benefit, and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a ſenſe of intereſt; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was encreaſed each year, by the expence and tribute of ſo many thouſand ſtrangers.

Under the Fatimite caliphs, A. D. 969—1076.

The revolution which transferred the ſceptre from the Abaſſides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury, to the Holy Land. A ſovereign reſident in Egypt, was more ſenſible of the importance of Chriſtian trade; and the emirs of Paleſtine were

[62] An Arabic chronicle of Jeruſalem (apud Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 628. tom. iv. p. 368.) atteſts the unbelief of the caliph and the hiſtorian; yet Cantacuzene preſumes to appeal to the Mahometans themſelves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

[63] In his Diſſertations on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the learned Moſheim has ſeparately diſcuſſed this pretended miracle (tom. ii. p. 214—306.), de lumine ſancti ſepulchri.

[64] William of Malmſbury (l. iv. c. 2. p. 209.) quotes the Itinerary of the monk Bernard, an eye-witneſs, who viſited Jeruſalem A. D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim ſome years older; and Moſheim aſcribes the invention to the Franks, ſoon after the deceaſe of Charlemagne.

[65] Our travellers, Sandys (p. 134.), Thevenot (p. 621—627.), Maundrell (p. 94, 95.), &c. deſcribe this extravagant farce. The Catholics are puzzled to decide, *when* the miracle ended, and the trick began.

[66] The Orientals themſelves confeſs the fraud, and plead neceſſity and edification (Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, tom. ii. p. 140. Joſeph. Abudacni, Hiſt. Copt. c. 20.): but I will not attempt, with Moſheim, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

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leſs remote from the juſtice and power of the throne. But the third of theſe Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem [67], a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and deſpotiſm from the fear either of God or man; and whoſe reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardleſs of the moſt ancient cuſtoms of Egypt, he impoſed on the women an abſolute confinement: the reſtraint excited the clamours of both ſexes; their clamours provoked his fury; a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict. At firſt the caliph declared himſelf a zealous Muſulman, the founder or benefactor of moſchs and colleges: twelve hundred and ninety copies of the Koran were tranſcribed at his expence in letters of gold; and his edict extirpated the vineyards of the upper Egypt. But his vanity was ſoon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aſpired above the fame of a prophet, and ſtyled himſelf the viſible image of the moſt high God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifeſt in his royal perſon. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration: his myſteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo: ſixteen thouſand converts had ſigned his profeſſion of faith; and at the preſent hour, a free and warlike people, the Druſes of mount Libanus, are perſuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and tyrant [68]. In his divine character, Hakem hated the Jews and Chriſtians, as the ſervants of his rivals: while ſome remains of prejudice or prudence ſtill pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both

[67] See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 411.), Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch Alex. p. 390. 397. 400, 401.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 321—323.), and Marei (p. 384—386.), an hiſtorian of Egypt, tranſlated by Reiſke from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

[68] The religion of the Druſes is concealed by their ignorance and hypocriſy. Their ſecret doctrines are confined to the elect who profeſs a contemplative life; and the vulgar Druſes, the moſt indifferent of men, occaſionally conform to the worſhip of the Mahometans and Chriſtians of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deſerves to be, known, may be ſeen in the induſtrious Nieubuhr (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 354—357.), and the ſecond volume of the recent and inſtructive Travels of M. de Volney.

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in Egyyt and Paleſtine, his cruel and wanton perſecution made ſome martyrs and many apoſtates: the common rights, and ſpecial privileges of the ſectaries were equally diſregarded; and a general interdict was laid on the devotion of ſtrangers and natives. The temple of the Chriſtian world, the church of the reſurrection, was demoliſhed to its foundations; the luminous prodigy of Eaſter was interrupted, and much profane labour was exhauſted to deſtroy the cave in the rock which properly conſtitutes the holy ſepulchre. At the report of this ſacrilege, the nations of Europe were aſtoniſhed and afflicted: but inſtead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themſelves with burning, or baniſhing, the Jews, as the ſecret adviſers of the impious Barbarian [69]. Yet the calamities of Jeruſalem were in ſome meaſure alleviated by the inconſtancy or repentance of Hakem himſelf; and the royal mandate was ſealed for the reſtitution of the churches, when the tyrant was aſſaſſinated by the emiſſaries of his ſiſter. The ſucceeding caliphs reſumed the maxims of religion and policy; a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Conſtantinople, the holy ſepulchre aroſe from its ruins; and, after a ſhort abſtinence, the pilgrims returned with an encreaſe of appetite to the ſpiritual feaſt [70]. In the ſea-voyage of Paleſtine, the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities rare: but the converſion of Hungary opened a ſafe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apoſtle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren [71]; and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traverſed fifteen hundred miles of a Chriſtian empire. Among the Franks,

Sacrilege of Hakem, A. D. 1009.

Encreaſe of pilgrimages, A. D. 1024, &c.

[69] See Glaber, l. iii. c. 7. and the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, A. D. 1009.

[70] Per idem tempus ex univerſo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad ſepulchrum ſalvatoris Hieroſolymis, quantum nullus hominum prius ſperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis..... mediocres..... reges et comites..... præſules.... mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus.... Pluribus enim erat mentis deſiderium mori priuſquam ad propria reverterentur (Glaber. l. iv. c. 6. Bouquet, Hiſtorians of France, tom. x. p. 50.).

[71] Glaber. l. iii. c. 1. Kartona (Hiſt. Critic. Regum Hungariæ, tom. i. p. 304—311.), examines whether St. Stephen founded a monaſtery at Jeruſalem.

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the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times: and the roads were covered with multitudes of either ſex, and of every rank, who profeſſed their contempt of life, ſo ſoon as they ſhould have kiſſed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the numbers of theſe pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the enſuing age under the banner of the croſs. About thirty years before the firſt cruſade, the archbiſhop of Mentz, with the biſhops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratiſbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to ſeven thouſand perſons. At Conſtantinople, they were hoſpitably entertained by the emperor; but the oſtentation of their wealth provoked the aſſault of the wild Arabs; they drew their ſwords with ſcrupulous reluctance, and ſuſtained a ſiege in the village of Capernaum, till they were reſcued by the venal protection of the Fatimite emir. After viſiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but only a remnant of two thouſand arrived in ſafety in their native land. Ingulphus, a ſecretary of William the conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he obſerves that they ſallied from Normandy, thirty ſtout and well-appointed horſemen; but that they repaſſed the Alps, twenty miſerable palmers, with the ſtaff in their hand, and the wallet at their back [72].

Conqueſt of Jeruſalem by the Turks, A. D. 1076—1096.

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks [73]. One of the lieutenants of Malek Shah, Atſiz the Carizmian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damaſcus by famine and the ſword. Hems, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the ſultan of Perſia; and the victorious emir ad-

[72] Baronius (A. D. 1064, N° 43—56.) has tranſcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

[73] See Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 349, 350.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 237. verſ. Pocock.), M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. part i. p. 215, 216.) adds the teſtimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

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vanced without reſiſtance to the banks of the Nile: the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a deſperate ſally, and repulſed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the licence of ſlaughter and rapine: the judge and notaries of Jeruſalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the maſſacre of three thouſand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atſiz was ſoon puniſhed by the ſultan Toucuſh, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, aſſerted the dominion of Syria and Paleſtine. The houſe of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jeruſalem[74]; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entruſted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whoſe children, after their expulſion from Paleſtine, formed two dynaſties on the borders of Armenia and Aſſyria[75]. The Oriental Chriſtians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, inſtead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, impoſed on their necks the iron yoke of the ſtrangers of the North[76]. In his court and camp the great ſultan had adopted in ſome degree the arts and manners of Perſia; but the body of the Turkiſh nation, and more eſpecially the paſtoral tribes, ſtill breathed the fierceneſs of the deſert. From Nice to Jeruſalem, the weſtern countries of Aſia were a ſcene of foreign and domeſtic hoſtility; and the ſhepherds

[74] From the expedition of Iſar Atſiz (A. D. 469, A. D. 1076), to the expulſion of the Ortokides (A. D. 1096). Yet William of Tyre (l. i. c. 6. p. 633.) aſſerts, that Jeruſalem was thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle, quoted by Pagi (tom. iv. p. 202.), ſuppoſes, that the city was reduced by a Carizmian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A. H. 463, A. D. 1070. Theſe early dates are not very compatible with the general hiſtory of Aſia; and I am ſure, that as late as A. D. 1064, the regnum Babylonicum (of Cairo) ſtill prevailed in Paleſtine (Baronius, A. D. 1064, N° 56.).

[75] De Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 249–252.

[76] Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 8. p. 634. who ſtrives hard to magnify the Chriſtian grievances. The Turks exacted an *aureus* from each pilgrim! The *caphar* of the Franks is now fourteen dollars: and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

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of Paleſtine, who held a precarious ſway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leiſure nor capacity to await the ſlow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jeruſalem were the victims of private rapine or public oppreſſion, and often ſunk under the preſſure of famine and diſeaſe, before they were permitted to ſalute the holy ſepulchre. A ſpirit of native barbariſm, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to inſult the clergy of every ſect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and caſt into a dungeon, to extort a ranſom from the ſympathy of his flock; and the divine worſhip in the church of the reſurrection was often diſturbed by the ſavage rudeneſs of its maſters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the Weſt to march under the ſtandard of the croſs to the relief of the holy land: and yet how trifling is the ſum of theſe accumulated evils, if compared with the ſingle act of the ſacrilege of Hakem, which had been ſo patiently endured by the Latin Chriſtians! A ſlighter provocation inflamed the more iraſcible temper of their deſcendants: a new ſpirit had ariſen of religious chivalry and papal dominion: a nerve was touched of exquiſite feeling; and the ſenſation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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